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(Editors)



TEACHER EDUCATION IN MODERN ERA *TRENDS AND ISSUES*

UNIVERSITY OF CRETE
Department of Primary Education -
Teachers In-Service Training Division 'Maria Amariotou'



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, LIFELONG LEARNING AND RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS
Pedagogical Institute



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Introductory Note

The present edition¹ includes works presented in the International Symposium on *Teacher Education in Modern Era: Current Trends and Issues*, organized at the University of Crete, Department of Primary Education and In-Service Teachers Training Division, Students Union and Pedagogical Institute, in October, 1-3, 2010.

The theme of the Symposium was focused on teacher education at different parts of the world while special emphasis was given to the challenges faced by today educators during their university studies. Given the fact that academic program reforms in many countries have caused radical changes in the field of teacher education, there is an imperative need for higher education institutions to attend to existing problems and to form academic programs that will prepare competent and effective teachers. The papers published in this edition examined factors that shape teachers' professional development in order to serve educators, scientists and stakeholders of educational policy in Greece and elsewhere (Europe, USA, Asia and Africa).

This volume is divided into three parts: part one deals with *Teacher and Adult Education in Greece and Cyprus*, part two is devoted to *Case-Studies on Teacher Education* (U.S.A, Taiwan, England, Poland, Lithuania, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Israel, Denmark, Belgium). Part three is concerned with *Aspects of Teacher Education in general in Modern Era*. The local circumstances, priorities and conditions of each country as well as general aspects of education related to teacher education and training today, define the content of each paper included in this volume.

In this context we would like to thank all colleagues from different parts of the world for their contribution; we do hope that by bringing together the collective experience in teacher education and training, the volume provides teachers, scientists and educational policy makers in Greece and elsewhere to reflect and interpret central issues and problems in the area of teacher education today.

The Editors

¹ The translated edition in Greek language is expected to be published by the end of spring 2011.

Part A: Teacher and Adult Education in Greece and Cyprus

Adult Education in Greece

Alexios Kokkos²

Abstract

The central aim of this article is to analyze the current situation of adult education in Greece. The article focuses on the following points: (a) the degree of participation in programmes of continuing professional training and general adult education courses, (b) the quality and the outcomes of the adult education provision in Greece, and (c) the governmental policies and initiatives of adult education which relate to these points. This national study is compared with relevant developments at international level and is connected to the broader socioeconomic conditions that have an impact on the developments of the field of adult education. The article begins with the examination of the international trends in adult education within the current socioeconomic context and then it proceeds to the analysis of the situation of adult education in Greece.

The International Context

The orientation of adult education from the end of the 19th century, when it was first acknowledged as a social institution, to the middle of the 1980's, when the globalization impact became apparent, did not focus largely on professional training. Assuredly there were training programmes targeting the employed and unemployed citizens, but most of the organized activities were aimed at the dissemination of general education and the development of personal and social change (UNESCO, 1997). The main idea was to provide trainees with the necessary input in order to critically comprehend the conditions of their lives and to assist them towards their emancipation and participation in the social, economic, and cultural environment. Thus, adult education as an institution contributed in many countries – and in some of them in a decisive way – to the development of active citizens. It is not a coincidence that adult education was called during these days “liberal education” (Jarvis 2002, Swedish National Council of Adult Education, 2003).

However, since the middle of the 1980's the situation has changed rapidly due to the impact of the globalization phenomenon. Unbounded international commerce, the free movement of capital, and the escalation of international business competition led the national economies to a continuous inquiry for

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methods of increasing productivity while at the same time unemployment was striking harshly at a larger percentage of the general population. Within this framework vocational training is emerging as one of the most significant means to promote economic development and intensification in the “use” of human resources.

The Treaty of Lisbon (also known as the Reform Treaty) in 2000 is one of the most distinctive examples of an international strategy regarding the connection of vocational training with economic development and promotion of employment. The European Social Fund (ESF) is the main funding resource of the European Union towards the realization of this strategy. More specifically the ESF’s main aim is to “to provide the citizens the necessary employment skills to improve their self-esteem and their ability to adjust in the labor market” (European Commission, 1998).

Since mid-1980s, a rapid development of vocational training is noticeable all over the world – especially in the European and the other developed countries. At the same time a significant decrease of “liberal,” humanistic oriented adult education is reported (Merriam and Caffarella, 1999, Rubenson, 2000).

Nevertheless, we have to recognize that despite the world’s turn to vocational training, in many developed countries a lot of liberal adult education activities are implemented, especially in the fields of active citizenship, critical thinking, and training of socially marginalized groups, and there is always a live movement for fighting of illiteracy in third world countries (UNESCO, 2003).

The aforementioned trend for the development of inquiry and thus educational activities beyond vocational training is also apparent in the research projects that were implemented internationally in the 1990’s (UNESCO, 1999) and it is furthermore shown in the decade of 2000 to the titles and the content of the research papers published in six international journals in the adult education field (Karalis 2008)³. More specifically, during 2001-2005, from the 559 papers which were published only 82 (14.7%) are related to vocational training, while the rest of the research inquiry is focused on the theoretical investigation for the identity, the mission, the institutions, and the policies of adult education, as well as the training methods and the characteristics of the trainees and the trainers.

3 Adult Education Quarterly, International Journal of Lifelong Education, Journal of Vocational Education and Training, Studies in Continuing Education, Journal of Transformative Education, and Studies in the Education of Adults.

Paper categories	Number of papers	%
➤ Identification of the field of adult education – theoretical perspectives.	191	34.2
➤ Institutions and policies	145	25.9
➤ Training methods, design and evaluation of training programmes. Group dynamics.	95	17.0
➤ Vocational training – Connection between the Training and the development process.	82	14.7
➤ Characteristics of trainers and trainees.	46	8.2
Total	559	100.0

Table 1. Papers in six international journals from 2001 to 2005.
(Karalis, 2008)

The Emergence of Adult Education in Greece

In Greece during the 20th century, and in contrast with what had happened in other countries in Europe (especially in central and northwestern countries), adult education was not an institution inscribed in the collective culture and the social practice of the citizens. Up to 1980, the activities of adult education were in a “fetal” condition – related mainly with illiteracy and extension education (Vergidis, 2005), while the public discussion and the scientific inquiry about the process of education beyond the formal school system was simply nonexistent. Even in the dawn of the 21st century (2002) Greek citizens who were attending non-formal adult education programmes were slightly exceeding 1.2% of the population, which is considered as the productive age (i.e., 25-64 years) within the month that the research took place, while the European Union average for the same age group was 8.5% (Commission des Communautés Européennes, 2003, p. 25). This

phenomenon is justified by some researchers (Vergidis, 2005, Karalis, 2006, Kokkos, 2005, 2008) due to five interrelated factors: (a) the fact that until the fall of the dictatorship (1967-1974) in 1974 there were long periods of political dominance by conservative powers, a situation that was not fertile for the development of activities towards the emancipation of citizens, (b) the weakness of the social and syndicate movements throughout the 20th century in Greece, a condition which contributed to the deferral of the need for educational activities by the society, (c) the fact that the vast majority of Greek businesses are family managed, have a traditional character and low competitiveness and therefore little attention is given to human resource investment, (d) the dysfunctional characteristics of the state organizations that are responsible for adult education (centralization, bureaucratization, low service quality), and (e) the low quality and inefficiency of the institutions that provide adult education services.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that during the period 1981 – 1985 some interesting developments occurred which still have an impact to what is going on in the field. In 1981, Greece for the first time in modern history elected a social democratic government which sets, as a priority, the establishment of Popular Education as a social institution aiming specifically at the personal development of the citizens through their conscious and energetic participation in the social and political milieu, and to the creative use of leisure time. During that period, 350 Education Centres operate all over Greece. As is shown in Table 2, the number of participants in Popular Education was increasing rapidly, from 69,594 in 1980 to an average of 213,000 in 1981-1985. Thus, Popular Education became by far the largest area of adult education in Greece. The second area where participation increased was extension education (80,000 participants in 1986), while the area of continuing vocational training was absorbing a small part of the total trainee number (in 1986, only 25,000 people participated in professional training programmes in business in the private and the public sector as well as in programmes of training unemployed people – see Vergidis 2005). In parallel, the funding of Popular Education increased significantly (from 150,000,000 GDR or 440,205 Euro in 1980, the funding escalated to 3,245,377,261 GDR or 9,524,218 Euro in 1984 – Table 2), mainly due to the fact that ESF started funding the programmes. From these funds the largest part that concerned adult education was given to Popular Education (55%) through the General Secretariat of Popular Education (Pesmatzoglou, 1987, p. 278).

Year	Participants	Funding (in Euro)
1980	69,594	440,205
1981	213,476	7,929,626
1982	265,567	6,065,726
1983	197,896	8,142,221
1984	210,000	9,524,218
1985	178,068	8,683,358
1981-1985 average	213,001	

Table 2. Participants and funding in popular education in the years 1980 – 1985. (Karalis and Vergidis, 2006, p. 51)

At the same time some innovative actions were realized. These interrelated actions aimed to improve the quality of the Popular Education institution. During these years the General Secretariat of Popular Education was founded and several high qualified people were employed to its departments. The Secretariat also recruited and placed in all the prefectures Popular Education Advisors. The advisors had an average age of 30-35 years and their responsibilities included the study of the training needs of the local population and the coordination of educational activities. Moreover, the General Secretariat founded and funded the Centre for Studies and Self-directed Learning which undertook the training of the staff members of Popular Education, published the journal "Self-directed Learning" and a number of books and organized a series of international conferences.

Nevertheless this short period of innovation was not sufficient to create great quality changes. One of the most significant problems was the dysfunctional public sector, that was "suffocating" every innovative initiative (i.e., the Ministry of Education which exercised authority over the Secretariat, the Prefectures who employed the Popular Education Advisors, etc.) and the traditional teacher-centered attitudes that fostered for decades the adult educators of that period. On the other hand, the aforementioned innovations that incorporated the spirit of social change, and that prevailed during those days in the country, were diffused within the framework of Popular Education's radical approaches, such as the theories espoused by Paulo Freire and the critical theory of the School of Frankfurt. The apex of all the activities

was a visit by Paulo Freire to Greece with whom the staff of popular education discussed the implementation of his ideas.

The “Stone Age”

However, as of 1986 the situation changed dramatically. ESF altered its priorities, gradually focusing them on vocational training, especially after 1989 when the First Community Support Framework (known also as “Delors I”) was initiated. The Greek governmental policy followed literally all the directions of the ESF in order not to lose its funding and to denote its European orientation. At the same time, state support toward Popular Education gradually stopped due to the growing conservatism of the Greek society and its political life – a result rooted in the beginning of the engagement with the process of globalization. This disappointing fact had as a consequence the disablement of the Councils of Popular Education and the termination of the operations of the above mentioned Centre for Study and Self-directed Learning. Thus, alongside the quantitative reduction of “liberal” adult education, all the quality institutions that were aiming to the theoretical inquiry and advancement of the field were also damaged. Therefore, adult education in Greece was completely cut off from all the international developments. Simultaneously, until 1999, the participants have decreased to 15,886 and funding was only one third (1/3) of what it formerly was during the years 1981 – 1985 (Karalis and Vergidis, 2006, pp. 51-55).

Hence, beginning in 1986, we experienced an infertile period for liberal adult education that lasted for about 15 years, and had the following characteristics:

- Continuing Vocational Training dominated the field of adult education. One strong characteristic of the era is the fact that during the period 1994-1999 the participants in this type of programmes presented an annual average of 86,229 trainees (OECD 2003, p.16), while the same indicator for Popular Education was only 15,963 participants (Karalis and Vergidis, 2006, 55).
- The ESF supported and imposed free market conditions in the distribution of funds, and as a result most of the continuing vocational training programmes were implemented by private and for-profit oriented organizations which had the form of companies up to the mid- 1990’s and then the form of Centres of Vocational Training. In 1999 these Centres were implementing 69.4% of the total programmes of continuing vocational training while the public sector, including universities, were implementing only 20.2% (Karalis and Vergidis 2004, p. 183).

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- The quality and efficiency of the provided services was at a low level. It is indicative that both UNESCO (1997, p. 12 and 1999, p. 134) and OECD (2003, p. 40) ascertained the lack of co-ordination in educational activities and the lack of scientific and university-level activities regarding adult education in Greece. Moreover, it was noted that there was no connection between vocational training and employment.

The delay in the development of university-level studies in adult education is revealed in the fact that until 2000 there was only one undergraduate programme related to the field (at the University of Macedonia, since 1996), one graduate programme (at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, since 1997) and a few other courses dispersed in various programmes over Greece. Moreover, according to the records of the National Documentation Centre, until 2002 there were only three doctoral dissertations implemented in the field of adult education. We should also notice the interesting outcome of research by Sipitanou and Papaconstantinou (2004), among 62 faculty members who taught subjects relevant to adult education in Greek Universities between 1985 and 2003, only six were hired initially to teach adult education issues. The rest (56) were hired to teach courses like Pedagogy, Psychology, Sociology, Linguistics, Counseling, etc. This fact is a good indication of the arbitrary situation of the field of adult education in Greek universities, a situation which was apparently connected with the incomplete and confused comprehension of the content and the function of the field in the Greek society.

The lack of scientific dialogue in the field is supported also by the records of the Educational Bibliography Review, a publication of the Greek Pedagogical Institute. The relevant data show that from 1992 to 2002 only 33 scientific papers about adult education were published in Greek scientific educational journals.

Finally, the lack of the appropriate knowledge and skills characterizing institutions and adult educators has also been reported by two evaluation reports. The first report evaluated the Centres of Vocational Training for the years 2001-2003 and showed that their accomplishments were mediocre since, in a quantitative scale of evaluation, the average mark was 52.3/100 (Efstratoglou 2007, p. 25). The second report evaluated the national training programme of the trainers in continuing vocational education. Based on qualitative and quantitative data it was found that only a few adult educators were trained to teach adults and as a result, 6 out of 10 did not acquire a sufficient level of know-how, which led to the reproduction of the traditional

teaching methods they received in the formal educational system (Kokkos, 2008).

From the abovementioned data concerning the period between 1986 and the dawn of the 21st century, one may conclude that adult education in Greece was a field which, contrary to what was happening in other countries, was characterized by low participation and quality as well as the absence of social and political recognition as a channel leading to social change and development.

On the other hand, it must be mentioned that some progress was made especially at the end of this period. The Hellenic Open University started its operation (1999) and offered a second chance for university studies in the adult population. Through the funds provided by the ESF for one of its secondary targets, that of social cohesion, the Schools of Secondary Chance, the Centres for Adult Education and the Parenting Schools were introduced. In addition, the Centres of Vocational Training were certified (1998) and some first translated textbooks on adult education were published within a series called "Adult Education" from a well known publisher in Greece. Finally, a lot of adult educators were developing their skills through self-directed learning activities and the practical experience they acquired as they were operating in the field. These steps were small and not interconnected. However, they became the stepping-stones for a series of processes initiated in 2003, and are still active.

Chronic Problems and New Processes

Initially, it should be stated that the problematic situation of adult education in Greece has not been transformed radically the last years. The policy of the Greek government did not show any special interest for this sector and as a result the trends of the previous decades continue to prevail. It is rather indicative that the participation of citizens of the age group 25-64 in educational activities was not over 1.9% within the month of 2006 that the research took place (Council of the European Union 2008, p. 33), a percentage which places Greece in the 25th position among 27 member states of the European Union. Moreover, the public authorities are continuing to be away from every contemporary development and in some cases they even work in an inhibitive manner. Let us mention two indicative examples: (a) the recent state legislation about the Schools of Second Chance imposes a learning model which is a continuation of the typical model existing in the formal school system and forces the rejection of the methods with which these Schools were operating and which were adjusted to the special characteristics of the adult learners and, (b) within the national training of

trainers programmes ten unreasonable interventions of the public authorities concerning the educational material, the selection criteria, and the evaluation system, led to the deformation and untrustworthiness of the original project (Kokkos, 2008).

On the other hand, some positive trends were reinforced and the number of organizations and adult educators committed to the scientific establishment and improvement of the field's activities increased. The most important elements of the contemporary period are as follows.

Four new graduate level programmes in adult education were launched in the University of Athens, the University of Macedonia, the University of Patras, and the Hellenic Open University even though the number of faculty members who are specialized in the field remains low (9 persons only). We have to mention that the postgraduate programme "Adult Education" which started in 2003 at the Hellenic Open University accepts a large number of students (140 students enrolled) who are already experienced adult educators or executive staff in adult education organizations. This fact is quite crucial since such quality students are enriching the programme with their expertise and at the same time they propagate, through a great variety of activities, the knowledge and the skills that were acquired throughout their studies.

In 2003 the first national programme (300 hours) dealing with the training of adult education trainers was initiated. A total of 250 adult trainers participated and successfully completed the first phase of the programme, while the whole project was completed in 2006-2008 with the participation of 10,000 trainees. According to an evaluation study, which was implemented, at the end of the project 90% of the participants were in position to respond to the demands of their role as adult educators (Kokkos, 2008). Simultaneously, in 2007-2008 another training programme of adult educators was implemented. This time the duration of the programme was 100 hours and 8,000 adult educators from the field of general adult education participated. We should also mention that similar programmes are also organized from time to time by the General Confederation of Labor and the Hellenic Confederation of Professionals, Craftsmen and Merchants.

Furthermore, in 2003 the General Secretariat of Adult Education initiated the operation of the Centers of Adult Education and the Parenting Schools which together with the Schools of Second Chance are absorbing a gradually increasing number of participants, having reached today a total of 32,000 persons (Efstratoglou and Nikolopoulou, 2008). If we add to the previous number the 25,000 students of the Hellenic Open University, the 20,000 students of the programmes of Popular Education (General Secretariat of Adult Education, 2008) and all those who participate in various training

programmes organized by organizations in order to fight social exclusion, we may conclude that general adult education has increased significantly in the last years, reaching a total of 80,000 participants.

On the other hand, continuing vocational training is still absorbing almost the same number of trainees as in the previously described period. In the period 2001-2006, an average of 96,845 people attended programmes which are supervised by the Ministry of Employment and Social Protection⁴ and it is estimated that this number escalates to 120,000 people when the trainees of other institutions are added (e.g., training organizations supervised by other ministries, other public organizations and corporate training). Thus, continuing vocational training is still occupying the largest part of the adult education activities although its ratio to the activities of general education has improved significantly in favor of the second, from 1:0.2 during the period 1994-1999 to 1:0.7 during the period 2003-2008.

Within several organizations of general adult education but also in some organizations from the field of continuing vocational training groups of adult educators are formed and try to improve the quality of the provided programmes. At the same time an increasing number of adult educators are becoming more conscious about their role and their professional identity. Moreover, books from prominent authors of the field are translated (e.g., Freire, Knowles, Shor, Schön, Jarvis, and Mezirow) and the first informal groups of self-directed learning started to function, examining in depth issues like transformative learning theory, the role of critical reflection, the use of art in adult education.

The Self-Organization of Adult Educators

The ensemble of these actions resulted in the motivation of a core number of adult educators who, while facing state ignorance, felt the need to reinforce their professional identity and improve the conditions of their profession. Therefore, in 2003, the Hellenic Adult Education Association was formed as a non-governmental, non-profit organization, and set its mission to the development of the scientific and professional field of adult education, the improvement of the teaching skills of its members, and the reinforcement of communication and solidarity among associates.

The Association was rapidly developed. Today it has over 850 members, implements research activities and independent studies, has already

⁴ Data by the Ministry of Employment and Social Protection, Special Unit for the Administration of the O.P. "Employment, and Vocational Training" and Special Unit for Designing and Monitoring ESF actions.

organized three international conferences, facilitated several experiential learning workshops in many cities around Greece as well as specialized training programmes for trainers which emphasize the applications of the theory of transformative learning. Moreover, it has invited and introduced to the Greek audience significant thinkers like Peter Jarvis, Jack Mezirow, Alan Rogers, Colin Griffin, Jane Thompson, and Henning Olesen. The Association has also published books and 14 issues of the peer-reviewed scientific journal "Adult Education" (2004-2008). In these issues 70 papers related to adult education were presented. This number is higher than the respective number (46) of all the papers that were published the last six years in Greek journals which host papers for adult education, including the newly published journal "Lifelong" which is published by the General Secretariat of Adult Education. The comparison depicted in Table 3, shows that the "Adult Education" Journal generally follows international inquiry on adult education, while the rest of the Greek journals (including the "Lifelong" journal) have not been detached from the topics dominating the field in previous years. It is indicative that in these journals the topic "identification of the field – theoretical perspectives" is occupying only 8.7% of the total published work. On the contrary, in the "Adult Education" journal this topic is major (44.3%) a fact reflecting the Association's aim to clarify the theoretical foundations of the field to its members.

Paper categories	559 papers in six international journals (2001 – 2005) (see Table 1) %	70 papers in the journal "Adult Education" (2004-2008) %	46 papers in other Greek journals (2003-2008) %
1. Identification of the field of adult education – theoretical perspectives.	34.2	44.3	8.7
2. Institutions and policies	25.9	11.4	41.3
3. Training methods, design and evaluation of training programmes. Group dynamics.	17.0	27.2	23.9
4. Vocational training – Connection between the training and the development process.	14.7	5.7	15.2
5. Characteristics of trainers and trainees.	8.2	11.4	10.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3. A comparison of the themes of papers for adult education. (Karalis 2008, Hellenic Educational Bibliography Review, "Adult Education" and "Lifelong" Journals)

However, the greatest benefit offered by the Association to its members is that it brings them together and creates the foundations for a productive dialogue among them. This process generates much cooperation, networking, and action plans for Greek adult educators and their organizations. Among them are many who had been active in Popular Education in the years 1981-1985 and now through processes of reflection are participating in the new actions. This last fact shows that the adult education movement in Greece was developing implicitly and dialectically above and beyond all the direct or indirect obstacles that it had to confront.

Some Ideas for the Future

All of the above lead to the formation of a major question for adult education in Greece, namely, to what extent may we consider that the field is moving towards an environment in which mindful adult educators hope to exist (i.e. to have a recognition by the society, to be supported by the state, and to operate with fully trained human resource towards the emancipation of citizens and the harmonization of their life with the constantly changing economical and social reality)?

Having in mind the aforementioned processes and difficulties, it is obvious that the evolution of the field of adult education in Greece is going to be slow, spiral and will originate mainly by the efforts of independent organizations, individuals and core groups who manage to operate creatively within thorny conditions. This self-organization trend has started to function and there are indications that it is part of a broader phenomenon of the Greek society, which is slowly but steadily growing. As mentioned in an international research paper (Sotiropoulos and Karamagioli, 2006), Greece has observed, the last years, a growing tendency of the middle class to undertake action through structures related to what is known as "the society of citizens" or "active citizenship." These structures are independent non-governmental organizations aiming to satisfy the special interests of their members. This trend is the result of the broadness of the middle class, of the decadence of the political parties' ability to intervene with efficiency, and of the processes of Europeanization which supports the participation of citizens in the formation of their social life.

During the maturity process of the conditions for adult education, a crucial role is given to the Hellenic Adult Education Association and to the social partners (General Confederation of Labor and the Hellenic Confederation of Professionals, Craftsmen and Merchants) who have already adopted a positive attitude towards the training of their members. We may learn a lot from the

long tradition which has been developed in other countries – under different conditions of course – where adult education is developed not due to state interventions but due to grassroots actions, due to the initiatives undertaken by organizations of citizens, and by the associations of adult educators (Jarvis, 2007). Through this kind of approaches it was possible to realize, for example, the university level courses for workers in Great Britain which have operated since the start of the 20th century, the radical activities of the Highlander School in the US, the Antigonish movement in Canada, the Learning Cycles and the Folk Schools which for decades are important units of popular education and democratic dialogue in the Scandinavian countries, and the significant activities undertaken by the associations of adult educators in the UK, the US, Canada, South Korea, Bolivia, Ireland, etc. (Long 1996, Jarvis, 2007). On the other hand, we have to be patient given the special conditions of Greek society where the “active citizenship” movement is still fragile and weak to oppose the state mechanisms (Voulgaris 2008, Mouzelis, 2002).

So what one should do? Reinforce self-organization and networking. Be aware that each individual stance is important for all the adult educators. If cooperation continues to grow, if educators insist on operating with dignity, professional efficiency, and continue to aim towards the strengthening of adult learners’ self-reliance through the development of critical consciousness regarding every problem they face, one may hope that adult education in Greece will continue to create cells that will contribute to the process of social progress.

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Greek teachers' Mastery (1834-2010)

From the teacher of the national state to the teacher of interculture and European dimension

Sifis Bouzakis⁵

Abstract

Targeting – Questions

Which type of a teacher did the Greek State try to formulate? Which educational methods did it apply? By means of which institutions as well as of which programs did the Greek State attempt to materialize the forementioned policies? How are those policies interpreted?

Theories of the state

Education – ideological orientation. The Greek State: centralized, depended, paternalistic

Theories – Schools of the teacher education

Behavioral (the teacher's profession is an applied profession of technocratic nature), Developmental (development of psychologically mature personalities) Praktikismos (in case a teacher knows something he can transfer it to someone else), Exploratory/stochastic approach (School of Frankfurt: a stochastic consideration of the teacher's role.

Time sections in the institutional framework

1st PERIOD (1834-1933)

The period of the Teachers' Colleges

2nd PERIOD (1933-1982/84)

The period of the Pedagogical Academies

3rd PERIOD (1984 to date)

Incorporation of the teacher education into the universities

Introduction, Purposes – Questions

In this work we examine the male and female teachers' training in Greece since the first Royal Teachers' College in 1834 up to date, focusing on the most important institutional turning points of it and attempting to give an answer to the following questions:

-What type of a teacher did the new Hellenic state attempt to form right after the liberation from the Turkish domination?

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- Which educational policies did it apply in order to achieve this goal?
- Through which institutions and programs did it attempt to materialize the policies above?
- How are the policies above interpreted?

Methodological and Theoretical Choices

From the point of view of interpreting history (Dertilis, 2005) we will attempt to reorganize "yesterday", to realize it through imagination, as Carr points out (1999), and to translate it by connecting the educational with the sociopolitical, financial and cultural activities of each period. As a result, we are not limited to a based-on-facts approach of the historical facts (Dimaras, 1973). After all, as it is known, yesterday is comprehensible only through its historical framework. Moreover, as T. Elliot claims "today and yesterday, the present and the past are maybe both in tomorrow/in the future and tomorrow/the future are in yesterday/in the past".

Due to the fact that our approaches are implemented in two directions, namely the state/educational policy and the school/academic knowledge (curriculums), our theoretical framework is derived from and concerns these directions. Consequently, we are interested in theories about the state (Tsoukalas, 1982, Mouzelis, 1978, Vergopoulos, 1994) as well as theories about education and the teachers' training programs (Matsaggouras, 1999). Our historical evidence comes from draft laws, laws proposing reports of draft laws, documents of Parliament and curriculums of male and female teachers' training Colleges (Bouzakis-Tzikas, 2002, Bouzakis-Tzikas-Anthopoulos, 1998).

Theoretical Framework

In our approach, Education is considered to be an ideological mechanism of the state. Since its birth the Hellenic state has been aggregate, paternalistic and despotic (Kazamias, 2001, Tsoukalas, op.cit., Mouzelis, op.cit., Vergopoulos, op.cit.). Although it attempted later on to become a state of law and in the 80's a state of social welfare (Manesis, 1986) it still conserves at a great extent its historical characteristics (bureaucratical, gathering, paternalistic, retaliative).

The following models of the teachers' training can be located in the international bibliography (Matsaggouras, op.cit.):

Behavioristic, based on this approach the teacher achieves an applied profession of technocratic character.

Developmental, it aims at the development, the psychologically mature teacher's personality.

Practicians, it maintains that if someone knows something he can transmit it.

Investigating, meditating-critical approach, (School of Frankfurt) – it considers the role of the teacher as a meditating-critical process, the teacher meditates on what he does.

Time Sectors

In the long course of education of male and female teachers in Greece since the establishment of the Royal Teachers' College in 1834, we distinguish three periods-sectors, using as a criterion the radical changes in the institutional framework:

1st Period 1834-1932:

The Period of Teachers' Colleges of Primary Education

2nd Period 1933-1982/4:

The Period of Pedagogical Academies

3rd Period 1984-Today:

The incorporation of the teachers' education in the Universities

Each of the above periods has its own specific characteristics that result from the educational policy exercised at the time. In other words we have to do with conscious ideological-political and national selections.

1st Period: Teachers' Colleges (1834-1932)

The characteristics of this period are summed up to the following:

- Dispersion of Schools to provincial towns
 - Schools of high school level (graduates of Greek schools-boarding schools are accepted)
- "Governmental Embrace" in:

Selection of students. The state defines conditions and criteria for the students' introduction. Students are taught the courses that they are supposed to teach themselves at the Primary School.

Planning of curriculums (of professional nature) – writing of books.

Selection of the teaching staff.

Organization of inner life (rules – regulations- strict organization of inner life at the Institutions).

Interpretation:

During this period, the Hellenic state considered the teacher as a carrier of the national ideology – modulator of national identity for the establishment of the national state which starts “out of nothing” (Dertilis, op.cit.). The behavioristic approach of practicionism dominates in the programs, WHAT (Knowledge) – The teacher to be learns well the Taistic method. Delivery of knowledge takes place.

2ND Period: (1933-1982/84)

The Period of Pedagogical Academies

The characteristics of this period (the institutions remain disrupted in the province under the governmental protection) are summed up to the following:

- Upgrading of level (selection of students who are graduates of 6/class Senior High School)
- Enrichment of curriculums with answers to HOW (psychoeducational courses – practical exercise)
- Domination of Ervartian Education
- Continuation of domination of practicism and behaviorism
- Reinforcement of the ideological, sociocultural control of the state on the educators (similar to the one of 1929, dictatorships, unstable polotic political landscape, 33 governments in 1920-28 and 25 Ministers of Education)
- Racistic – ideological conditions of acceptance (height 1.65 for men, 1.58 for women, 2/3 males, 1/3 females, good physical condition, national conviction after the civil war, etc.)

Examples of “Governmental Embrace”

In order to substantiate the basic characteristics of the Teachers’ Colleges and the Pedagogical Academies mentioned above, we refer to some examples:

REGULATIONS OF THE FUNCTION OF THE ACADEMIES (1959 Ioannina)

The above regulation required, among others, the following (Mpouzakis-Tzikas, op.cit.):

“Students had to go to bed and wake up in time, and consequently they were not allowed to move around after 9 p.m... whereas for the female students the time limit moves to 8 p.m.”

“The personal relationships between the two sexes are only allowed in the School... the mixed public appearance and the exchange of visits to the house of one another being prohibited”

“Political discussions and indecent actions, such as blasphemy, gambling and smoking, are not allowed.”

The Teachers’ Council’s Decision:

“We approve the imposed penalty of the definite expulsion from this to the student G.D.D. because he is imbued by communistic ideas and we exclude him from all the Pedagogical Academies” (Maraslian Academy, 1968). This penalty was applied to our colleague Prof. George Drakos, who continued his studies in the Academy in 1974, after the fall of the Dictatorship.

Statements made by Ministers of Education:

1933 (Tourkovasilis):

“I want to know even with what kind of spoon the teacher eats”.

1968 (Kalampokias):

“We do not want wise men, we want faithful ones” (meaning to the dictatorship).

Third Period: 1984/86 - Today

The Teachers at Universities

Based on the Framework Law concerning Universities, (1268/82) teachers’ and preschool teachers’ education takes place at Universities. The first pedagogical departments were established in 1984.

The characteristics of this period are:

- Autonomy and independence analogous to other University Schools (Law 1268/82). Liberation from the pressing governmental control.

- Students' selection based on the Pan-Hellenic Examinations' results.
- Disadvantages of the Greek Universities
- Curriculums:

An effort was made to overcome Behaviorism – Practicism through the incorporation of the meditating-critical dimension (answers to WHAT, HOW, WHOM, and WHY).

- Emphasis on the intercultural and the European dimension of education.

The teachers' and preschool teachers' education at Universities has a life of two and a half decades. The basic goal of the establishment of the Pedagogical Schools, that is the acquiring of a scientific identity, that of a scientist-educator or, according to others, of a psycho-educator, has not been achieved as research has proved. It can be assumed only as a guess, although old practices still exist. However, the landscape has radically changed. The interaction of the future teachers in a university-research place, the introduction of post graduate studies, the participation to European exchanging programs, the entrance of students in pedagogical schools, due to fine professional prospects, with very high grades (similar to the grades of the Polytechnic and the Law School) bode a positive course even though optimism in this case is reduced due to the difficult financial situation (troika, mnimonium).

It seems that we face the transition from the teacher of the National State to the teacher of the intercultural and of the European dimension without neglecting the national character of the programs at the current age of globalization.

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"No one is more of a fool than the doctor..."
the social image of the modern Greek teachers

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Abstract

This paper deals with the low social image of the greek teacher in both primary and secondary level. It mainly concerns teachers who serve in the 9-year compulsory education scheme, offered by the state free of tuition fees. We are going to argue that a large number of state teachers have a rather low social image for reasons that have to be traced in the traditional structure of the greek teaching profession, as well as socio-economic changes and trade unionism, as well as the wider accessibility of the general public to light (popular) science such as that of magazines and the web. Regretably the majority of in-service training programmes and other related efforts, failed to respond to this particular problem of the teachers, that of their social image, with the result the development of low self-esteem and low-level self-fulfilling prophecy. The in-service training programmes explicitly and implicitly aimed at offering teachers new scientific knowledge and theoretical approaches, often illegible by the teachers, which led to the worsening of the situation. Last but not least, the ex-cathedra teaching annoyed teachers further.

We are clearly saying that teachers must be offered in service training that will adopt a more holistic approach towards the former. No one argues against the introduction of scientific developments in the large area of education and pedagogy in the training programmes. This is not however adequate if not accompanied by well-designed psychological and educative support material, in order to fight their relatively low self-esteem. Teachers must be re-instated in the society as those who are to put into effect the ambitious plans of the educational planners and the politicians, while reforms for more frequent training, postgraduate studies and parents co-training must be secured.

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Introduction

Our proposal relates to the role of in-service training programmes in the improvement of the social image of the teachers. Our aim is neither the evaluation nor the encoding of the various activities pertaining to the in-service training programmes available to teachers, but to pinpoint the absence of one dimension in the latter, which seems not to have been considered until only recently by those who design such programmes. This dimension has to do with the relatively low self – image of the greek school teachers who mainly teach in the nine year compulsory public education and the way they deal with it. The proposal is based on the first reading of the national data collected by the authors as educators of teachers themselves and as responsible for the planning of the educational material, in connection with the relative doctoral theses, and other publications from the wider field of further and adult education.

Education and Educators

In the developed countries the educational system has undertaken the responsibility to offer knowledge and skills to the young people and eventually enable them to obtain a work position in the professional hierarchy relative to their degrees (high school diplomas, bachelors, masters) and they will be widely accepted by everyone. Teachers together with other skilled professionals, staff our educational system, so that the above mentioned task is realized, functioning as intermediaries between the formal, legal knowledge and the plastic conscience of the students and their parents. For this reason teachers follow specific studies under the supervision of the state, which are considered necessary for their work in education.

It is rather oxymoron that despite what is stated on the value of the education of the young people and the necessary vestment in the human capital together with the general acceptance of the importance of education for the future of the nation, the acknowledgement of the teachers' role can be characterized as rather poor. If it is compared with the way the role of other professional groups is recognized such as doctors, lawyers and architects. The low –esteem for the role of teachers damages to a great degree their self-image and subsequently their performance, their work satisfaction and it can be considered as a situation that leads to a vicious cycle which reproduces and perpetuates the problem under investigation (Lortie, 2002).

The poor self-image of the teachers is a real problem and has been recorded by a number of researchers. A large proportion of the teachers end up feeling

socially inept, with a low scientific profile while the image they have for themselves articulates and interacts with their emotional insecurity.

As far as self-image is concerned, we can say that it is product of the way we relate to the community. Cooley (1992) in 1902 introduced the term "looking - glass self". The reflection of our image is shaped by how the other evaluate us. Our personal existence is transformed by our interaction with the other members of our society. While the self appears and develops as it does in every member of the social group we belong to. James defined self-esteem to be the quotient of our achievements in relation to our pursuits (James, 1963). If we consider the mathematical formula of James it becomes clear the reason why the positive self-esteem leads to a good self-image. The positive image we have for ourselves becomes greater as we are more successful in our pursuits. If we don't accomplish all that we pursue we end up having negative thoughts for the things we desire and for ourselves (Paraskevopoulou – Kollia, 2006). Research has shown from early on that low self-esteem creates stress (Bachman et al, 1978) depression (Rosenberg, 1965) irritability and feelings of disappointment (Campel, Byrne and Baron, 1992).

The psychology of the "self" is particularly decisive in the influence of the social demands and images. Sanity is particularly related to the latter and every deviation can result in a negative self –esteem. Let s bring James in mind who spoke for the achievements in relation to the pursuits, which constitute an increase or decrease in our self-esteem according to how the "salient others" respect our "wants" (Paraskevopoulou – Kollia, 2006).

The number or the percentage of those in the Greek society who treat teachers in a degrading way are not of interest to us, as for now nor is it what we look for. It should be considered that teachers are being criticized in toto as a professional group and not as individuals which seems to be perfectly normal for every other professionals. It should also be noted that the social –image and respect for the teacher couldn't be possible not to be closely related to his position in the professional hierarchy. With this in mind, the negative image of the teachers should be examined in conjunction with the stereotypical ideas of the Greek professional structure as they transform and interact with the socioeconomic developments. What is noteworthy as Pirgiotakis (1992) supports, is that the higher the socioeconomic the background of the person is, the lower the respect he has for the teaching profession. This phenomenon reveals tpe real ignorance of those who are highly educated and who look down on the importance of the early socialization of the children and the role of the school in general.

In the last decades, teachers have become the target of other professional groups, especially when the former go on strike. Despite the optimistic expectations for solidarity and understanding by the other members of the Greek society, teachers were not able to avoid conflicting with the parents who had become enraged from the way the mass media had covered the issue.

Even though there is always the danger of oversimplification, we can discern the reasons behind this specific social attitude towards the teachers and we can classify them into three categories. The first category includes the stereotypical reasons pertaining to the relatively low social background for the majority of the teachers and to the large number of women in the profession, along with the case with which someone becomes a school teacher. In the second category the reasons which relate to the organization of the professional structure of the country together with the characteristics of the work in the public sector and the stigma of irremovability from the work position belong. In the same category we should add the monotonous routine work of the teacher, the absence of promotion, the complete lack of the rewards and honours and of course the very low salary. The lack of relative autonomy along with the fact that teachers do not participate in the decision making process or the shaping of the educational policy makes them seem as mere pawn and it contributes towards the low social respect they receive.

School teachers are trapped in the ethics of their work code, which is shaped by the state and in conjunction with the vagueness of their scientific field, (those who are called "pedagoges" are considered to know almost everything) they end up facing dilemmas concerning the conflict between their personal goals and their dependent work relation (Paraskevopoulou – Kollia, 2009). Moreover the problems of the profession due to unsuccessful strikes and inadequate representation by their work Union, should be noted. Finally the third category includes the traditional reasons relating to the shortsighted, arrogant views about the work of school teachers, who are regarded as having a scientifically worthless job. This can be rendered to the deconstruction of the science of Education and its popularization through semi-scientific publications and web – sites which oversimplified the teaching profession. The younger the children are the easier is considered to be the work of the teacher. According to Korzcak (in Hoegeman, 2000, p. 53) the students are young and weak and have little market value, and as a result those who are involved with them do not need to have remarkable scientific qualifications.

In-service training programmes and self – image

It is clear that most in-service training programmes despite the good intentions of their organizers and lectures, do not face up to the needs of the teachers and especially to the improvement of their self-image. Most seminars target at further educating the teachers in the new facts and further knowledge. As a result the content of the seminars and the attitude of the lectures – most of who lectured from the chair – have rather exacerbated the self –image of the teachers, offering selected knowledge to them, without them.

At this point we should note that the non-participation in the in-service training program seriously affected their self – image and self-esteem. Research has shown that the mechanisms and ability of the people to cope with dynamically unpleasant and troublesome situations connect to a large degree with their self –image and self-esteem. When individuals feels competent and adequately prepared to influence, judge and consequently control the developments in their environment, at least up to a point they appear to be less vulnerable to stress and irritability, which stem from insecurities and work demands and needs respectively (Maslow 1954, Gardell 1971, Hall 1976, Cherniss, 1980). According to research results by Tuettonann and Punch (1992) it was proven that school teachers are much more productive in their teaching and social work and at the same time cooperative in the in-service training programmes as participants. Similarly the same is true when they participate in committees are able to express their judgments and objections and have access the decision – making procedures. The researchers claimed that the participation and access to the design and evaluation of educational and in-service training activities, can decrease satisfactorily the insecurity and the stress of the participant (Capel, 1989). Unfortunately the dire centralization and lack of the academic autonomy, as mentioned before have created a further problem as it doesn't offer any possibilities for collective action and judgment of the individual choices and practice, which are deemed necessary for the improvement of the existing situation (Matsagouras, 2006). The school teacher remains isolated and consequently we does not develop, while at the same time suffers from insecurity which worsens his self – image even more.

For the collective professionalism to be effective, there should be changes not only in the educational level of the school teachers but also in the level of organization of the school system. More specifically it is imperative that school teachers become able to schedule and design the content of their educational intervention in the school setting, in a reflective critical way which will clarify the self-evident, will accept the existing choices and will continually search for

news ones. For this to be effective, it requires an educational system which will be decentralized, so that the school unit will be able to schedule and design not only the way but also the content and the reasons for this educational intervention. In the spirit of collective professionalism, school teachers should participate in the shaping and designing of the educational policy of the country.

Another issue pertaining to the low social esteem of the school teacher is the poor communication policy of their worker Union (Pigiaki, 2000). School teacher should their work and highlight how critical their work is, that is the socialization of the young people, their future in the job market. This can be achieved through the use of any available form of press and the Internet.

In-service training programmes have not been attentive to these needs of the teachers and have grossly overlooked their effects, which resulted in low-esteem to continue to exist among large numbers of teachers. The designers of in-service training programmes have limited their goal to disseminate new knowledge and contemporary scientific approaches, which are obscure to teachers (who are not researchers). This fact did not in the least improve the way teachers perceive themselves.

The non-participation of the teachers of the in-service training programmes in the shaping materialization and evaluation of the offered programmes, along with the lectures form the chair of some University professors, increased the negative feelings of the participants.

The In-service training programmes that we have so far examined should develop a more holistic nature, that will be relative to the needs of the teachers. Naturally nobody could question the need for the school teachers to become familiar with the new scientific facts and the developments in the research of the field of Education. However, in our opinion this is inadequate, if in-service training efforts are not accompanied by a carefully designed psychological and andragogical (andragogy is a greek word that has been established as a term referring to principles and methods of the teaching of adults) support, together with more such programmes which will target the parents and whoever is interested, sabbaticals and appropriate graduate studies. Teachers should take the place they deserve in society and they should realized that they are the ones who will materialize the ambitious plans of the scientist researchers and politicians.

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The education of future educators –Pre-school teachers in the Pedagogical Schools through their own perspective:

A pan-Hellenic research

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Abstract

The educational preconditions of educators – nursery school teachers have a basic scientific background which students acknowledge; yet they also expect its continuous orientation towards recent knowledge and the recent social developments. A more specialized education is required whereby it can meet the increasing demands of the educational practice since this only partly seems to be achieved. There is a dominant viewpoint that there is some kind of relationship between the established, the organisational, the material and the personal preconditions of education from the one side and the opportunity to make innovative changes on the other side. If they do not constitute an impediment, the existing educational preconditions obstruct the change of the educators' education difficult as far as the content and the cooperation is concerned. The development of the programme of studies of future nursery school teachers is not only a matter of one team but an issue for all those involved.

Introduction

If someone was to study the new curricula of preschool and primary school education they would realize that the demands educators are faced with are multifaceted.¹⁰ This implies and requires early childhood educators to have and to demonstrate skills of high standard. Subsequently there is speculation on whether the Pedagogical Departments will continue to provide these skills to their students.

Based on this speculation we investigated and analyzed the views students have of their education in the Pedagogical departments in Greece. In the context of this talk, we present only some of our research results. Specifically, we will refer to the sociological characteristics of the students who participated in our research, as well as to the issue concerning the

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¹⁰ Here we refer to the public discussion about the analytical programs of early childhood education but also to the general discussion about education.

content of their educational studies in the Pedagogical departments of Preschool Education.

Preschool Pedagogy and the Education of Pre-primary School Teachers

The developmental level of pre-school children's social education as well as the education of the Pre primary School Teachers today can be understood if seen through a historical perspective (Heinsohn, 1971, p.21). The Programme of Studies concerning the education of Pre-primary School Teachers today does not include any information about the historic foundation on which the contents of education lie. Such an approach, which is not historically sound, can only partly help us understand the essence and the function of the socio-pedagogical practice in Pre-primary Schools, as well as the education of primary and Pre-primary School Teachers in the Pedagogical Departments.

The time-frame and the understanding of the possible developments in the context of a pedagogical practice under reform, consider that the education of pre-primary educators is necessary and presupposes an analysis of the historical developments.

Yet, most often, these endeavors fall short of such theoretical perspectives. A synopsis of the historical development of the pedagogical practice and the relative progress of education cannot be successful if we move away from the social and economic developments of the time. Similarly, we cannot expect a progress in the education of pre-service educators – primary school teachers separately from the structure and the reality of the existing socio-pedagogical practice, since the trend in the development of education is mostly orientated towards a single direction. In the context of this talk we will limit ourselves to the development of certain aspects in the children's pedagogy outside the family and to the Pre-primary School Teachers, while any existing social background of the preschool pedagogy will emerge only to the extent that the required level of remarks – interpretation of education allows.

The evolution of Preschool Education and the Education of Pre-service School Teachers.

Concerning the historical development of the preschool pedagogy, we will specifically focus on the most profound socio-economic, socio-political reasons, since they have greatly influenced the establishment of preschool institutions as well as the preschool pedagogy in general. The origins of children's pedagogy outside the family go back to the Industrial revolution (European origins), (Bernstorff, Guenter, Kreckler, 1969, p. 185). Initially, the aim of

these institutions was not to contribute to the personality of the children, but mainly to offer care to the "human force under construction" while at the same time aim to prevent future social turmoil so that people accepted the rules and values relevant to the socio-political power relationships of that time (Hoffmann, 1971).

Initially, there was the type of «child care institution», which continued to exist and still exists to a great extent even today in the form of nursery school.

The character of this "child care institution" had to adjust to the changing social conditions (Krecker, 1971). The "nursery school" continued to exist mostly as an institution providing child care and not as an institution for pedagogical support. First such institutions in the first stages of their operation, prepared children for a statistically predetermined course of life while those in charge of this preparation of children were women with no experience or women with little experience and very little training (Wolke, 1805a, p. 20).

Yet, as time progressed, the social relationships were changing and this change demanded a more specialized education for childcare workers.

In order for the "Pre-primary School Teachers" to meet the demands of the nurture character of their work, their education was "broadened" mainly with being taught a series of subjects mainly of religious content (Teaching Manual..., 1859). This welfare policy of the state continued until the 1960's with expanding the capacity of the Pre-primary Schools to accept more students – both on a European level and in Greece – mainly after the 1950's when the huge wave of internal immigration occurred (Charitos, 1996). For the lower social class there was initially no need for education outside the family. Gradually though, the nursery school became an institution which provided supplementary education to that of the family with a special meaning. In order for the nursery school to meet the above demands, it did not need to have a custody character but also to guide and promote the multi-sided development of the abilities and skills that children possessed (Froebel, 1951, Bd.1, p.31).

Froebel's model for a nursery school was based on this promoted perspective, and the implementation of that model moved the nursery school away from the type of 'care institution' (Froebel, 1951, Bd.1, p.31). His effort was to set the pedagogical responsibilities at the center of the preschool pedagogy and to train Pre-primary School Teachers to a higher level so as to obtain multi-sided education, well-grounded general knowledge, diverse theoretical views, special knowledge, practical skills, love, understanding, cognitive, emotional and communicative abilities, which are skills that are not enhanced even

today (Froebel, 1951). The education of Pre-primary School Teachers remained, in terms of its duration and content of socio-pedagogically orientated. The pre-service educators' training "schools" belonged not to the pedagogical but mainly to the home economics departments and to the departments of social care (Handbuch 1963, p.119ff, Antoniou, 1974, pp. 312-315 and pp. 345-349).

The development of preschool pedagogies was relatively alienated from the pedagogical science. Considered as being a surrogate mother, the nursery school teacher did not need to have the same education with the pre school teacher (Keine, 1932, Spalte, 5-11/10). The nursery school teacher had to unravel her abilities as a woman and her motherly characteristics, such as love and care for the child (Krecker, 1971, p.37, Papadopoulos, 1864, p. 342/27-5-1864). The urban-liberals believed that through preschool education, as the first level of a unified system of education, preschool children could be given more equal opportunities (Wolke, 1805a, 1805b). The theoretical approaches pertaining to this direction were those of the socialist pedagogues (for example this of Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels), yet, none of these had any impact on the development of preschool pedagogy (Vogt, 1972, Liegle' 1973b, p. 81ff).

From this very short historical presentation-analysis it can be concluded that from very early, some patterns, functions and forms of preschool education were developed, which influenced the progress of the discussion about preschool pedagogy up to date. This becomes evident in the contemporary criticism which is evident in any discussion concerning the new pedagogy plans for the compulsory attendance in the nursery school, for converting nursery school to a school, for developing new curricula in the fields of preschool and primary school education and for the arguments concerning the relationship between school and nursery school. The basic problems in the pre-service educators' education relate to the historical development such as the interference of the state, the incorporation of schools specializing in women studies, the separation between the pedagogical and social aspects of education, the level and status of education, the goal and emphasis contents, the relationship between theory and practice, and the question of the didactic and methodology of education (Charitos, 1996).

During the 1970's, the importance of preschool education was recognized completely through research in the sciences of pedagogy and the new knowledge greatly influenced the political-educational discussion. Yet, the public interest seems to be geared towards one direction and aims mainly towards making Pre-primary Schools more available, while it is not interested

in the re-shaping of the content or having better educated Pre-primary School Teachers.

The demands of the educational associations though, not only in Europe but also in Greece, for a unified and scientific base of the education of the pre-service educators – Pre-primary School Teachers have led to the foundation of the Pedagogical Departments in our country¹¹. Despite the common basis of the education that pre-service educators – Pre-primary School Teachers have, there are differences in each Pedagogical Department.

Today there are nine Pedagogical Departments of Preschool Education with different study programmes from which educators – Pre-primary School Teachers graduate. A closer look at the Programmes of Study shows that the four year studies in the different Pedagogical Departments have been shaped differently as far as their content is concerned. The number of academic subjects, or the importance that some subjects have over others, is different in each department and there are many variations. As far as the content of education is concerned, there are several subjects that are not taught, while others are especially meaningful for the education of Pre-primary School Teachers. Based on the great significance that is placed on the practical training, there are more variations in the different Pedagogical Department. More specifically there are so to speak “deficiencies” related to the model of education that each Department offers.

Within the Pedagogical Departments there is a “deficit” among departments concerning the active communication and discussion about the changes, the reform proposals, as well as the exchange of experiences and so on. Based on the results of several studies about reforming the preschool pedagogy to meet the high standards of pedagogical practice for the preschool teachers and their gradual specialization, there should be a demand for a continuous reform in education. In order to discover new starting points, new potentials and the extent to which the necessary changes can reach, while developing reform proposals that can be implemented, there should be a historical analysis of the increasing demands of the preschool teachers. At the same time there should be a demand for recording the existing facts and conditions of the educational reality today.

¹¹ Law, N. 1268/1982.

The concerns of this research

The social and economic changes that take place on a national as well as on an international level create a new educational reality. In order for educators to be able to meet the challenges of the new reality there is a need for changes in their education, so that they will be able to adjust to the new demands.

The educator is a determining factor in the processes of learning. The question that arises is how we can ensure educational programmes that foster a scientifically grounded education, programmes that will take into consideration not only the meaning of educational practice and the existing social and economic reality but also the analysis of the social developments. The concern for the "ideal educator" is continuously present, yet on a research level, one could argue that there is a shortage of research necessary to create a basis for justified educational proposals.

On the grounds of this speculation we investigated what future pre-service educators – Pre-primary School Teachers think about the content of their studies, their education, their training and their professional practice at the Pedagogical Departments and more specifically their opportunities (the content of their training) for practical training. Their views and arguments about the improvement of their education emerged through this study. In the section that we will present in this discussion we explored how students evaluate the organization of their studies, the courses, the pedagogical dimension of their courses, the aims of their education, the skills they need to have as Pre-primary School Teachers and the teaching methods.

Methodology of the research

In the framework of our research, we attempted, with the help of a semi-structured questionnaire with 72 multiple choice questionnaire¹², which included a series of sections, to see the students' own perspective about how they evaluate the content of their studies, their education and their professional training at the Pedagogical Departments. The sample of the research was 306 students who were in their final year of studies, from seven different Pedagogical Departments (nine in total; we did not include the Pedagogical Departments of the University of Thessaly and the Aegean University due to lack of communication with them). The sample of the research can be considered as being representative according to statistical rules, since we had received questionnaires from nearly all the Departments

¹² An open questionnaire-interview with so many matters would be impossible to be managed or controlled. For that reason we chose a semi-structured questionnaire.

of Preschool Education that teach pre-service Pre-primary School Teachers and the number of students participated was very large. (From the 950 students 306 responded).

As a criterion for selecting the sample we used the number of Pedagogical Departments (seven out of the nine Pedagogical Departments) and the 20 to 30 percent of the total number of students who were in their senior Year of studies. However the extent to which the sample was representative was not the only issue for us. What was also interesting in the framework of our research was the range and plurality of the answers. Based on this pursuit, we considered it important to present our questions in such a way so as to have the largest possible representation of the educational reality existing today amongst the future Pre-primary School Teachers and of their views about the reform proposals. This enables us to claim that we have a picture on a national scale, and to support our proposals about the educational changes.

The questionnaires were sent to the teaching staff of the seven Pedagogical Departments and more specifically to educators of Preschool education who had the responsibility for the Teaching Methodology course, to those who were responsible for the Didactic Methodology course and to those responsible for the practical training of the students. The research took place in the end of May 2010 just before the end of the spring semester and right after students had completed their theoretical training, along with their Practical Training in Pre-primary Schools. The statistical analysis was made with the help of the statistical programme SPSS which yielded the frequencies, which helped us have a picture of the student's views about the content of their studies and at the same time to interpret and discuss the results of our research.

Presentation of the research data

As already mentioned, the sample of our research comprised of 306 students from seven Pedagogical Departments (Athens, Alexandroupolis, Thessaloniki, Ioannina, Patras, Rethimnon, Florina) who answered almost all the questions. Their answers helped us interpret not only the topics concerning our research but also to collect useful information about a change in the reality of the education of the future Pre-primary School Teachers. In table 1 we present the Pedagogical Departments from which the data for our research were collected.

Cities with Pedagogical Schools – students

The social characteristics of the students

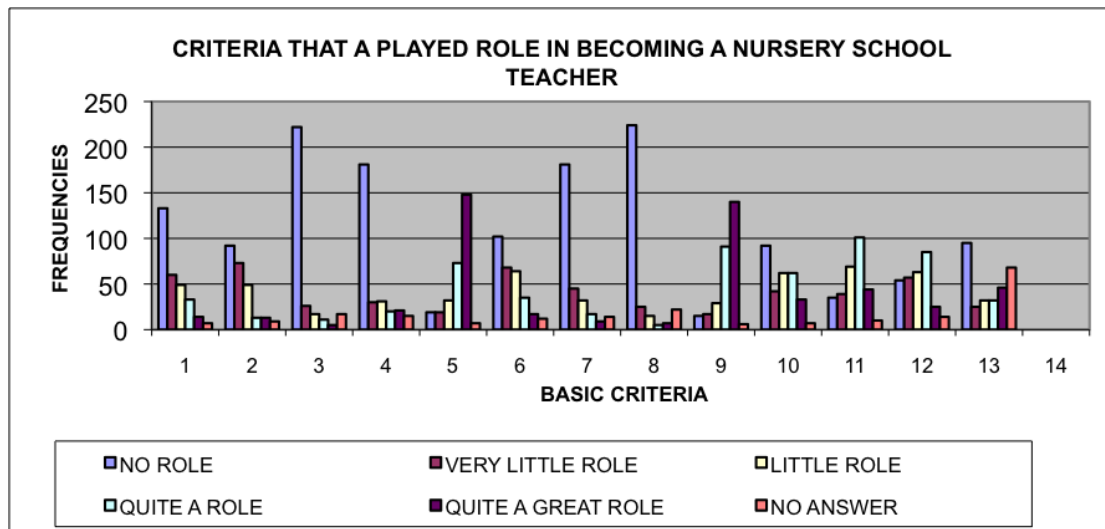
The social features of the students who comprised our sample (306 students), that is gender, semester of studies, their parents' profession, their parents' education, the criteria for their choice to become Pre-primary School Teachers, the scientific fields they were mostly interested in, were considered important for us because people's views are influenced by their social background and at the same time we were able to interpret their views about the content of their studies. As far as the students' gender is concerned it can be assumed from the data of the research, that the presence of females is greater (94,4%), while the number of males is very small only 1,6%. Most of the students were in their final year (72,5%) and the average age was about 23 years.

Their parents' profession was mostly – civil servants- (father 26,8%, mother 19,9%), self employed (father 24,8% mother 10,1%), and employees in the private sector (father 15,7% mother 15,5%). Concerning their parent's studies 38,2% of them had graduated from high school, 16% were University graduates, 15,4% had primary school education, 13,4% were junior high school graduates, and 7,5% graduates from Technological Education Institutions TEI. We asked students if their wish to study in a preschool School education Department was their first, second or third choice. Only 34% of the students appear to have stated that their first choice was the Preschool education Department while 46% answered that this was their second choice and 29% that it was their third choice. Furthermore the sample was asked about which was the criterion which led them to choose pre-school education as their future profession. Among the criteria were the influence by their parents, the status of their profession, not having other choice, the distance of the university from their home, the profession itself, their friends, the course of their studies, their pedagogical studies, the job, the educator's income, the long vacations and other criteria. Results are presented in Table 2.

		no role		very little role		little role		quite a role		quite a great role		no answer	
A/A	Criteria	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Parents' wish	133	43,5	60	19,6	49	16	33	10,8	14	4,6	7	2,3
2	Professional status	92	30,1	73	23,9	49	16	13	4,2	13	4,2	9	2,9
3	What else to study	222	72,5	26	8,5	17	5,6	11	3,6	5	1,6	17	5,6
4	Department next to my city	181	59,2	30	9,8	31	10,1	20	6,5	21	6,9	15	4,9
5	I wish to become an educator	19	6,2	19	6,2	32	10,5	73	23,9	148	48,4	7	2,3
6	Friends' advice	102	33,3	68	22,2	64	20,9	35	11,4	17	5,6	12	3,9
7	Duration of studies	181	59,2	45	14,7	32	10,5	17	5,6	9	2,9	14	4,6
8	Did not know what else to study	224	73,2	25	8,2	15	4,9	5	1,6	7	2,3	22	7,2
9	Pedagogical studies	15	4,9	17	5,6	29	9,5	91	29,7	140	45,8	6	2
10	Long holiday	92	30,1	42	13,7	62	20,3	62	20,3	33	10,8	7	2,3
11	Opportunity to work in the public sector	35	11,4	39	12,7	69	22,5	101	33	44	14,4	10	3,4
12	Satisfactory income	54	17,6	57	18,6	63	20,6	85	27,8	25	8,2	14	4,6
13	Other criteria	95	31	25	8,2	32	10,5	32	10,5	46	15	68	22,2

Table 2 criteria for the choice of studies

Teacher Education in Modern Era



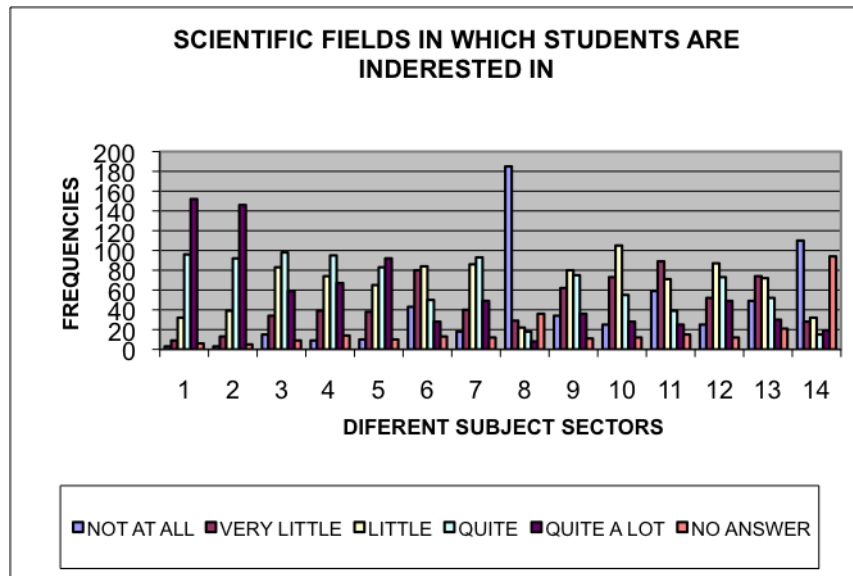
At the same time it seems that for this choice that they made a great role played also the following: the status of the profession of the educator (66,9%), that they had no other choice (72,5%), the distance of the Department from their home (40%), the wish to become educators (almost 72%), their friends (66,7%), the duration of studies (40%), their pedagogical studies (70,5%), the job that they will have as preschool teachers in the public sector (88,6%), the income of the educator (82,4%), the long holidays (51%), and other criteria (69%) that they do not name. The evaluation of the reasons behind their choice of the Pedagogical Department of Preschool Education seems to have been influenced by a wide range of reasons. The most important reasons were the appreciation they had for the profession of the educator – pre school teacher and their interest in pedagogical studies that seems to be influenced by their idealistic aspirations (work with children) and that it satisfied their professional desires.

The content of studies and the education of future pre school teachers.

In order for us to comprehend which are the scientific fields that students were interested in and the ones they were not interested in, we asked them to answer the following question "what scientific fields do you appreciate the most". Results are presented in Table 3:

A/A	CRITERIA	No role		very little role		little role		quite a role		quite a great role		no answer	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Pedagogical subjects	3	1	9	2,9	32	10,5	96	31,4	152	49,7	6	2
2	Psychological subjects	3	1	13	4,2	39	12,7	92	30,1	146	47,7	5	1,6
3	Sociological subjects	15	4,9	34	11,1	83	27,1	98	32	59	19,3	9	2,9
4	Professional practice	9	2,9	39	12,7	74	24,2	95	31	67	21,9	14	4,6
5	Arts – forms of life	10	3,3	38	12,4	65	21,2	83	27,1	92	30,1	10	3,3
6	Educational policy	43	14,1	80	26,1	84	27,5	50	16,3	28	9,2	13	4,2
7	Social subjects	18	5,9	40	13,1	86	28,1	93	30,4	49	16	12	3,9
8	No sector	185	60,5	29	9,5	22	7,2	18	5,9	8	2,6	36	11,8
9	Didactic methodology	34	11,1	62	20,3	80	26,1	75	24,5	36	11,8	11	3,6
10	Educational technology	25	8,2	73	23,9	105	34,3	55	18	28	9,2	12	3,9
11	Research methodology	59	19,3	89	29,1	71	23,2	39	12,7	25	8,2	15	4,9
12	Methodology of pedagogical research	25	8,2	52	17	87	28,4	73	23,9	49	16	12	3,9
13	Specialized scientific staff	49	16	74	24,2	72	23,5	52	17	30	9,8	21	6,9
14	Other	110	35,9	28	9,2	32	10,5	15	4,9	19	6,2	94	30,7

Table 3. Scientific fields in which students are interested in



Graphic 3

From Table 3 it can be concluded that students seem to be mainly interested in pedagogical courses (90%), psychological courses (almost 80%), in the methodology of pedagogical research (almost 60%), and in topics of professional practice (almost 70%). They seem to be less interested in arts (almost 58%), in social issues (almost 52%), in the educational policy (almost 26%), in didactic methodology (almost 36%), in educational technology (almost 27%), in the methodology of pedagogical research (almost 50%), and in research methodology (almost 21%).

It seems that many students showed an interest not only in pedagogical and psychological issues but also in other scientific fields. We believe this to be positive for their professional development and their reactions towards the pedagogical practice. We could view this not only as a kind of orientation towards learning and of the interests of the students but also as an important criterion for their choice on the contents of education.

Viewpoints on the content of studies

Next we will attempt to outline what is desired and what the reality in the teacher's education is in the Pedagogical Departments nowadays, while at the same time we will attempt to illustrate the evaluations of the students about the content and the methodology of their studies. In general, the provided education of pre-service educators – Pre-primary School Teachers in the Pedagogical Departments is not evaluated negatively by students (Table 4),

yet they request changes, since when questioned on what they mostly agree with they answer the following:

3 VIEWPOINTS ON THE CONTENT OF STUDIES		Yes		No		No answer	
A/A	Beliefs	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	The studies in the Department are well organized, no changes are necessary	16	5,2	272	88,9	18	5,9
2	The studies in the Department are generally good, yet changes are necessary	249	81,4	38	12,4	19	6,2
3	The studies in the Department are considered to be old fashioned and do not correspond to contemporary demands and therefore need to be changed	18	5,9	270	88,2	18	5,9
4	The studies in the Department are considered as completely old fashioned, a simple change cannot meet the recent demands, an in-depth change of the studies is required	5	1,6	283	92,5	18	5,9

Table 4. Viewpoints on the content of studies and education

First point of view: in answering the question “the studies in your Department are well organized, no changes are necessary”, only 5,2% agree with this belief, while 88,9% ask changes to be made. Second point of view: In answering the question “in general the studies in your Department are good, yet changes are necessary”, 81,4% of the students agree with this belief, yet the percentage that does not wish any changes is 5,2%.

Third point of view: In answering the question “the studies in your Department in many aspects do not meet contemporary demands and should be changed”, 88,2% of the students agree with this view, and only 12,4% disagree since they believe that their studies are old fashioned and that everything needs to be changed. Fourth point of view: In answering the question “the studies in your Department are completely old fashioned, simple changes cannot meet the demands, in-depth changes in the studies

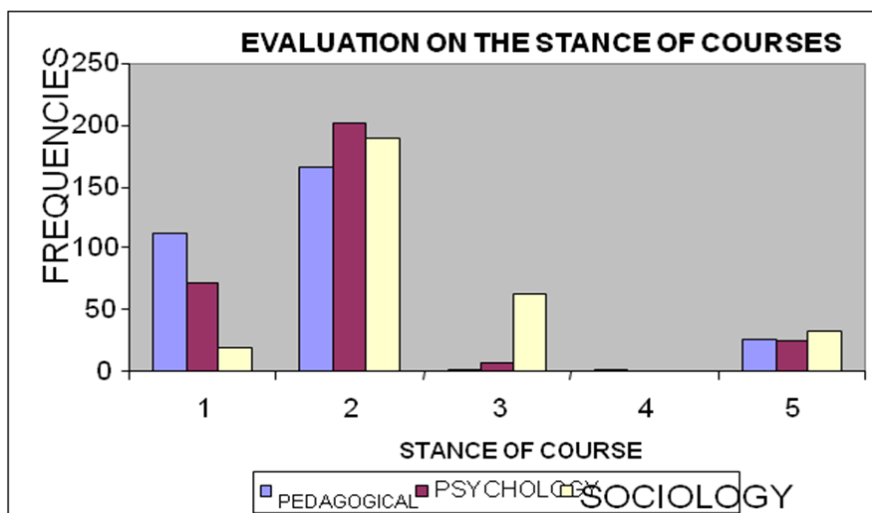
are necessary» 1,5% agree with this view, while 92,5% disagree. We could argue that we did not see any discontentment about the content of studies on the part of students who study at the Pedagogical Departments, yet they suggest that changes should be made so that the content meets the current social and educational developments. The reasons can be attributed to different factors that have to do with the content of studies and the teaching Methods.

Evaluating the organisation of the courses

Each Pedagogical Department has its own Programme of Studies in which one can see the aims, the dimension and the direction of the content of the educational studies of the educators – Pre-primary School Teachers. Each Programme of Studies contains a series of courses which comprise the content of the educators’ – Pre-primary School Teachers’ education. We asked students to tell us their ideas about the content of their education. More specifically, we asked them to evaluate the organization, the line of directions and the teaching techniques for the courses, based on their demands for a scientifically grounded education (Tables 5, 6, 7).

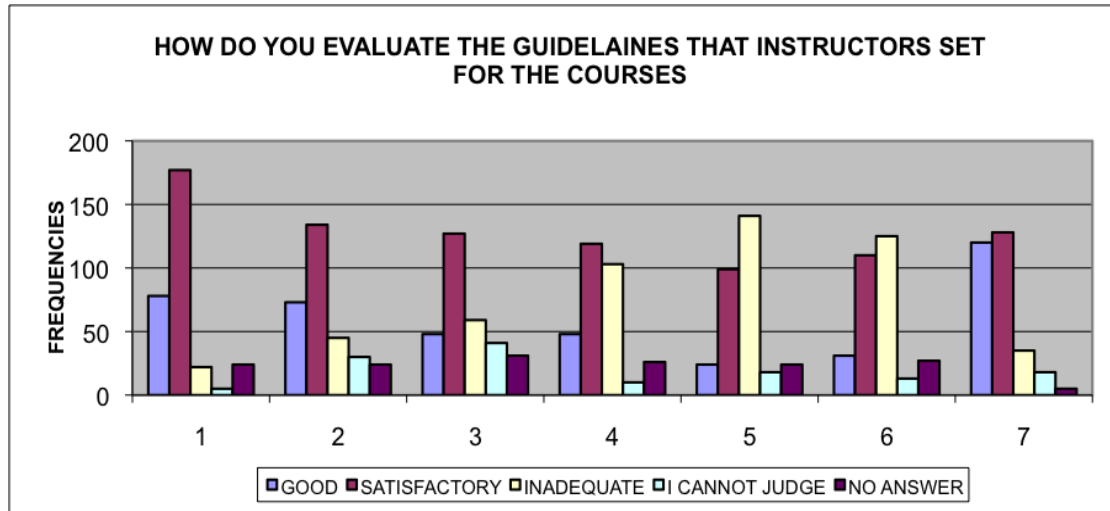
How do you evaluate how your courses stand in the following areas: pedagogics, psychology, sociology in the framework of the general education in your Department		Pedagogics		Psychology		Sociology	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
A/A	Course evaluation						
1	perfectly incorporated	112	36,6	72	23,5	20	6,5
2	incorporated	166	54,2	202	66	190	62,1
3	foreign to education	1	0,3	7	2,3	64	20,9
4	other	1	0,3				
5	no answer	26	8,5	25	8,2	32	10,5
6	total	306	100	306	100	306	100

Table 5 Evaluating pre-service teachers’ viewpoint about the connection of courses



HOW DO YOU EVALUATE THE GUIDE LINES THAT INSTRUCTORS SET FOR THEIR COURSES GUIDELINES		GOOD		SATISFACTORY		INADEQUATE		I CANNOT JUDGE		NO ANSWER	
A/A	Guidelines	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	PEDAGOGICAL DIMENSION	78	25,5	177	57,8	22	7,2	5	1,6	24	7,8
2	SCIENTIFIC GROUNDING	73	23,9	134	43,8	45	14,7	30	9,8	24	7,8
3	ADJUSTMENT TO THE CURRENT RESEARCH KNOWLEDGE	48	15,7	127	41,5	59	19,3	41	13,4	31	10,1
4	ADJUSTED TO THE PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICE	48	15,7	119	38,9	103	33,7	10	3,3	26	8,5
5	RELATION WITH OTHER COURSES	24	7,8	99	32,4	141	46,1	18	5,9	24	7,8
6	HELP IN WRITING PEDAGOGICAL PAPER IN THE NURSERY SCHOOL	31	10,1	110	35,9	125	40,8	13	4,2	27	8,8
7	CHOICE ON COURSE CONTENT	120	39,2	128	41,8	35	11,4	18	5,9	5	1,7

Table 6: Guidelines for the courses (from the instructors)



Graphic 6

For evaluating the position of courses like Pedagogics, Psychology, and Sociology in the framework of the general education obtained in the Pedagogical Departments, students present Pedagogics to be more incorporated, while less so are the Psychology and Sociology courses (Table 5).

Students' evaluation, as can be concluded from Table 6, presents a picture from which it can be inferred that they are relatively happy with the pedagogical dimension of the course content (25,5% good, 57,8% satisfactory, 7,2% inadequate, 9,5% I cannot judge), the scientific grounding (23,9% good, 43,8% satisfactory, 14,7% inadequate, 9,8% I cannot judge), adjustment to the current knowledge (15,7% good, 41,5% satisfactory, 19,3% inadequate, 13,4% I cannot judge), the adjustment to the pedagogical practice (15,7% good, 38,9% satisfactory, 33,7% inadequate, 3,3% I cannot judge), the relationship with other courses (7,8% good, 32,4% satisfactory, 46,1 inadequate, 5,9% I cannot judge), and the help with writing a pedagogical paper (10,1% good, 35,9% satisfactory, 40,8% inadequate, 4,2% I cannot judge).

MATTERS THAT SHOULD BE GIVEN EMPHASIS ON IN YOUR STUDIES		CHOICE		NO CHOICE		NO ANSWER	
A/A	POSITIONS	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	HIGH LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL	99	32,4	180	58,8	27	8,8
2	SCIENTIFICALLY GROUNDED EDUCATION	64	20,9	220	71,9	22	7,2
3	EDUCATION CLOSE TO PRACTICE	239	78,1	45	14,7	22	7,2
4	IMPROVED THEORETICAL EDUCATION	40	13,1	244	79,7	22	7,2
5	INCORPORATION OF THE DIFFERENT COURSES IN EDUCATION	117	38,2	167	54,6	22	7,2
6	DIVERSIFIED EDUCATION	48	15,7	236	77,1	22	7,2
7	IMPROVED SPECIALIZATION OF EDUCATION	116	37,9	168	54,9	22	7,2
8	BETTER INFORMATION ABOUT THE OTHER PEDAGOGICAL DEPARTMENTS OF THE COUNTRY	79	25,8	205	67	22	7,2

Table 7: Emphasis on the studies (from the students)

The above matters, but more importantly the adjustment to pedagogical practice, the relationship with other courses and the help provided for the pedagogical practice are rated more negatively than the rest of the issues, and the same is true for previous answers.

The students would like the different courses to be more related with one another, to be connected pedagogically and to be able to use this knowledge in pedagogical practice. Students' critical attitude towards the content of their studies can be further seen from their answers to the question: "in which of the following do you place more emphasis in your studies (high level of education, scientifically grounded education, education close to practice, improved theoretical education, better incorporation to the courses in education, improved specialization). 78,1% wish to have an education that is related to practice, general education courses that are incorporated to the programme of their education (38,2%), 38,9% ask further specialization and only 13.1 % insist on improved theoretical education.

Proposals for restructuring Pre-primary School Teachers' education in terms of the content

In general, it could be argued that the typical preconditions for education in many Pedagogical Departments do not meet the expectations. The relationship between the established organizational, material and personal requirements of education on the one side and the opportunities for innovative changes on the other, can lead us to the conclusion that they may be not an obstacle, but they surely make things difficult for a change in education, in terms of the content and of the cooperation to be made. For improving and changing the external educational requirements, we should initially set a minimum of prerequisites towards a new beginning for the contents of the educational procedure.

The required typical educational preconditions depend on the expectations (goals) concerning the contents of the education.

So far the instigations (incitements) about the improvement of the organizational, material and personal preconditions as well as the proposals that follow have been designed not only in these frameworks but also in relation to our experience from the communication and the cooperation we had with students and instructors. It should be emphasized that the development of the content of studies (Curricula) cannot depend on the positions of one group only. In order to change the Programme of Studies we should take into account the views of all those involved. Our proposals mainly concern general positions in relation to preschool teachers' content of studies and at the same time with outlining the existing views on certain issues and positions about the change of the content.

Based on the multiple dispersion of the education we should not focus on the differences but on the frameworks of an educational change, we should ask questions so that we can together rise above the today's reality. As for the basic scientific fields, that is pedagogics, preschool pedagogics, psychology, sociology, didactic methodology and so on we propose to be expanded. Today it seems that we are threatened by a one-sided direction in education since we only limit ourselves to only transmitting knowledge without promoting learning procedures to a satisfactory degree, like for example the promotion of emotional and social intelligence and the education of behavior management. The pedagogical, psychological theories of learning, the psychoanalytic and socio-theoretical knowledge should not only be learned but also used wisely for educating preschool teachers.

The educational content should be chosen and structured in such a way so as to allow those being educated to receive the information themselves, to have self-determination, the ability to cooperate within teams, to create, to take

personal initiatives, to be ready to negotiate with solidarity and to have critical ability when they need to react. Such educational procedures can shape the pedagogical work with children in action accordingly. Shared completion of theory and practical education teaching on the one side and practical use and control on the other. The Pedagogical Departments ought to support innovative proposals.

The degradation of the contents of studies in many and often irrelevant courses, the lack of coordination of the subject matters, the quantitative transmission of education have led to today's education and into a waste of our resources. Students are and feel overwhelmed. It seems almost impossible, with such a plethora of subjects to achieve any kind of coordination as long as there is this strict division between subject matters that are taught at specific hours during the week. We need to promote a more flexible organisation so as to ensure that—according to the demands and the necessity— we can have specific teaching material from many courses and process them together so that the participation for each course is different. The great number of courses should be incorporated (limited) to one area of specialisation.

We should move away from the separation of the contents into courses and restructure the contents of studies based on the views about the issues and problems (for example art courses – creativity). We should create the opportunities for other forms of communication between the teaching staff, so that there are lectures that are presented in cooperation between the lecturers and pertain to many areas of problems or large groups of them. Finally, it would be particularly valuable if we held a common discussion of the different results, after we incorporated the different special talks.

Diversity does not mean promoting the break up of education but instead the creation of common grounds for a more focused, more intense and more well-grounded debate about the education of teachers. Restructuring education in terms of its content should go alongside with a change in the forms of education and the methods for learning and teaching. The methods of learning ought to become more flexible. A more interesting, more experiential learning process ought to replace the appropriate learning in the future.

Methods of teaching like the following are of special value:

- Group teaching (team-teaching) (Dechert, 1972)
- Procedures oriented in designing programmes (Projekt- orientierte Verfahren) (Gehrmann, Bruhn, Wildt, 1973, Gehrmann, Bruhn, Wildt, 1974, p.49).

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- Role games and design games (Plan -und Rollenspiele) (Pluskwa 1975, H. 2, s.142 /142-149).
- Micro-teaching and behaviour exercises (Micro- teaching und Verhaltenstraining) (Niessen , 1973, H. 2, s. 297-302, Wagner, 1973, H.2, s. 303-308).

The above proposals for restructuring preschool teachers' education but also education in general are becoming more and more an incentive for acquiring a new viewpoint. The educational contents ought to create more possibilities to enable students to learn not only on the cognitive but also on the emotional and social level. Producing higher educational standards in the studies of preschool teachers does not mean having a one-sided unlimited theoretical dominance of the contents of studies but rather a more intensive, a more social and a closer to practice education. This criticism does not aim to discard or to dispute the existing education in the Preschool Departments but instead to make us speculate on the steps for changing and improving what is possible and perhaps imperative.

Conclusions

The educational preconditions of educators – Pre-primary School Teachers have a basic scientific background which students acknowledge; yet they also expect that there is a continuous orientation towards contemporary knowledge and the recent social developments. A more specialized education is required whereby it can meet the increasing demands of the educational practice since it seems to be partly achieved. There is a dominant viewpoint that there is some kind of relationship between the organisational, material and personal conditions of education from the one side and the opportunity to make innovative changes on the other. If these aspects do not constitute an impediment, they at least obstruct the possible changes in the educators' education as far as the content and cooperation are concerned. The development of the programme of studies of the future Pre-primary School Teachers is not only a matter of one group but an issue that concerns all those involved.

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Investigating teachers' excellence in CyprusGeorgia Pashiardis¹³, Petros Pashiardis¹⁴**Introduction**

A century ago effective teachers were judged primarily on their kindness as persons and secondarily on their behavior in the classroom. This approach did not focus on objective standards and thus gave way to another approach which identifies specific psychological characteristics such as attitudes, personality and experience that are related to teachers' effectiveness in class (Borich, 1999; Borich, 2011; Malikow 2005; McBer 2000). Even though the psychological characteristics are important factors in determining a teacher's behavior in class, they are not related to teacher-student interaction during the learning process. Therefore, in the last two decades, the emphasis was placed on this interaction which is influenced by teachers' philosophies and practices about teaching and the teaching profession (Darling- Hammond 2000; Good and Brophy, 1997).

Teaching is a way of life and a lifetime commitment. Persons in this profession believe that all students are learners who deserve a high quality education, and therefore the teacher's role is to help each one of them discover their greatest potential and be prepared for the twenty-first century (Lezotte, 1997). In order to help students reach and unveil this potential, teachers should cultivate and model necessary traits in their classroom and become the role models for their students.

At the same time, teaching is a demanding, time-consuming profession that requires patience, commitment and continuous growth in order to face the everyday challenges of the school life. Teachers and administrators must take the initiative to strengthen and improve the teaching profession on a daily basis and support the high standards of the profession. In-service seminars and courses about the latest best practices and strategies, peer mentoring, collaboration between new and future teachers and a number of other avenues will allow teachers to keep current on educational issues so that they can become the best teachers possible.

The teaching profession and teachers' philosophy about teaching became the key ideas in this study that took place in Cyprus. Teachers were asked to present their own practices and philosophies, which are representative of them, as well as their ideas about improving the teaching profession.

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Specifically, in this article, the educational context of Cyprus will first be presented followed by a presentation of the information gathered from excellent teachers on issues that are related to their philosophy of teaching, and their views about the teaching profession. An attempt was made to:

- specify the most important personal traits a teacher should cultivate as well as the key teachers' qualities in the classroom,
- identify significant ways in which the teaching profession can be strengthened and improved.

The Cyprus context

Cyprus has a total population of about 738,000 with about 345 public and 24 private primary schools. Public schools are mainly financed from public funds, while private schools raise their funds primarily from tuition fees. The population of public schools has been very homogeneous up until the entry of Cyprus into the European Union which led to a rapid increase in multiculturalism and multilingualism.

The educational administration in the Cyprus educational system is highly centralized and bureaucratic. Policy making rests with the Council of Ministers. Overall responsibility for education rests within the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC). The MOEC is responsible for the administration of education laws, and in cooperation with the Office of the Attorney General, the preparation of education bills. There are no local boards in charge of formulating policy or for monitoring its implementation. The MOEC also prescribes syllabi, curricula and textbooks. Appointments, secondments, transfers and discipline of the teaching personnel and the inspectorate are the responsibility of the Education Service Commission. Principals are not consulted about the appointment of personnel or in the allocation of money to their schools. Since the content of the curriculum is defined by the Ministry, the principals and teachers may only give emphasis to selected goals, instructional methods or engage in European projects. Within this context, school policy on learning is depended to a great extent on the goals emphasized each year by the Ministry. Schools are also financially supported by the community and the parents' associations which usually provide funding for the enrichment of the infrastructure or for organizing school events.

At the pre-primary, primary and secondary level the overall responsibility for supervising the proper functioning of the schools rests with the inspectorate. The inspectorate has the responsibility for the implementation of the government's educational policies for curriculum development and for the

appraisal of the teaching personnel. It is also their responsibility to act as advisors and guide the teachers in improving their performance and developing professionally. To this effect, they organize educational seminars of a practical nature at least twice a year.

Success of the school mission is judged mainly through the assessment of the change in the pupils' learning and behaviour. This change is mainly observed by teachers and the principal during teaching or non teaching time at school. National standards or tests are non-existent in the Cypriot system and therefore teachers administer their own tests for assessing students. Inspection results also provide feedback as to the quality of teaching and learning. Nevertheless, there is no concrete measurement for documenting the quality of teaching and students' progress.

Methodology/Sample

For the purpose of this study, an interview questionnaire was used. The questionnaire was divided into two parts. In the first part, teachers were asked to provide some personal information (e.g., name, address, school name, major subject, etc.). In the second part, there were two open-ended questions. The first question asked respondents to identify their teaching philosophy as well as the most important traits a teacher should cultivate. The second question dealt with the topic of how the teaching profession can be further improved.

The questionnaire was sent out to forty teachers (twenty in elementary schools and twenty in secondary schools) who were teaching in public schools in Cyprus during the 2006-2007 school year in different provinces of the island. The participants in the study were teachers who were identified by a panel of inspectors from the Ministry of Education and Culture as excellent in their jobs and agreed to respond to our questions.

Specifically, the elementary school teachers taught all elementary school subjects, whereas the high school teachers had subject specializations such as Mathematics, English, Art and Music. These teachers had been employed in the public schools for several years. The vast majority of them had been teaching for over ten years. One third had between ten and fifteen years of teaching experience. About one third had between sixteen and twenty years of teaching experience. Finally, six of the forty teachers had more than twenty-six years of teaching experience. Additionally, their educational level varied. Most had attended a master's program and had earned a graduate degree in school administration, English, math/science or literature.

Presentation of Results

Teachers' Philosophy/Teachers' Traits

The first open-ended question in the questionnaire focused on the teachers' philosophy of teaching. In order to respond to this question, the participants engaged in a process of reflection to identify the most important traits that teachers possess. From their responses, it was evident that teachers considered teaching to be an honorable profession – one that sustains, perpetuates, revitalizes, develops and impacts young lives. Also, their teaching is based on the sincere belief that all children are born with gifts, talents, capacities, abilities and a desire to learn, even if it is not clearly visible. Thus, the teachers' role is to lead children to discover their talents and gifts and to impart knowledge, but most importantly, to produce lifelong learners who know how to learn. The following comment by Ms. Nance (all the name used in this paper are fictitious) can be regarded as representative of other comments:

Teachers must be steadfast, patient, and resolute in faith that all students have the capacity, ability and the desire to learn. Learning is the right of all children who need willing teachers to be there to teach and nurture them every day and to make a difference in a child's life. A sincere belief that all children can learn is crucial because teachers not only impart knowledge but more importantly they must produce lifelong learners who know how to learn.

In order to fulfill this commitment successfully and lead students to discover their abilities, all the teachers in this study explained that they cultivate certain important traits within themselves and in their students that are necessary in a productive classroom. These important traits are those of love, trust, patience and, most importantly of all, respect and acceptance. For Ms. Anderson:

The ability to inspire love for students and teaching and to model respect and subsequently to earn respect from the students are crucial in teacher-student interaction in the classroom. Love as shown by a teacher means truly caring about all aspects of a child's life. Love is an obligation to see that all academic as well as social needs be taught and mastered to the best of each student's ability.

Another teacher explained the importance of patience that a teacher and the students need to foster in classrooms. During their instructional performance, teachers incorporate patience and tolerance in order to develop a supportive relationship with their students and be able to reach all students regardless of

learning styles and social or other differences. Here is Ms. Scott's account, which is representative of the majority of the teachers responding:

Patience is more than a mere virtue for an effective teacher. Patience is one of the more difficult traits to master because not all students learn at the same rate. Some students pick up material quickly and patient teachers must provide them with enrichment. Other students take more time to learn, again requiring patient teachers who can walk these students through a challenging curriculum.

Moreover, as Ms. McDonald commented, teachers treat each one of their students with respect and teach their students that everyone is unique in their own special way. This trait is cultivated in the classroom by excellent teachers who try to establish a positive communication network between their students and themselves as they try to become aware of their students' needs. Here is her description:

Acceptance is the trait most needed by everyone in today's world. By knowing and accepting each student's strengths and weaknesses and by believing in the potential of each one, we are helping their self-imposed limits and capabilities.

However, the above traits of successful teachers are futile without nurturing their students by being fair and kind and having respect for them. By showing them kindness, by being fair with discipline and by having respect for their feelings and needs, teachers create a more positive learning environment and an atmosphere of stability that provides a feeling of safety and security and encourages student participation in whatever takes place in class and in school. When both the teacher and the student are enjoying themselves, learning becomes fun and more exciting.

Furthermore, the learning process can be more enjoyable if teachers motivate and challenge their students so they can be actively engaged in it. Motivation and challenge are considered two very important traits by the participants, and certainly teachers try to cultivate them in their classrooms. A group of teachers recalled that they incorporated effective teaching behaviors in their classroom that add excitement and motivate students according to their individual abilities. Specifically, this group stated that lesson clarity, instructional variety, teacher task orientation, engagement in the learning process and student success rate show promising relationships to desirable student performance. In the following description by Ms. Hall, which can be taken as representative of other teachers in this study, she explained what she does in her class in order to keep her students highly engaged in the

learning process, to awaken joy in creative expression and knowledge, and consequently to achieve their goals:

The student becomes the thinker, inventor, questioner, and collaborator. This requires an adjustment in the decorum of the classroom as the teacher relinquishes the role of "giver of knowledge," and adopts the visage of guide. We pose questions and then wait patiently for students' elaboration, questions and peer assessment. Important listening takes place during group conversations if the teacher creates open-ended questions and cultivates concepts. Students are encouraged to broaden their understanding of why math works, and to travel an often-erratic path to connect number concepts to the world around them. Students are required to assume authority over their explanations – or in other words: does your answer make sense? They are encouraged to unearth alternate routes, to solve problems, and to discuss possible solutions, often taking the risk for unique ideas. In our math class, we madly arrange blocks, tiles, cubes, and all of the various measurement tools to prove our points. We make noise, turn the room askew, discuss, disagree, arrive brilliantly at several answers not necessarily on cue, and all on a good day. I would not teach any other way. The students dare me to take risks I would never seize, to explore, to sacrifice to collapse and return the next day beguiled by their whimsy and endless question.

Moreover, the accomplishment of this goal, as the participants in this study argued, requires teamwork among administrators, teachers and parents and shared responsibility. Based on their responses, one can conclude that successful teachers work cooperatively with colleagues in order to be well prepared and attain the school's goals and school improvement plan. Most certainly, teachers need to share their ideas, teaching styles and successes and failures in order to precipitate more rapid improvements in education. A broad base of teacher training, strong communication skills and a practical maturity are considered vital in the art of teaching.

At the same time, teachers model an air of professionalism. Experts in all fields must stay current with innovative trends and practices. Teachers must continuously seek knowledge to impart to their students so they will become better equipped to function. As Ms. Anderson noted:

Teaching is human, capricious, impromptu, enigmatic and never quite the same twice. To do it well requires intense planning and commitment as well as multiple opportunities for students to succeed.

Strengthening the Teaching Profession/Teachers' Perceptions

In the second open-ended question, teachers were asked to identify ways that the teaching profession could be improved. In their responses, the participants stated clearly that teachers today are vital role models and counselors dispensing hope, warmth, acceptance and stability. Therefore, they must stay current and successful in the classroom. To do that well, excellent teachers believe that the power and importance of the individual educator in each and every classroom should be acknowledged and legislators, administrators and teachers should work together. Teachers who participated in the study had numerous ideas and suggestions relating to technology, teaching practices, mentoring, curricula and professional development that can improve the teaching profession.

One way that the teaching profession can be strengthened is related to training (e.g., in-service). Training keeps teachers abreast of educational and global trends and helps them to acquire knowledge and skills. Ms. Jefferson, again, stated the importance of training for developing excellent teachers:

Continuing education plays an important role for developing good teachers. Teachers should take advantage of opportunities to continue to learn and master not only the content knowledge but also the skills to deliver information in a variety of ways based on students' individual learning styles.

Participating teachers believe that technology is one area of professional development that needs to be strengthened. Integration of technology in the public classrooms, learning about computers the Internet and multi-media software in workshops and seminars is necessary for improving teachers' skills. Again, Ms. Brown explained:

Teachers should have the opportunity to become familiar with the full array of technology. Teachers need to know about the computer software that is available in their content area, the uses of the Internet, distance learning, and laser discs. Moreover, the teachers should be actively involved in the planning and selection process of hardware and software systems helping students to remain technologically current.

Also, faculty members could be given time to share their skills and knowledge with each other. Sharing knowledge and expertise about instructional and classroom management strategies and methods is a significant influence on teachers', and consequently students', learning (Darling-Hammond, 1998). Teachers learn tremendously from each other, and the school is probably the

most effective place for teachers to acquire new methods, knowledge and skills. Shared burdens and problems reduce stress and increase achievement. As Ms. Harris put it:

It is incumbent on teachers to share their methods, various projects and new ideas with their colleagues and to continue their professional development. This fosters good will and stimulates educational environment. It is extremely vital that experienced teachers share with new teachers. All teachers are continually learning and should never turn down the opportunity to share with their colleagues.

Another group of participants suggested that mentoring is more likely to improve the teaching profession. Mentoring is quite rewarding for new teachers as well as for experienced teachers who can bring prior knowledge and experience to all new learning situations (Cochran-Smith, 2001). Also, it is a vital aspect of promoting cohesion and collegiality in schools because all teachers are continually learning, exchanging ideas and linking previous knowledge with new understandings (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1990). Experienced teachers should be the mentors of new educators in all areas such as instructional strategies, learning styles, new creative techniques and skills and relating to students, colleagues and parents. Ms. Brown noted that a new teacher needs to feel surrounded by fellow teachers who often eagerly assist and guide them in order to succeed. Here is her account:

All beginning teachers need to be given the encouragement so that they will want to continue the journey. The achievements of beginning teachers need to be recognized and applauded, and all beginning teachers should have mentors – experienced teachers. The best teaching occurs because of some consistent sharing of ideas and strategies between fellow professionals.

Another facet of improving the teaching profession is to provide skills to teachers working with diverse populations. Classrooms nowadays are becoming increasingly diverse and global, and they are composed of students with different socioeconomic level, culture and ethnicity as well as different learning styles that need to be taken into consideration by their teachers.. Therefore teachers should be able to vary and adapt their instruction to the needs and abilities of individual learners. As one teacher stated:

Teachers are expected to educate children from many diverse cultures and economic backgrounds. Therefore, they must be familiar with those backgrounds so that they are sensitive, understanding to the many different kinds of students and their various needs. Most certainly, today's teachers should receive

preparation in the areas of cultural arts, diversity, and community in order to obtain effective communication skills because training in these areas would give teachers appropriate methods and techniques to teach successfully.

Finally, excellent teachers believe that the teaching profession has many talented enthusiastic educators who could literally change the world if they worked together, shared ideas and found successful strategies to teach children. Professional development should allow teachers time to talk about the methods that work in their classrooms. Teachers who are successful in teaching particular concepts should be invited into other classrooms to assist. A school should not be many individual classrooms, but rather a community where all students, teachers, administrators and families are learning.

Discussion

Having examined these excellent teachers' biographies through their practices and philosophies and having presented their ideas about strengthening the teaching profession, it is time to summarize some of the main points that came out of these interviews. Quite simply, I would argue that excellent teachers in Cyprus entail the three R's: *respect, responsibility, and relationship*, as well as the three C's: *cognition, concern and cooperation*.

In their classrooms, these excellent teachers model and cultivate *respect* and help their students to view themselves as persons of worth with significant contributions to make to the class, the school, the community and the world. By appreciating the uniqueness of each student, the teacher kindles the student's self-respect. The confidence that this secure self-image generates frees the student from the fear of those who are different. They can then celebrate the richness of diversity. Only if people respect themselves can they offer this respect to others. With this basic respect for each other, our humanitarian aspect is nurtured.

At the same time, teachers cultivate and model *responsibility* for passing wisdom as well as knowledge to their students. Responsibility involves teaching students all their options so that they can make responsible choices in their lives, giving them the most satisfactory and productive results. Students of the twenty-first century must be thoughtful and rational in making decisions and accept full responsibility for their actions, behavior and the consequences. Therefore, teaching students to accept responsibility for their learning at an early stage and to be accountable has a great impact on their entire school career.

The final R is *relationship*. Excellent teachers in this study model responsible behavior in their classroom and cultivate respect. At the same time, they empower their students with communication skills so that they can understand each other and be ready to build meaningful relationships. While academic skills are vital because students should be equipped to execute tasks successfully, relationships allow them to speak and listen skillfully, empathetically, and with an open and accepting heart and mind. Therefore, teachers should empower students with respect, responsibility and relationship skills so that they can reclaim the compassion and humanity to which people aspire.

The first trait that excellent teachers entail begins with the letter "C": *cognition*. In this study, it is evident that teaching requires one of the highest levels of cognitive ability of any profession. Not only must effective educators be knowledgeable in their subject area and stay abreast of current educational theories and practices; they must also understand the character and ways of learning of the students they teach (Anderson, 2004; Pashiardis and Pashiardi, 2000). The process of becoming better acquainted with each student's learning needs and style is never-ending. Thus, excellent teachers devote time to become aware and acquainted with their students' learning needs, to comprehend the complexities of their students and to continuously redesign their instruction in order to reach them.

The next important trait that excellent teachers should cultivate is *concern* and love for the students. Excellent teachers model genuine concern, care and love about all aspects of a child's life. The love and concern a teacher must have for his/her students should be discernible in the way each student performs in the classroom. The classroom must be a safe, friendly and effective learning environment into which the student never hesitates to enter. Love is an obligation and students who recognize the genuine concern of their teachers increase their learning and their feelings of accomplishment.

The third "C" is *cooperation*. Cooperation is an important aspect of the teaching profession. Excellent teachers share their ideas on instructional and management strategies and methods as well as on teaching materials because they believe that sharing increases achievement and collegiality and enhances the learning environment. Administrators, teachers and students work together toward the same goal because, in order to get the greatest productivity out of people, everyone needs to feel that he/she is part of it. At every school and in every classroom, cooperative learning (Harslett et al., 2000; Johnson and Johnson, 1989) can be used as a tool to improve teachers' professional development and to increase students' desire to learn.

Finally, teachers who strive for excellence make education a number one priority – a lifelong journey that they will continue with enthusiasm and encouragement. Even though the challenges are overwhelming for teachers and the rewards (tangible and otherwise) seem to pale by comparison, teachers have committed themselves to instill in their students the love of learning and the awareness of the necessity of constantly upgrading their knowledge and skills. At the same time, teachers feel that they need to intensify their efforts and become ambassadors on what characteristics and structures the teaching profession should exhibit in order to achieve its stated purposes. As has been presented above, excellent teachers' messages to everybody involved in the education of children are as follows:

- Treat children with dignity, respect, compassion and empathy, helping them to learn to value the unique and precious place that they and others have in the world.
- Motivate, guide and encourage children as they try to explore the rainbows of knowledge.
- Practice the techniques of teamwork and problem-solving.
- Intensify efforts in educating children in the area of technology by giving them the technological resources and skills needed.
- Expect only the best from yourself and from the class. Prepare your lessons well, be professional and organized, and be rigorous in your material.
- Support the profession and keep quality individuals as teachers.

Concluding Remarks

The present analysis of teacher profiles gives a significant amount of information and deep knowledge that can be useful to the profession. The 3Rs and the 3Cs that excellent teachers entail can be considered the foundation of a teacher's excellence. Excellent teachers accept *responsibility* to shape, mold and guide young minds, promote an atmosphere of *respect* – which is considered an essential element of effective teacher-student interaction – and develop a supportive *relationship* with their students. At the same time, they cultivate *concern* and love for their students, they encourage *cooperation*, and they exhibit high levels of *cognition* on educational and psychological issues in order to become the best teachers possible.

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**Appendix: Georgia Pashiardis, Excellent Teachers
Study/Survey/Profile**

Part I: Demographic information:

Please complete:

Gender: ____

Major Subject Area (if any): _____

Total Years of Teaching Experience: ____

Educational History, Professional Development
(list college, universities and postgraduate) _____

Part II: Philosophy of teaching:

Please elaborate on a separate sheet and as thoroughly as you can on the following question:

What are the most important traits a teacher should cultivate? How do you feel that your teaching reflects these traits?

Part IV: The teaching profession:

Please elaborate on a separate sheet and as thoroughly as you can on the following question:

In your opinion how can the teaching profession be strengthened and improved? What are the most significant ways?

Thank you for your cooperation

Part B: Teacher Education in different countries

Teacher Education Worldwide and the United States CasePatricia K. Kubow¹⁵**Abstract**

This paper interrogates the representations of teacher education constructed in the present knowledge economy era. The knowledge economy and the attendant linking of teacher quality to student achievement in the U.S. and worldwide represents a master narrative by which governments, educational policy makers, and citizens view teaching and learning in a high-stakes environment. Emerging from teacher educators' interpretations of comparative studies of top-performing educational systems globally, the master narrative is premised on the assumption that enhancing teacher quality will bolster student achievement. The theoretical lens chosen for this paper is that of *-scape*, which captures the fluidity and irregularity of this educational landscape. In particular, I extend Appadurai's (1996) *ethno-* and *ideoscape* to analyze global discourse on teacher education and the knowledge economy. It is argued that U.S. teacher education programmes, at the very least, offer a required comparative education course and cross-cultural internship to develop teachers' perspective taking and critical skills so that they can evaluate the *ethnoscap*es and *ideospaces* shaping their lives and work.

Introduction: 'Scape' as Theoretical Lens to Examine Teacher Education

The purpose of this paper is to interrogate the representations of teacher education being constructed in the present knowledge economy era. The knowledge economy—and the attendant linking of teacher quality to student academic achievement in the United States and elsewhere—constitutes a master narrative by which governments, educational policy makers, and citizens view teaching and learning in a globalised, high-stakes environment. To aid this interrogation, Appadurai's (1996) notion of *-scape* serves as a useful theoretical lens to examine global flows of knowledge, and by my extension here, teacher education in the U.S. and worldwide.

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The suffix *-scape* speaks to fluidity and irregularity of the educational landscape. In particular, I apply Appadurai's (1996) terms *ethnoscape* and *ideoscape* in my analysis of the global educational discourse on teacher education and the knowledge economy. *Ethnoscape* refers to "the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33). Ideology, as a systemized body of ideas, is "a process by which one social group justifies its own views and beliefs to other social groups" and "dominated groups come to understand and accept this rationale" (Kubow & Fossum, 2007, p. 310). *Ideoscape* applied to education refers to the global flow of ideas, practices, and institutional policies associated with 'best practices' in teacher education, which are thought to account for the success of 'top-performing' schools internationally. In essence, educational systems, like other landscapes, are "historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33). Let us turn first then to the ethnoscape and ideoscape of American schooling.

The Ethno- and Ideoscape of American Schooling: Culturally-Diverse Terrain and the Democratic Experiment

While, arguably, a European identity is appropriated in (sub-) national education systems across Europe, public schooling in the U.S. promotes a national, 'American' identity premised on democratic ideals rather than regional or sub-national identities (Frey & Whitehead, 2009). Western democratic nations share in this Enlightenment worldview—an ideoscape in which *freedom, sovereignty, welfare, rights, and representation* are concepts central to democracy's master narrative (Appadurai, 1996). The U.S. ethnoscape of the late 19th century was characterized by indigenous peoples and European immigration, and the task of American public schools was to transform children into Americans. Because public schools continue to serve as the state's primary apparatus for fashioning democratic citizens, American democracy cannot survive without its public schools. For Benjamin Barber (2004), U.S. public education is central to the quality of its citizenry:

"There is a deep sense in which the phrase 'public education' is redundant: Education is public, above all in a democracy. To think of it any other way is to rob it of its essential meaning. For education is an essential public good addressed to young citizens-to-be as members of a community. Education not only speaks to the public, it is the means by which a public is forged. It is how individuals are transformed into responsible participants in the communities of the classroom, the neighborhood, the town, the nation and (in schools that recognize the

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new interdependence of our times) the world to which they belong."
(p. 10).

The powerful linking of democratic citizenship with public education through the common school movement and the land-grant college system has been historically the foundation of America's experiment in multiculturalism and liberty (Barber, 2004). Several economic and demographic indicators reveal that the American ethnoscape is rapidly changing. To begin, child poverty is on the rise. One in five children under the age of 18 lives in poverty in the U.S., and more than one in seven children between the ages of five and 17 speak a language other than English at home (Villegas & Lucas, 2004). According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2005), the number of impoverished children between 1970 and 2003 rose from 14.9% to 16.7%, and students of color in America's public schools rose from 30.9% to 41.5% (Murnane & Steele, 2007). It is estimated that by 2042, minority populations will be the majority in the U.S., and, by 2023 (only 13 years from now), about half of all U.S. children will be minorities (Ludwig, Kirshstein, Sidana, Ardila-Rey, & Bae, 2010). These trends create a significant challenge for the four million teachers who work at America's public traditional, charter, private, and Bureau of Indian Education schools. Almost 86% of America's teachers are employed at public elementary and secondary schools and are assigned the difficult task of meeting the needs of 47 million students.

Moreover, the U.S. teacher workforce is an aging one. *"Almost a fifth of teachers in 2007-2008 were over 55 years of age, and over a third had been teaching for more than 15 years"* (Ludwig et al., 2010, p. 6). Although teacher retirement and turnover is projected over the next 5-10 years, teaching positions are being cut (Ludwig et al., 2010). The U.S. teaching force is also predominately female. Figures for 2007-08 reveal that at the elementary level, 84% of public school and 87% of private school teachers are female; at the secondary level, 59% of public school and 53% of private school teachers are female (U.S. Department of Education, 2010). With twice as many elementary teachers as high school teachers, the average base salary is US\$48,800 and \$51,100, respectively.

Arguably, one of the greatest challenges facing American education at present is the unequal distribution of high-quality teachers (Darling-Hammond, 2000; Darling-Hammond, Holtzman, Gatlin, & Heilig, 2005; Jerald, 2002; Lankford, Loeb, & Wyckoff, 2002; Murnane & Steele, 2007). "Poor children and children of color are disproportionately assigned to teachers with the least preparation and the weakest academic backgrounds. Teacher turnover is high in schools that serve large shares of poor or nonwhite students because the work is difficult, and the teachers who undertake it are

often the least equipped to succeed" (Murnane & Steele, 2007, p. 15). In what has been termed 'apartheid schools' serving more than 90% students of color, the majority of teachers are inexperienced and uncertified (Darling-Hammond, 2010). Figures for 2007-2008 reveal that more than 80% of U.S. public school teachers are White (Ludwig et al., 2010). Black and Hispanic teachers compose only 7% of the U.S. teaching force and are concentrated in urban schools as opposed to suburban, town, or rural areas (Ludwig et al., 2010).

Moreover, the teacher candidate pool is not as diverse as the students in U.S. schools, despite recruitment strategies. Teacher education faculty at universities are predominately White, as are the preservice teachers enrolled in their programmes. According to the U.S. Department of Education (2010), the racial and ethnic demographics of preservice teachers mirror the present teaching force, in that White students compose almost 78% of undergraduate enrollments in teacher preparation programmes, and White teachers constitute almost 80% of the current workforce. It is unlikely that the diversity of the U.S. teaching force will change dramatically in the near future (Ludwig et al., 2010).

In response, policymakers have used various strategies to distribute effective teachers more equitably across schools. These strategies have included "*across-the-board pay increases, more flexible pay structures such as pay-for-performance, and reduced restrictions on who is allowed to teach*" (Murnane & Steele, 2007, p. 15). To bridge the cultural divide, the typical approach in teacher education programs in the U.S. is to add one or two courses on multicultural education, English as a Second Language, or urban education to the curriculum while leaving the rest of the curriculum intact (Ladson-Billings, 1999; Villegas & Lucas, 2004; Zeichner & Hoeft, 1996; Zeichner, 2009). A shortage of teachers is especially evidenced in high-need subject areas such as the STEM fields (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics), English language learners/bilingual education, special education, and early childhood education. In the state of Wisconsin where I taught English Language Arts for a number of years, schoolteachers in nonshortage subject areas are exported to other parts of the U.S. The teacher shortage has led to the granting of emergency teacher licenses, which account for 20% of the new teacher hires in urban Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Milwaukee Public Schools, 2002, cited in Zeichner, 2009). In California, 14% of the state's teachers have not completed the minimal requirements for a teaching credential (Zeichner, 2009). Overall, 30% of new public school teachers in the U.S. leave teaching after their first five years (Darling-Hammond, 2010).

The Knowledge Economy Ideospace: Globalisation Illuminates U.S. Shortcomings in Teacher Education

"Globalization is a force reorganizing the world's economy, and the main resources for that economy are increasingly knowledge and information" (Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002, pp. 1-2). From this ideological position, the world is conceived as a knowledge economy in which wealth is increasingly tied to human capital. Schools are sites for the development of human capital in the form of equipping students (i.e., the future labor force) with the kinds of knowledge necessary for the global workplace. Globalisation discourses about the knowledge economy focus on the need for cognitive skills, which are considered "strong predictors of educational attainment" (Murnane & Steele, 2007, p. 16). Causality is drawn between the skills children and youth gain through P-12 education and their eventual ability to thrive financially. The difference in skill levels that students achieve is then hypothesized as directly linked to the quality of instruction that they received in school.

Adding to the complexity is that "*global economics and ideology are increasingly intertwined in [national and] international institutions that promulgate particular strategies for educational change*" (Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002, p. 2). To illustrate, in 1991, U.S. Secretary of Labor Robert Reich argued that growing inequalities between individuals and nations was due to differences in knowledge and skills (Spring, 2008). In 2001, the charge put forth to American teachers came in the form of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation, which demanded 'highly qualified' teachers in every U.S. classroom. On the global stage, the World Bank in 2003 asserted that a knowledge-based economy relies on intellectual ideas and technological application rather than physical abilities. In these and other reform agendas, effective teachers are defined "*as those who are skilled at raising the achievement levels of their students*" and "*who have a strong positive impact on students' learning*" (Murnane & Steele, 2007, p. 17). The kind of learning to be promoted is aligned with the skills desired of citizens in a knowledge economy. These include: global competence, scientific and technological literacy, cross-cultural leadership, critical thinking about sustainable economies, and adaptation to rapid change (Stewart, 2009).

Increasingly, monetary support from the World Bank to developing nations such as Jordan in the Middle East has required the implementation of what the Bank calls a "*new model of education and training*" (p. xvii). My research in Jordan over the past two years studying its Education Reform for the Knowledge Economy (ER/KE) has revealed how Western neoliberal orientations are part of both local and global discourses shaping educational policies and practices in that country (Kubow, 2010). In many ways, such

global discourses function to create common educational goals. This has led to criticism of “*growing global uniformity in education*” by world systems theorists who argue that such educational reforms legitimize the actions of core over peripheral nations (Spring, 2008, p. 352). For postcolonialists, the concern is that educational policies and practices aligned with the knowledge economy ensure hegemony of global elites. To summarize, “*the complexity of the current global economy has to do with certain fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture, and politics that we have only begun to theorize*” (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33). We turn now to how this larger ideological project affects teacher education.

The Master Narrative: “Enhance Teacher Quality to Bolster Student Achievement”

Over the past two decades, a great deal of attention has been directed to teacher education and debates have occurred in relation to the approaches that might best prepare and support teachers to make a difference with students from diverse socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds. In their desperate search to enhance teacher quality to bolster student achievement, teacher educators have investigated ways that educational policy might enhance teacher quality. While it is *passé* in comparative education circles to say that, “*what works in one country cannot be transplanted wholesale into another,*” teacher educators and education policymakers in the U.S. and elsewhere continue to identify the common features or characteristics of teacher education that account for student achievement in top-performing educational systems worldwide for use in their home contexts. As Carnoy and Rhoten (2002) have argued, “*This has placed increased emphasis on math and science curriculum, standards, and testing, and on meeting standards by changing the way education is delivered. Testing and standards are part of a broader effort to increase accountability by measuring knowledge production and using such measures to assess education workers (teachers) and managers*” (p. 5).

An important question to ask, then, is this: What master narrative of teacher education has been constructed through the World Bank, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development’s (OECD) Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), the Third International Math and Science Study (TIMSS), and other comparative studies of educational systems and teaching effectiveness? The narrative that emerges to guide U.S. schooling, and consequently pre- and in-service teacher education, has been primarily fashioned from the reports of American scholars who have studied such data, including the top-performing countries in OECD’s 2003 PISA

study—Australia, Belgium, Canada (namely Alberta and Ontario), Finland, Hong Kong, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Singapore, and South Korea. My analysis also draws upon educational systems that have demonstrated strong improvement trajectories in the U.S., especially Boston, Chicago, and New York.

From the international benchmark studies and current teacher education literature, I can detect at least five aspects that inform the contemporary master narrative for teacher education in the U.S. and perhaps other countries seeking to improve their educational systems.

Acceptance of Knowledge Economy Paradigm to Guide Teacher Education Reform

In addition to international aid agencies and national governments involved with programmes of educational development, the first aspect of the master narrative for teacher education is the acceptance, on the part of leading scholars in U.S. teacher education, of the knowledge economy paradigm as the driver for teacher education reform. The following statements by prominent American teacher educator, Linda Darling-Hammond, are illustrative of this position:

“In the knowledge-based economy we now inhabit, the future of our country rests on our ability, as individuals and as a nation, to learn much more powerfully on a wide scale. This outcome rests in turn on our ability to teach much more effectively, especially those students who have been least well supported in our society and our schools.” (2010, p. 35)

“The notion that we can remain a world-class economy while undereducating large portions of our population—in particular, students of color and new immigrants, who are fast becoming a majority in our public schools—is untenable. Mostly because of these underinvestments, the United States continues to rank far behind other industrialized nations in educational achievement: 28th out of 40 nations in mathematics in 2003, for example, right behind Latvia. Meanwhile, leaders of countries like Finland that experienced a meteoric rise to the top of the international rankings have attributed their success to their massive investments in teacher education.” (2007, p. 42)

Variations in Student Learning Depend Primarily on Quality Classroom Teaching

The second aspect of the master narrative for teacher education is a belief that low-performing teachers in educational systems worldwide wield a powerful negative impact on students in their care. A review of the OECD study findings, conducted by Barber and Mourshed (2007) and published by McKinsey and Company, reveal that primary students subjected to low-performing teachers for several consecutive years suffer almost irreversible educational loss. According to the researchers, *"by age seven, children who score in the top 20 percent on tests of numeracy and literacy are already twice as likely to complete a university degree as children in the bottom 20 percent"* (Barber & Mourshed, 2007, p. 13). In other words, educational quality is dependent on teacher quality. In the U.S., a teacher's literacy level (as measured by vocabulary and standardized tests) affects student achievement more than any other teacher characteristic (National Council on Teacher Quality, 2008).

Attract the Best to the Teaching Profession

A third aspect of the master narrative for teacher education is that high-performing schools worldwide attract the right people to the teaching career. The top educational systems attract able teachers through highly selective teacher training and provide good starting compensation, which, in turn, increases the profession's status and leads to even better teacher candidates (Barber & Mourshed, 2007). In South Korea and Finland respectively, the researchers found that only the top 5% and 10% of each graduating cohort are recruited to be teachers. In the U.S., the Boston Teacher Residency programme and the respective Chicago and New York Teaching Fellows programmes represent an effort to target the top graduates into the teaching profession (Barber & Mourshed, 2007). This is not the norm, however. The New Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce reported that teachers in the U.S. are recruited from the bottom third of college-bound high-school students (National Center on Education and the Economy, 2007).

Teacher selection procedures in Finland seem to be among the most effective. Through a national examination process, prospective teachers must complete numeracy, literacy, and problem-solving tests. Only those that receive top scores move to a second round conducted by universities where candidates are tested on communication, academic ability, willingness to learn, and motivation to teach (Barber & Mourshed, 2007). After graduating from teacher training, candidates must pass tests administered by the schools for which they are seeking teaching positions. Other countries such as

Greece require preservice teachers to take competitive examinations for teaching certification or job placement (McKenzie & Santiago, 2005), in addition to their four-year teacher training programme at a Greek university (Poulou, 2007; Kaldi, 2009). Kaldi (2009) has argued that the teaching profession in Greece is considered secure employment because a teacher shortage over the last six years has resulted in teaching positions for all graduates from baccalaureate programs in Primary Education.

Attend to Teachers' Knowledge Skills and Preparation

A fourth aspect of the master narrative for teacher education is attention to a particular kind of teacher skill-set and professional preparation. Effective teachers, as international studies indicate, are to possess high levels of literacy and numeracy, strong interpersonal and communication skills, and personal and social attributes associated with learning and motivation (Allington & Johnston, 2000; Barber & Mourshed, 2007). Improving instruction is dependent upon building practical skills during initial training, placing good teachers as coaches in schools to support preservice and beginning teachers, and providing opportunities for peer collaboration and teaching observation (Barber & Mourshed, 2007). Professional development in Japan, for example, is characterized by peer support and collaboration, a teacher transfer system, openness to observation and critique, a commitment to professional growth, and consistency in teaching practice across schools (Kubow & Fossum, 2007). In 1989, Japan began a successful program that supports first-year teachers with two days per week of personal coaching from guidance teachers (Barber & Mourshed, 2007).

Studies of American teacher preparation show that teacher effectiveness improves significantly after the third year of teaching and that attention to a teacher's initial effectiveness in the classroom can reduce teacher attrition (Boyd, Lankford, Loeb, Rockoff, & Wyckoff, 2007; Clotfelter, Ladd, & Vigdor, 2007; Darling-Hammond, 2010). In Boston, for example, a graduate teacher training program modeled on a medical-residency design combines significant practical experiences with a strong theoretical foundation that results in a Master's degree. Teacher candidates must complete six weeks of summer school and a one-year school apprenticeship. Their apprentice year is composed of four days each week spent working with a veteran teacher and one day completing university coursework. In the second year, each new teacher is provided a mentor who coaches for two-and-a-half hours weekly (Barber & Mourshed, 2007).

A case study of the perceptions of university teachers' and secondary teachers' experiences with university-led in-service training in Greece revealed

that practitioners find university facilitators to be detached from the realities of schooling and “*knowledge generators rather than partners [with teachers] in understanding practice*” (Gravani, 2008, p. 655). This study calls attention to the important role of craft knowledge in the everyday work lives of teachers, which is often marginalized and rarely examined for the ways that it informs teaching practice and student learning.

Purposeful Policies to Support High Quality Teaching

A fifth aspect of the master narrative for teacher education in the knowledge economy era is the creation and implementation of purposeful policies that support high quality teaching. According to the National Commission on Teaching and America’s Future (1996) and the OECD (2007), teachers in most Asian and European nations spend less than half of their time instructing students. According to Wei, Andree, and Darling-Hammond (2009), about 15-20 hours of these teachers’ time is spent on collaboration, preparation, analysis, and evaluation with other colleagues often in a large teacher room to facilitate collective work. In Finland, teachers meet weekly to plan and develop lessons and schools share materials across their municipality. In comparison, teachers in the U.S. have only 3-5 hours for lesson planning per week, which is usually conducted independently of other colleagues (National Commission on Teaching and America’s Future, 1996). Thus, allocating time in the teacher’s workday for professional learning and collaboration is considered essential.

Countries with high student achievement scores provide quality graduate-level teacher education that includes one year of practice teaching at a laboratory school connected to the university (Darling-Hammond, 2007). This kind of teacher preparation is often fully subsidized for all preservice teachers with funding for veteran schoolteachers to coach, observe teaching, and plan collaboratively with novice teachers. Moreover, “*salaries are competitive with those in other professions and include additional stipends for hard-to-staff locations*” (p. 42). Kubow and Fossum (2007) identified similar directions for the improvement of American teacher education in their examination of teacher professionalism in Japan where teachers are involved in their own professional development and are the main contributors to professional education journals. In Singapore, the Ministry of Education has even established a centre to promote a culture of research in its public schools (Salleh, 2006).

Action research on teacher-chosen topics related to improving classroom practice is common in Western European and Asian schools (Wei, Andree, & Darling-Hammond, 2009). For example, a study conducted by Magos (2006)

explored whether action research helps Greek educators of the majority culture develop empathy for their minority students. The findings revealed that action research had both a pedagogical and social benefit, enabling teachers to incorporate active pedagogy and to embrace their diverse student body, to approve the use of students' first language, and to build a climate of trust and collaboration in the classroom.

Because teachers in the U.S. teach more hours per year (1,080) compared to the top-performing nations in the OECD's PISA study, most American educators do not engage in extensive professional development (Birman, LeFloch, Klekotka, Ludwig, Taylor, & Walters, et al., 2007; Blank, de las Alas, & Smith, 2007; Wei, Andree, & Darling-Hammond, 2009). Rather, inservice teacher education in the U.S. is generally composed of one or two-day activities without emphasis on either content or collegial work, components seen to be linked to student achievement gains (Garet, Birman, Porter, Desimone, & Herman, 1999; Wei, Andree, & Darling-Hammond, 2009).

Internationalising Teacher Education in the United States

Effective teaching, however, is not confined solely to subject matter knowledge and pedagogy. Rather social, cultural, and historical factors influence teaching and learning. Although the intent of multicultural education in the U.S. is to help preservice educators deconstruct educational structures and to question socioeconomic and political relationships of power and knowledge in education, such courses are often an isolated part of the teacher education curriculum and reinforce the attitudes that preservice teachers bring to the course (Locke, 2005). White Euro-Americans' perceptions toward multicultural education courses in teacher preparation in the U.S. tend toward a superficial receptive attitude toward such classes (Sleeter, 2001), but their cross-cultural knowledge and experiences are very limited (Smith, Moallem, & Sherrill, 1997).

Moreover, schooling and teacher education in the U.S. addresses culture from a cognitive orientation, despite a growing body of research that emphasizes the critical role that first-hand experience plays in the preparation of globally-minded teachers and the development of intercultural and interpersonal skills (Cushner, 2007). Study abroad opportunities and overseas student teaching can expose pre- and in-service educators to different philosophies and pedagogies and help teachers develop personally and professionally, fostering "*greater understanding of both global and domestic diversity*" (p. 30).

Throughout time, American colleges and universities have sought to internationalize preservice teacher education curriculum by incorporating

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international-focused classes, foreign language instruction, and optional overseas experiences. In 1976, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education recommended that all teacher education students should be exposed to at least one local, regional, or national subculture different than their own (Howsam, 1976; Wilson, 1982). The term 'cross-cultural' therefore includes "*both the multicultural (which in recent years usually meant inside the U.S.) and the international*" (Wilson, 1982, p. 185).

In Ohio, as with other states in the U.S., issues of economic development, domestic diversity, and national security drive international education policy and practice (Frey & Whitehead, 2009). Thus, "instead of a 'global' perspective, the concentration on economic development bounds the benefits of 'international' education within the state and/or country" (Frey & Whitehead, 2009, p. 286). However, the Ohio Department of Education (2009) has been encouraging teachers to connect Ohio classrooms to the world through guest speakers, international school partnerships, teacher and student travel, and technological integration via wikis, on-line communities, and satellite forums. One online community forum is "TakingITGlobal" which provides a space for youth to connect directly with their peer counterparts in over 200 countries and to debate common concerns through active discussion boards and personal blogs (<http://about.takingitglobal.org/>).

Importantly, as Wilson (1982) has asserted, teachers are much more likely to learn from their cultural experiences "when they are prepared for the experience, engage in educational activities during the experience, and evaluate the experience" (p. 185). These three features—namely preorientation training, overseas experience, and evaluation—are hallmarks of the U.S. Fulbright-Hays Group Projects Abroad Programme (GPA) that fosters global knowledge, cultural awareness, and cross-cultural sensitivity on the part of American educators. Most recently, a group of 15 practicing teachers, preservice teachers, and university faculty and graduate students in education degree programs at Bowling Green State University (BGSU) in Ohio had the opportunity to travel to Jordan for one month to learn first-hand about multiculturalism and Arab identities in an effort to better understand U.S. cultural diversity. The ICE Jordan GPA project—led by myself and accompanied by two other teacher education faculty of The Center for International Comparative Education (ICE) at BGSU—was a competitive federal grant award that enabled the GPA participants to create 36 lessons that feature Near East learning and that will be used in schools and universities in Northwest Ohio. However, there is a need for all teachers to have cross-cultural experiences interacting with those from different ethnic, religious, and socioeconomic backgrounds.

Incorporating Global Perspectives in Teacher Education: The Case for Comparative Education and Cross-Cultural Experiences

Because most American students identify their teachers and schools as the main source of their information about the world, greater attention must be given to incorporating global perspectives in teacher education. A current research review reveals that American students lack basic knowledge of other nations, as well as their own. A study by Osunde in 1996 found that American high school and university students know little about non-Western countries, especially sub-Saharan Africa. A report issued in 2001 by the National Commission on Asia in the Schools also found that American students lack awareness of international issues and world geography (Sanders & Stewart, 2004). For example, "25% of [American] college-bound high school students did not know the name of the ocean that separates the United States from Asia," and only a few of the top 50 American universities and colleges required their future history teachers to take coursework in non-Western history (p. 201).

The Global Geographic Literacy Survey conducted by the National Geographic-Roper in 2002 found that American students also lagged behind their North American and European peers in geographic knowledge and current affairs (Zhao, Lin, & Hoge, 2007). One of the most alarming findings was that only 17% of the American students could locate Afghanistan on a world map, and 11% could not find the U.S. on the map (Zhao, Lin, & Hoge, 2007). A study by Holm and Farber, also in 2002, revealed that upper-level undergraduate students in a large U.S. teacher education programme demonstrated "a high degree of inattention, insularity, and lack of awareness" about the world (Zhao, Lin, & Hoge, 2007, p. 142).

Moreover, American pre- and in-service teachers are seldom required to examine the craft of teaching cross-culturally. Comparative education, as a multidisciplinary field, can equip teachers with critical lenses and help them develop comparative perspective taking skills (Kubow & Fossum, 2007). Through comparative or global education, students can learn about shared dilemmas that transcend national boundaries (Sutton & Hutton, 2001; Kubow & Fossum, 2007), develop critical perspectives to clarify their own viewpoints (Hanvey, 1982), and consider the complex interplay of environmental, economic, and humanitarian developments (Guttek, 1993). Unfortunately, it is extremely rare to find a comparative education course taught at the undergraduate level in the U.S. Even for educators seeking advanced degrees, a comparative education course is seldom required in their U.S. teacher education programmes. The U.S. may want to look outward to

consider, for example, the ways that comparative education is being integrated into Departments of Primary Education in Greece (Karras, 2007).

The review of teacher education literature conducted for this paper points toward a strong relationship between skillful teaching and greater academic and more equitable achievement for U.S. children from all racial, ethnic, linguistic, and socioeconomic backgrounds (Darling-Hammond, 2007). If that is indeed the case, as the master narrative suggests, then this should be all the more reason for comparative education to be integrated into teacher education courses and training. Helping teachers gain what Hanvey (1982) describes as “perspective consciousness” will enable educators to recognize that their own beliefs and experiences about the world are not necessarily universally shared and that other ways of living are also valid (Cushner, 2007). In many ways, comparative education exposes teachers to an economic and political awareness that can help them as professionals to understand the complex *ethnoscapes* and *ideoscapes* shaping education and societies in the 21st century.

In the U.S., the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) requires “*teachers to provide evidence that they have had experiences with diversity and have developed an understanding of multiculturalism*” (Phillion, Malewski, Sharma, & Wang, 2009, p. 324). However, the next step would be to require preservice teachers to complete a course in comparative education, in addition to the more U.S.-based multicultural course to which they are currently exposed. Like Merryfield (2001), I believe that international comparative education courses can help teachers see the social and educational challenges that people experience globally. In addition to exposing teachers to challenging coursework in comparative education, I also suggest that teachers be required to complete a cross-cultural educational internship in which teachers interact with historically marginalized populations (of their own choosing) in an educational context at home or abroad. Negotiation of cultural difference, especially in an international setting, can do more to challenge one’s privilege and norms more than traditional classroom learning alone (Phillion, Malewski, Sharma, & Wang, 2009).

Conclusion

Since the 1980s, the U.S. has made little headway in student academic achievement, especially when compared to educational systems internationally. High school graduation and college entrance rates have decreased, while educational inequalities in P-12 schools have increased (Darling-Hammond, 2010). This has led to the following prediction for U.S.

education from Linda Darling-Hammond, one of its leading teacher education scholars: "If the political will and educational conditions for strengthening teaching are substantially absent, I do not believe it is an overstatement to say we will see in our life-times the modern-day equivalent of the fall of Rome" (p. 35).

President Obama has proposed to invest six billion annually to the teaching profession through scholarships to prepare teachers in high-need fields and communities, mentoring programmes for beginning teachers, and stronger teacher education programmes and performance-based assessments for teachers (Darling-Hammond, 2010). Whether this happens is still to be seen. What is certain is that there has emerged a master narrative in the teacher education literature that is largely driven by the comparative studies of top-performing educational systems. The narrative is premised on the assumption that enhancing teacher quality will bolster student achievement. At the very least, what is needed in American teacher education programmes is a comparative education course that can help develop teachers' skills of cross-cultural examination and critical reflection so that they can recognize and evaluate the changing ethnoscaples and ideospaces that are shaping their lives and work. An important avenue for comparative study worldwide is to ascertain whether pre- and in-service teachers who have taken a comparative education course demonstrate greater teacher effectiveness as evidenced by student achievement gains. Toward that end, comparative teacher educators can make important contributions.

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A Critique on Sociological Thoughts of Teaching Profession and the Cultural Gap between the West and Taiwan

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Abstract

Although sociologists have devoted a considerable of efforts on clarifying the functions or meanings of professional, the influence of social cultures is generally underestimated or even ignored. This article sets out to explore this influence and its interactive relationship with teaching professional by the case of Taiwanese primary school teachers. The historical movement of Taiwanese education shows that unlike western societies, the influence of Confucianism in Taiwanese education has ensured that teachers are seen as a key element in protecting social morality and social solidarity. This influence also bestows a much higher level of social standing on them than their western rivals. All these show that the social status of primary school teachers is not inherent but conditioned by social values.

Introduction

The notion of professional has been a controversial issue in sociology. For functionalists, one set of traits can be abstracted from traditional professionals like medical practitioner and engineers, and serves as criteria for judging whether a specific occupation is qualified to claim the status of professional or not (e.g. Carr-Saunders & Wilson, 1933; Davis and Moore, 1966; Lieberman, 1964). In contrast, Marxists reject the notion of professional. They argue that proletarianization is an inevitable phenomenon in capitalist societies. Therefore, employees need to view themselves as proletarians and conduct collective actions to fight for their own interests (Apple, 1990; Braverman, 1974; Connell, 1985; Johnson, 1972; Ozga and Lawn, 1981). Although these two schools provide some insights about the concept of professional, they tend to hold predetermined assumptions to examine the functions or meanings of professional. Unlike such a macro approach, interactionists argue that interactions allow the actor to develop his/her own self. This development tends to create the phenomenon of differentiations. Therefore, instead of professionalism, professionalization becomes the core notion to examine teaching professional (Anderson, 1962; Jackson, 1968; Lortie, 1975). This micro approach also has its own weakness,

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neglecting the influence of power on social operation. Reflecting on the above three schools, the meanings of professional should be molded by social cultures. Different societies could have different values and attitudes towards their own teachers and, thus, put them on different positions in the division of labor. Considering this cultural influence, this article sets out to explore what the social standing of Taiwanese primary school teachers is and how Chinese culture shapes this status.

Critiques on the Sociological Thoughts of Professional

Functional and trait-based approaches were the first to attempt to sketch the definition and social functions of professions. They were concerned with defining what was and what constituted professional and tended to trace back to Durkheim's (1933) concept of social consensus. For Durkheim, the division of labor is the foundation of social operation. Individual occupations produce unique functions to meet the variety of various needs of social members. Following this argument, Parsons (1951) argues that the profession needs to be seen as a particular social category with specific social functions, having different characteristics from other occupations that might be delineated and developed into a clear-cut definition that might be used to evaluate its standing or claims relative to other occupations. Trait-based approaches generally saw specialized knowledge, professional training and associations and the social basis of recruits as key features distinguishing professions from other occupations (Carr-Saunders and Wilson, 1933; Davis and Moore, 1966; Lieberman, 1964; Musgrave, 1966; Parsons, 1951).

Such trait-based approaches, however, over-emphasized the homogeneity of professions and became the focus of considerable doubt and debate. From the mid 1960s, an alternative perspective was gradually emerging, mainly driven by the ideas and insights of George Herbert Mead (1934), focusing on the dynamic development of self molded by the inactive process between the actor and his/her context. Interactionist approaches tended to argue that the profession, resulted from the interaction between an individual occupation and its context, was not 'different' from other occupations. Professions were, then, viewed as the processes whereby professional status was to be achieved. For interactionists, knowledge, behavior, the affective characteristics of the occupation, career commitment and gender were seen as key characteristics of such a process leading to professional status with respect to the teaching occupation. Therefore, interactionists highlight the influence of interactive processes on the changes of professional. Therefore, professional traits cannot meet this dynamic development. Instead of professionalism, professionalization becomes the central themes of this

approach (Anderson, 1962; Becker and Geer, 1966; Jackson, 1968; Lortie, 1975; Turner and Hodge, 1970; Vollmer and Mills, 1966).

The third perspective, labeled as radical/critical, driven by the ideas and insights of Karl Marx (Marx and Engels, 1970; Marx, 1976), also explores the ramifications of the relationship between employers and employees. For such radical/critical approaches, proletarianization was the eventual result of industrialization and conflicts or even revolution accompanied such a process (Braverman, 1974; Poulantzas, 1979). Therefore, instead of substantial functions, the notion of professional tends to embody the ideology of social control, referring to the situation that when people accepts the title of professional, they tend to conform the behavior types of professional. This mental linkage, in turn, becomes a vital weapon for the employer, normally the state, to manipulate the behaviors of proletarians. Therefore, proletarians need to reject the ideological notion of professional and conduct collective actions to fight for their own interests (Apple, 1990; Grace, 1987, 1991; Jamous and Peloille, 1970; Johnson, 1972; Larson, 1970; Ozga and Lawn, 1981).

The above three schools of sociological thoughts provide different insights to narrate the meanings of profession. Functional-trait based approach tends to view the profession as an irreplaceable occupation in the division of labor due to its vital functions. In contrast, Marxist employees the concept of proletarianization to reject the notion of profession, and, further, regard it as an ideological tool serving for the interests of dominant classes. Collective and industrial actions become the best choice for proletarians to fight for their own interests. Those two perspectives tend to hold predetermined positions to narrate the meanings or functions of profession. As Lukács (1971) argues, predetermined assumptions tend to make researchers overlook the influence of social reality. The value of a given theory needs to be verified in social contexts. Although internationalists are able to avoid such weakness, their theories confines within a rather micro level of scope, the interactive processes. This approach makes them ignore or underestimate the influence of power that generates a profound influence on the macro level of social operation.

The above analysis shows that the development of a given occupation is conditioned by its social context. In other words, its functional evolution should be dynamic rather than static. This evolution would be triggered by the demands of social changes rather than by the occupation itself. Luhmann (1995) argues that unique functions play like the foundation for a system to sustain its independent operation. Without such functions, it will be merged by other systems. In order to maintain this autonomy, it needs to progress its

functional evolution continuously. Regarding this evolution, the system normally conducts a process of reference, functioning to identify the social change and to simplify its complex demands. This referential mechanism also allows this system to develop the best plan to obtain consensus through the channel of communication among its members. This consensus enables this system to develop new and unique functions by the accomplishment of this plan. This referential perspective highlights the close linkage between the functional evolution of an occupation and social structure. If we admit this linkage, interactions cannot only be triggered by the factors at the micro level, such as the actor's perception and inclination, but also by other factors at the macro level, such as the demands of social changes. Nevertheless, it doesn't mean that there is a general rule among societies. As Schriewer (2003) argues, individual societies tend to develop their own cultures, functioning to regulate people's values and behaviors. For Holmes (1981), the social culture is able to extend its influence to shape the educational system of a given society. Therefore, Chinese culture may produce a different influence on the status of teaching professional from its western rivals.

The history of the industrial movement of Western teachers' associations shows that 'bread and butter' has traditionally been the central concern of teachers. Such a linkage further indicates that when a society bestows high rewards upon teachers, they will develop a strong professional image. If it does not, they will tend to reject the notion of professionalism and employ industrial action to fight for their own interests, as witnessed by the cases of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) (Myers and Myers 1995; Sadker and Sadker 1997; Spring 1994) and the National Union of Teachers (NUT) (Barber, 1992; Gosden, 1972; Tropp, 1957). Those associations have conducted direct actions, including strikes and protests against employers, in order to improve the material rewards of their members. Both cases suggest that the degree of broadly defined 'reward' affects the degree of professionalism attached to teachers' status and their reactions towards their collective actions.

In contrast, the influence of Confucianism in Taiwanese education has ensured that teachers are seen as a key element in protecting social morality and social solidarity (Tsurumi, 1977). This has influenced their rewards in Taiwanese society, resulting in them being viewed as professionals and given high levels of social status, prestige and salary (Chiang, 1996; Kuo, 1988). The interplay of these factors has led to the construction of a well protected context for teachers, and deeply formed their professional ideology (Chiang, 2008a). Considering socio-cultural influences, this essay focuses on the historical development of education in Taiwan as it relates to the professional status of primary teachers. Four key phases can be identified. The period

from 1624 to 1894 can be seen as the first phase, when the Taiwan educational system assumed its early form. The second phase (1895-1945) occurred when Taiwan was a colony of Japan. The third phase ran from 1945 to 1987, which was broadly the period when the KMT (Kuo Ming Tang Party) government exerted strong centralized control over education. The final phase commenced in 1987 when Martial Law was abolished, and has been marked by a series of education reforms that have devolved some powers to educational institutions.

The First Phase: 1624 to 1895

Before 1661, no national system of education existed. Successive European colonial governments were only concerned with their political and economic interests and not with establishing an education system. Education as it then existed assumed its form and control from colonial religious teaching in all-age schools, particularly for adults, though many children attended. Teaching focused on introducing the Bible. When there were insufficient priests, soldiers were engaged to teach (Chiang, 2000).

After 1661, when Taiwan was dominated by Cheng-Gong Jeng who, having failed to defend against Manchuria's invasion which eventually established the Ching Dynasty, moved his troops to Taiwan, education as it then existed had as its primary purpose the creation of a national identity in opposition to the Ching Dynasty (Chiang, 2001a). Various types of primary school were set up, such as state primary schools (Confucianist schools), private primary schools (Shu-Farng institutes) and state Taiwanese aboriginal primary schools (Tunn-Fan schools). Except for Taiwanese aboriginal primary schools, schools were mainly concerned with the preparation of students for national examinations in order to enable them to become officers or qualify for the rank of literati (Lei, 1980; Wu, 1983). The school curriculum was thus designed to enable students to meet the requirements for selection. Teaching content focused on classic books based on Confucianism which functioned indirectly to reinforce the emperor's power. School textbooks included the Four Books (the Great Learning, the Doctrine of the Mean, the Analects and the Books of Mencius) and the Five Classics (the Confucian canon comprising the Books of Changes, the Books of Odes, the Books of History, the Book of Rites and the Spring and Autumn Annals). Because no institutions devoted to teacher education existed before the second phase, the period of Japanese colonisation, well known scholars from Mainland China were recruited as primary school teachers (Chiang, 2000).

In order to meet the demands of these examinations, school lessons were divided into reading, repetition, calligraphy and composition, and their

contents focused on the Four Books and the Five Classics. Teachers thus exercised very little control over what was taught. They were like skilled technicians, implementing someone else's policy. Teaching was little more than exercises in drill (Tsurumi, 1977). While primary schools existed throughout this period, very few children had the chance to attend them, particularly, after the war of 1683 when Taiwan returned to the control of the Ching Dynasty, who treated the island as a source of criminals (Wang, 1978). Schooling was confined to those who had wealth and power (Tsurumi, 1977). Although this situation was slightly improved later, the connection between schooling and elite status was not changed until the period of Japanese colonisation.

The Second Phase: 1895 to 1945

After the Sino-Japan Jia-Wu War in 1894, Taiwan became a Japanese Colony in 1895. In general, its early educational policy followed the 1890 Education Order issued by the Emperor of Japan, Mutsuhito (1867-1912), the purposes of which were to enlighten, discipline and indoctrinate Taiwanese people. Alongside the creation of subjects loyal to the Emperor, Japan intended to inculcate Japanese ways of life and thought into Taiwanese society (Jang, 1979). In other words, education was intended to serve the government's political interests. All state primary school teachers had to be appointed by the Taiwan Viceroy government in order to achieve this intention (Tsurumi, 1977).

However, a formal primary school policy was not introduced until 1898, because the Japanese Colonial Government had first concentrated on gaining an understanding of Taiwanese culture and language (Wu, 1983). During that period, the first Taiwan Viceroy, Akashi Motojiro, was primarily engaged in suppressing the Taiwanese people's opposition to Japanese authority. In response to this situation, the head of education bureau, Izawa, introduced an assimilation policy in which education came to be seen as a weapon in this struggle. In July 1898, the Taiwan Viceroy issued the State Primary School (Gong Shyue schools) Order which established a system of state primary schools. The new system was funded by the local government. However, the order required that all primary school heads be Japanese (Wu, 1983).

Izawa saw the teaching of Japanese language and ethics as a key means to transform Taiwanese people into Japanese subjects. Thus, the 1898 State Primary School Order introduced ethics, Japanese language, classical Chinese (composition, reading and calligraphy), arithmetic, music and gymnastics as the elements in a six-year state primary school curriculum (Tsurumi, 1977; Wu, 1983). In response to the assimilation policy, spoken and written

Japanese were seen as a top priority in the school curriculum. The Taiwan Viceroy's textbooks, teachers' manuals and instruction manuals and other classroom materials were published and supplied to Taiwanese state primary schools, paralleling the use of school textbooks published in Japan in Japanese state primary schools (Chiang, 2001b; Wu, 1983). The introduction of such a national textbook policy can be seen as a hallmark of centralized control over education in terms of determining what was taught in classrooms and how. Education became part of the state's mechanism to achieve its political interests. Teachers were required to carry out the assimilation and other policies stipulated by the Taiwanese Viceroy.

The 1898 State Primary School Order, however, increased the demand for Taiwanese teachers, with the result that the establishment of Teachers' Schools was announced in July 1898. Besides meeting the objectives of the 1898 Order, it was also argued that the introduction of teacher education was needed because it was difficult to recruit Japanese teachers to Taiwan, given the severe shortage of primary school teachers in Japan, and the fact that their salaries were too high (Wu, 1983). These schools offered three-year teacher training courses to primary school graduates. Subjects included ethics, Japanese language, composition, reading, arithmetic, bookkeeping, geography, history, science, calligraphy, music, gymnastics and pedagogy. With this introduction of teacher education, the Taiwan Viceroy explicitly exerted its centralized control over teacher supply by requiring that it appointed all state primary school teachers, so as to ensure implementation of the assimilation policy for transforming Taiwanese to Japanese.

To consolidate further the Taiwan Viceroy's centralized policy, private primary schools were to be terminated as soon as possible. Accompanying the 1898 State Primary School Order, the Taiwan Viceroy regularly sent detailed guidelines to local authorities against which to check private primary schools. Private primary school textbooks also had to be approved. In this repressive political climate, private primary schools constantly faced a threat of closure if they did not obey the local authority's instructions, so it was also hard for private primary teachers to exercise real control over the selection of teaching materials. Similarly, their control over classroom teaching was also vulnerable to close supervision from the local authority (Tsurumi, 1977).

In July 1902, Teachers' Schools were divided into two sections: Section A for Japanese students and Section B for Taiwanese students (Chiang, 1996, 2001b). The duration of courses in Section A was shortened to one year and three months, and one year in February 1905 and December 1907 respectively in order to reduce expenditure and to cultivate more Japanese teachers. On the other hand, the duration of Section B courses was extended

to four years because Taiwanese students needed more time to master the Japanese language.

In March 1910, sections A and B in Teachers' Schools were reformed as Taiwanese Primary School Teachers' Sections A and B in response to the rapid growth in the numbers of Taiwanese primary school students, from 157 in 1897 to 5,412 in 1907 (Wu, 1983). Subjects included ethics, Japanese language, composition, reading, arithmetic, bookkeeping, geography, history, science, calligraphy, music, gymnastics and pedagogy. Later, a new Japanese Primary School Teachers' Section was created expressly for Japanese student teachers. The course was extended from four years to six years.

In 1914, the Taiwan Viceroy issued the Taiwanese Aboriginal Primary School Order, which decreed the establishment of State Aboriginal Primary Schools (Tuu-Fan schools) to extend the influence of the assimilation policy to Taiwanese aborigines. Thus, a three-tier-primary-school system was created, each catering to a different kind of student: Japanese students, Taiwanese students and Taiwanese aboriginal students. In 1919, the 7th Taiwan Viceroy, Den Kenjiro, insisted that education was a vital way to transform Taiwanese people into pure Japanese people (Tsurumi, 1977). He demanded the opening of more primary schools for Taiwanese students, issuing a Taiwanese Education Order that led to the creation of a more comprehensive system of primary education. In response to this more comprehensive system of primary schooling and Taiwanese people's increasing concern with improving teacher quality, teachers' schools were divided into two sections, preparatory and main. The one-year preparatory section took Taiwanese state primary school graduates. The subjects that they took were moral culture, Japanese language, Chinese, Mathematics, fine art, music, vocation and gymnastics. The main four-year course took Taiwanese students who possessed the preparatory section qualification. Additionally, subjects taught were education, history, geography, science and business. In order to meet the immediate need for more primary school teachers through this more extensive system of primary schooling, Taiwanese State Primary School Teacher Training Sections were established both in Taipei and Tainan, in Teachers' Schools which offered one year courses (Wu, 1983). These were later extended to two years in 1933, the same duration as Teachers' Schools in Japan (Tsurumi, 1977). Subjects were moral culture, education, Japanese language, Chinese, geography, mathematics, science, housekeeping, handicraft, fine art, music and athletics.

In 1937, classical Chinese was banished from the state primary school curriculum (Tsurumi, 1977; Wu, 1983), and students were prohibited from speaking the Taiwanese language (Wang, 1978). Den Kenjiro also believed

that compulsory education had to be brought in as soon as possible. However, it was not introduced until 1941 because of financial considerations (Wang, 1978). The introduction of compulsory education through the 1941 Primary School Order made all private primary schools (e.g. Shu-Fang institutes) illegal. It also unified Japanese state primary schools and Taiwanese state primary schools into state primary schools. Following unification, differences between Taiwanese Teacher Education and Japanese Teacher Education were extinguished.

In 1943 when Teachers' Schools in Japan became the equivalent of a three-year specialized college, the Taiwan Viceroy upgraded them all to the level of junior college, from which students normally graduated at the age of twenty (Tsurumi, 1977). The two-year preparatory section took advanced primary school graduates normally at the age of fifteen, making it equivalent to junior high school. The three-year main section took preparatory section graduates or high school graduates, normally at the age of eighteen. The Taiwan Viceroy also issued the Woman Teacher Education Order to allow Teachers' Schools to educate female teachers. This change arose because of the shortage of male teachers in the period of the Pacific War (Tsurumi, 1977).

Subjects for male students in the preparatory section were civics, science, mathematics, physical exercise, skills and foreign language. Beside these subjects, female students also took housekeeping. In the main section, education and vocational studies were added for male students and education for female students. By 1945, there were six Teachers' Junior Colleges (Central Daily News, 1995).

The Third Phase: 1945 to 1987

After the Pacific War in 1945, Taiwan was governed by the KMT (Chinese) government. The KMT government continued the centralized control over education experienced during the period of Japanese colonization. In 1949, when the Chinese civil war ended, the KMT government moved to Taiwan and this control became even tighter. Education was now viewed as a key means to construct Taiwanese people's national identity in opposition to the Chinese communist party. Primary schooling, the primary school curriculum, teacher education and teacher supply were all dominated by the KMT government.

The development of primary education after 1945 led to fundamental changes. A unification of the primary school system meant that there was only one kind of state primary school. State Taiwanese aboriginal primary schools were integrated into state primary schools. Compulsory primary schooling was abandoned by the KMT government as it was not yet

established in Mainland China. The National Curriculum Policy was introduced in 1945 to replace the different kinds of primary school curriculum developed in the colonial period. The 1945 National Curriculum Policy also contained the National Curriculum Standard Regulations that embodied the details of the National Curriculum Policy. Primary school subjects were group training, music, athletics, civics, history, geography, arithmetic, Chinese, social studies, general knowledge, natural science, organized group play, and painting and crafts. This curriculum was designed to end the influence of Japanese culture and to develop national identity in Taiwan. The KMT government also extended legislation dating from 1932, by which all state primary school teachers had to be appointed by the government. The 1932 legislation also allowed the KMT government to control the development of teacher education and teacher supply and introduced free (no-fee) teacher education to Taiwan. Because the 1932 Act defined Teachers' Schools as being at the level of high schools, all existing Teachers' Junior Colleges were down-graded from the level of junior college to the level of high school (Her, 1980; Yang, 1981) and now took junior high school graduates. The curriculum for teachers in training included Chinese, Mandarin, mathematics, geography, history, natural history, chemistry, physics, athletics, hygienic, civics, fine art, music, introduction to education, the management of education, teaching methods, teaching materials, and general psychological testing and statistics. In order to overcome the extreme shortage of teachers caused by the expulsion of Japanese teachers, two more Teachers' Schools were set up in Shing Jwu City and Ping Tong City, located in the north and south of Taiwan respectively. The Taiwan Provincial Taipei Female Teachers' School was also established in order to improve and extend female teacher education.

In 1946, the Taiwan Provincial Council re-introduced the National Textbook Policy because in the minds of Councilors no difference existed between Mainland China and Taiwan (Department of Taiwan Provincial Education, 1984; Her, 1980). The Taiwan Textbook Shop was also established to supply primary school textbooks, a list of which was issued for supply only by central government or KMT owned book stores, such as Jeng Jang and Kai Ming (Her, 1980). In 1947, the Chinese Constitution was passed by the main legislature, the People's Representative Congress. The Taiwan provincial government, then, issued the Compulsory Primary Education Act (Ministry of Education, 1985). In response to the introduction of compulsory primary education, the Textbook Supply Committee of Primary Schools was then established to supply national textbooks (Lii, 1984). This Committee was later reformed as the Edition and Translation Committee in July 1947, and was charged with the revision of the primary school curriculum. A new primary school curriculum was then introduced in 1948, which defined nine school

subjects: civics, music, athletics, Mandarin, arithmetic, social studies, natural science, fine art and handicraft.

In 1949, the KMT government moved to Taiwan following its defeat in the civil war against the Chinese communist party. This led to tighter control over the primary school curriculum. In 1953, primary school textbooks began to be supplied by the National Edition and Translation Institution controlled by the Ministry of Education (Yu, 1987). In 1960, Teachers' Schools were elevated to three-year Junior Teachers' Colleges (equal to the age group of twenty one) in response to rapid economic growth in Taiwan, and to improve teacher quality (Chiang, 1996, 2001b). Later in 1963, they were reformed as five-year Junior Teachers' Colleges, taking junior high school graduates (Lii, 1984). Three years had come to be thought too short to offer proper training, and three-year junior colleges were unable to recruit academically excellent high school students, whose first choice was university. Moreover, they produced about 3,000 graduates more than the estimated need of about 1,000 teachers per year (Lii, 1984). The five-year teacher college curriculum was composed of General, Professional and Optional subjects. General subjects were the Three Principles, Chinese, Mandarin, mathematics, civics, history, geography, natural science, chemistry, physics, English, music, fine art, handicraft, athletics and military training. Professional subjects were logic, introduction to education, child development and guidance, educational psychology, educational sociology, the introduction of curriculum, teaching materials and methods, psychological and educational measurement and testing, primary school administration, the history of education, comparative elementary education, educational philosophy, audio-visual education, health education, research of language and literature teaching, research of arts and crafts teaching, research of music teaching, research of natural science teaching and practice in teaching. All students had to finish a total of between 260 and 280 credits in five years.

Nine years of compulsory education was instituted as a minimum requirement for all students, commencing in September 1968. In response to this, the National Curriculum Standard Regulation was revised and re-addressed the importance of national identity in opposition to the Chinese communist party. The overt political purpose of education was later intensified, for example, when in the following year primary school textbooks were published and supplied only by the National Edition and Translation Institution in order to unify them (You, 1993).

The Teacher Education Act introduced in 1987 raised all Teachers' Junior Colleges to the level of college or university in response to increasing pressure to improve teacher quality and global trends in teacher education

(Chen, 1995; Lin, 1981; Yu, 1979). The curriculum was divided into three sections: general, profession, and special subjects. Every student was required to complete 148 credits in four years, 74 (50%) for general subjects, 44 (29.7%) for professional subjects and 30 (20.3%) for special subjects.

The Fourth Phase: from 1987

It was a milestone for Taiwan in history when Martial Law was abolished in 1987. This new situation forced Taiwan to move into a new era, a democratic society in which people demanded more voice and called on the central government to conduct a series of educational reforms. In September 1988, because of increasing pressure from legislators, the Ministry of Education announced a reduction in the school textbook monopoly by the National Edition and Translation Institution (Bulletin of the Ministry of Education, 1982/165). In February 1989, the Ministry of Education further permitted primary school teachers to use different editions of school textbooks (Bulletin of the Minister of Education, 1989/170).

On 2 May 1989, the Minister of Education set up the Primary School Curriculum Reform Committee (Kuo, 1994). In September 1993, based on its suggestions, the Ministry of Education introduced a New National Curriculum Policy, which went into operation in 1996. This policy modified the existing primary school curriculum and reduced the range of materials covered by primary school textbooks. It also introduced some teaching periods over which primary teachers were able to have full control and for which they were permitted to devise their own teaching materials and their own assessments.

Although the New Right started to become a dominant influence in western countries such as the USA and the UK in the 1980s (Chiang, 1997, 2008b), its influence in Taiwan didn't emerge until the 1990s, because of the constraints imposed by Martial Law, which was abolished in 1987, as noted previously. However, the extension of the New Right's influence to Taiwanese teacher education in the 1990s is manifest in the 1994 Teachers' Education Act.

In February 1994, because of dissatisfaction with the monopoly of primary school teacher supply by teacher colleges, the Teachers' Education Act was passed in the Legislative Yuan, destroying this monopoly. Although, the Act maintains the Government's right to appoint state primary school teachers, other higher education institutions are now allowed to provide teacher education. The policy of non-fee paying teacher education was also abolished. In December 1999, the Ministry of Education introduced the Post Graduate Certificate Program for higher educational institutes to provide teacher education for university graduates who would like to gain a teacher

certificate. Those changes have produced a profound impact on teacher supply, shifting from a slight shortage to oversupply. This oversupply has intensified since the early 2000s as witnessed by the fact that very few graduates with teacher certificates are currently able to become primary school teachers. This phenomenon has brought in a new form of political pressure that has left the central government with no choice but to introduce new policies from the middle of 2000s directed at lessening the size of the teacher education market. As noted previously, the acceptance by the central government of the ideology of the New Right in the 1990s, has resulted in considerable political pressure, driving the state to implement a new ideology that is not free-market but planned under its direction. This new ideology has generated a series of new policies. The Ministry of Education, for example, initiated a new policy in 2004, cutting the capacity of Centers for Teacher Education in all higher educational institutes by 50%. In 2005, the Ministry of Education announced a counter-market policy – that if teachers' colleges agreed to cut their intake of student teachers by 50%, they could upgrade to the level of teachers' university. Without substantial resistance, the existing teachers' colleges accepted this political arrangement and renewed their titles as teachers' universities in August 2005. Although these actions have greatly reduced the scale of teacher education, the problem of teacher oversupply hasn't been alleviated significantly. In other words, it has now become extremely difficult to become a primary school teacher. Although this competitive selection mechanism has ensured the professional quality of primary school teachers, the employment rate of graduates as primary school teachers is very low – less than 3% from 2005 to 2008. This phenomenon indicates that primary schools have become professional, in the public's eyes. Generally speaking, Taiwanese primary school teachers have traditionally enjoyed a much higher degree of social status than their Western counterparts. This phenomenon is due to the influence of Confucianism, which bestows higher levels of psychical and material rewards upon them.

The influence of Chinese traditional culture has ensured that teachers have enjoyed a high level of social status in Chinese society (Lee, 1972; Liou, 1973, Lin 1992). In ancient Chinese society, there was a close relationship between the Emperor and the teacher. As a national leader, the Emperor had to behave as a model for his people, to whom he was also a teacher. This symbolic meaning gradually extended to both senior officials and teachers and their relationships. A very high level of social status thus adhered to teachers who were defined as one of the five superior-social-status groups (God, the Earth, the Emperor, the Family and the Teacher). They had an important symbolic position to sustain as guardians of social morality. They

had to possess a high level of academic knowledge, as well as sound social attributes, in order to influence other people.

This high social status was reinforced by Confucius's life and example. In the Chinese tradition, it has been generally agreed that he was the most remarkable scholar of the past two thousand years or more, as exemplified by the Four Books (Lee, 1977; Liou, 1973). Confucianism achieved an intense and extensive influence on Chinese culture. Furthermore, because of his long-term contribution to schooling, particularly as an inspiration for the movement for public education, he has been regarded as an icon of social equality and social morality. People tend to extend this symbolic meaning to school teachers. Teachers are thus expected, like Confucius, to have an important influence on maintaining or improving social morality. The declaration of the 28th of September, his birthday, as Teachers' Day in Taiwan indicates the length of his symbolic shadow on our school teachers.

During the colonial period, from 1894 to 1945, Taiwanese teachers continued to have a very high level of social status. This was mainly because the Taiwan Viceroy provided only two routes for academically excellent students: medicine or primary school teaching (Tsurumi, 1977; Wu, 1983). To become a teacher was extremely difficult (Her, 1980). J.T. Wu also argued that Teachers' Schools not only developed professionals but also leaders for Taiwanese society (see Wu, 1983). They thus constituted a social elite. Although the selection has been not quite so restrictive since 1945, passing the entrance examination was still very difficult. For example, only 6.3% of male and 3% of female examination candidates passed in 1966 (Lin, 1980). This academic selection further contributed to the high social standing of primary school teachers (Chen, 1992; Her and Liou, 1969; Lin, 1971; Lin, 1992; Win and Chan, 1979; Taiwan Normal University, 1980).

The Taiwanese economy grew more rapidly from the 1960s, while still embodying much traditional Chinese and Japanese culture. Teachers no longer serve as the only knowledge suppliers. People are able to acquire knowledge in other ways, and an open society encourages people to develop multiple and pluralistic values, concepts and thoughts. In such a society, teachers' social status is likely to decline, and Taiwan has not been an exception to this trend. Nevertheless, Taiwanese teachers still have a higher social standing than their Western counterparts (Lin, 1980) and are perceived to exert a significant influence upon social morality. This is recognized, for example, by the annual presidential speech in appreciation of teachers' contribution to national development on Teachers' Day (Bulletin of the Ministry of Education, 1979/57; Bulletin of the Ministry of Education, 1980/70; Bulletin of the Ministry of Education, 1981/81).

Another piece of solid evidence to document the professional status of Taiwanese primary school teachers is their salary, which is much higher than that of civil servants. Teachers' salaries are determined by central government policy. Each year a central government budget plan specifies levels of the teachers' salaries. It is worth recording that primary school teachers' salaries are tax free. As well as receiving a twelve-month salary, at the end of the lunar year they have bonus of one and half months salary, which is standard within Taiwanese society. Promotion is partly determined on an appraisal process conducted each academic year. Most teachers are rated as 'excellent'. Once they have achieved this 'excellent' rating, their salaries jump to a higher level of the scale and the holders are given an extra bonus equivalent to one or two month's salary. Two months of extra salary are given only to senior teachers, on top of their ordinary teachers' salary scale.

Salaries are based on a scale which takes into account post, school location, qualification and the length of teaching experience. This gives rise to a wide range of salaries. At present, the top levels of these scales offer some senior teachers other than school administrative staff, including the head teacher, department heads and assistants, about two thousand pounds per month, which is more than double a new teacher's salary of about nine hundred pounds per month.

In order to encourage teachers' professional development, teachers' salaries jump to higher scale levels when they achieve further qualifications, based on years of course duration. In relation to the bottom level, junior college graduates, Ph.D., masters' and first degree holders advance two, four or two extra levels on these scales, respectively.

Conclusion

The historical development of education in Taiwan shows that the forms and functions of education have changed dramatically. In the first stage, successive European colonial governments were only concerned with their political and economic interests rather than education. Although General Cheng-Gong Jeng established traditional education in Taiwan, education was viewed as a political means to develop the national identity of the Ming Dynasty in opposition to the Ching Dynasty. This trend did not change in the next government, the Ching Dynasty. However, education became part of imperial civil service examination system, and its contents, thus, focused on traditional textbooks, like the Four Books and the Five Classics. In terms of curriculum design, teachers didn't have too much latitude. However, due to

the influence of Confucianism, primary teachers were viewed as professional in the modern sense.

The situation of education in Taiwan changed again in the period of Japanese colony that is from 1895 to 1945. Modern educational system was established and the influence of imperial civil service examination system was waived out eventually. However, education was viewed as a key means to transform Taiwanese into Japanese in the sense of value and identity. This political intention was mainly achieved through the channel of the policy of school textbook. Therefore, primary teachers did not have too much control over teaching materials. Perhaps, their autonomy only remained in the domain of interpretation of textbook contents. However, due to the influence of Confucianism, primary teachers still enjoyed a very high level of social status. When Taiwan returned China, the KMT government did not change this centralized policy. Its control over education was even tighter than before, as witnessed by the introduction of the national curriculum policy. Primary teachers were commanded to behave like the implementer rather than the designer in delivering teaching practices. However, this repressive context did not generate too much impact on their social standing. After 1987 when Taiwan moved into a rather democratic form, Taiwanese government adopted a decentralized policy. This change allows teachers to have more control over teaching materials and practices. This new context should bestow more autonomy upon primary teachers than before, and, thus, could promote their social status. However, the connection did not really happen because primary teachers were viewed as professionals and enjoyed a high level of social standing.

Overall, although, unlike like traditional professionals – medical practitioners, lawyers or engineers – Taiwanese primary school teachers do not possess a great degree of latitude in the conduct of their profession, they have long enjoyed a much higher level of professional status than their Western counterparts. Such a phenomenon is deeply connected with the influence of Chinese culture, which positions teachers as social guardians, protecting social morality and solidarity. Such a powerful social value, then, bestows on Taiwanese primary school teachers a high level of social status, prestige and salary. Despite a series of changes in teacher education and the impact of industrialization, their professional status hasn't significantly declined. The above analysis proves that socio-cultural influences need to be taken into account if researchers wish to gain a complete picture of teaching professionalism.

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The Relationship Between Team Performance in Teaching Excellency and School Teacher's Culture: A Case Study

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Abstract

The study via ethnographic and qualitative techniques aimed to (1) describe the context of the overall school teacher culture that cultivates the award-winning team at an elementary school, (2) analyze the team's learning behaviours, shared goals, values, beliefs, mutual interactions or dialogues, and experience sharing among the award-winning team members, (3) explore how the school principal leadership affects the school teacher culture that nurtures an award-winning teaching team, and (4) unveil the key factors that shape the excellent teaching team culture and its functions.

Major findings are summarized as below:

1. The award-winning teacher group at a school can facilitate the development of professional co-operation, teaching innovation within a school, and transform the school into a learning community.
2. The campus ethics of affiliation, collegiality and experience-heritage had been developed at the award-winning elementary school.
3. The school leaders, especially the principal, had a critical impact on the development of school teacher's culture via their determination and encouragement.
4. Both the school principal and the school senior excellent teachers played an exemplary and leading role in shaping a high-quality school culture for professional development.

It concluded that teaching excellence can only be nurtured by a collaborative school culture.

Background

Teaching Excellence Awards are offered by the Ministry of Education, Taiwan to kindergarten, primary, junior high, and senior high school teachers in Taiwan in recognition of their outstanding performance in teaching. The awards are designed to encourage teaching innovation or class management

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improvement (Ministry of Education 2007) so that students can be better taught or guided in line with their aptitude.

The screening process for teaching excellence awards will go through two runs (held by local government & MOE). The reviewer panel in each run includes authority representatives, teacher representatives, school administrators, parent representatives, experts and social distinguished persons. For each run of the screening, document reviews and field observations are conducted. The evaluation criteria & weights assigned for each trait of teaching are shown below:

I. teaching ideals and process (50%), covering educational philosophy and practices, team operation, and classroom management,

II. teaching innovation and accountability(50%), covering teaching innovation and learning performance.

In addition, it is hoped that teachers can transform their implicit personal knowledge, experience and knowledge into explicit performance by taking the initiative to form a peer teaching team, and breaking away from the previous 'doing-it-alone' form of teaching style. Thus, they will be motivated to learn through the team dynamics. In turn, their mutual sharing and transmission can facilitate innovation of the whole school culture and increase the overall school effectiveness.

The Award for Teaching Excellence is designed to be given to a teaching team consisting of at least 3 teachers, public or private, at senior high, junior high, elementary, and kindergarten levels. The excellence covers two dimensions: (1) teaching ideals and process, and (2) teaching innovation and accountability, which include educational philosophy and practices, team operation, classroom management, teaching innovation, and learning performance. The award-winning team receives not only a trophy and nationwide praise, but also a handsome cash reward of NT\$ 600,000 for the Golden Prize, and NT\$ 300,000 for the Silver Prize (Ministry of Education, 2007).

Research Questions

We are curious to know how excellent teachers achieved their excellence in teaching and guidance. Does the excellent teaching team partake of a unique school culture to win an award for teaching excellence from Ministry of Education? What factors have contributed to teacher's willingness to form a teaching team instead of their original habit--working alone? How important is the overall contextual culture where the teaching team is situated? How does

the school principalship affect the school culture? What are the key factors that direct the development of quality school culture?

Literature Review

Relationship between school culture, teacher culture, and teacher behaviours

School culture, varying from school to school, is an 'inner reality' of the school (Deal and Peterson (1993), which reflects the state of the school climate or the learning environment. As Peterson (2002, p. 10) has put it: 'It is the set of norms, values and beliefs, rituals and ceremonies, symbols and stories that make up the 'persona' of the school. A school culture influences the ways people think, feel, and act'. Teacher's culture is the major aspect of school culture. Usually, the teacher's culture reflects the conservative side of the current social mainstream culture; especially, the culture of indifference, which may be out of a natural reaction to the long-suppression (Fong 1998). Teachers should not be a consolidation tool of political power, or a stability tool of social order. If their status is just regarded as the school system tiers of professional and technical personnel-- responsible only for management and implementation of courses and with no power of critique and adjustment over curriculum and teaching, all of the educational outcomes will be limited to merely an objective level (Weng, 2003). This would be very unfavorable for educational innovation as a whole.

The key to the success of school education depends on good-quality school culture, because 'School culture influences what people pay attention to (focus), how they identify with the school (commitment), how hard they work (motivation), and the degree to which they achieve their goals (productivity)'(Peterson and Deal 2002, p. 10). The existence of a unique school culture makes each school's culture different from the other schools so that each school is able to display its advantages and produce a unique campus culture (Cheng 2004). This unique campus culture has a great impact on the performance of school effectiveness (Wu, 2007).

It has been shown that traditional school norms compose a culture antithetical to collegial interaction among *teachers* and between *teachers* and administrators (Keedy, 1991). The current educational reform demands school teachers to be involved in a grass-root style. However, this requires that the teacher's relationship be switched from alienation to close cooperation in a learning group. Under the identity conflict, they have their own culture problem to be solved (Chen, 2004). School Culture is gradually shaped inside and outside of the campus. There is a close relationship

between school culture and the school's overall image and effectiveness. It is necessary to understand school teacher culture in order to develop a good quality school culture, as the key element of school culture is the teacher culture. Where there is a high-quality, positive, and professional teaching culture, there must be a high-quality school culture. It usually takes 10 years to grow a tree, while it may take 100 years to educate a person. Education is a fundamental root of cultural heritage and the impact of teachers on students is the most far-reaching. Teaching is an on-going process for innovation and growth! To face the demands of educational innovation and expectations, teachers should not be isolated from the society. They should know where they are, allowing no confusion of teachers' roles and teachers' expected behaviors.

Teaching excellence award and quality of teaching

In Taiwan, the teaching excellence award for the primary and secondary school teachers was designed to recognize outstanding performance in teaching, and to encourage teachers to devote themselves to teaching innovation and better learning guidance (Ministry of Education, 2007). Alberta in Canada started the teaching excellence awards as early as 1988. The province's education authorities invited all the students, parents, teachers, colleagues, principals and community people together to recommend excellent teachers or outstanding principals to the education authorities (Alberta Government, 2006). In Australia, there is also a National Teaching Excellence Award, sponsored by the NEITA Foundation of Australian Scholarships Group (referred to as ASG). On behalf of the government, the Foundation honors and praises excellent teachers in kindergarten, elementary and junior high schools (The NEITA Foundation, 2006).

No matter where the Teaching Excellence Award is offered, whether in Taiwan, Canada or Australia, all of the programs focus on the improvement of teaching quality and learning effectiveness. Alberta in Canada honors the outstanding teachers by a grand dinner and an award certificate given to outstanding teachers and their schools. In Australia, it is much the same way. However, they also offer prize money to assist the winners to further promote new research projects in teaching innovation. Since the nine-year curriculum was implemented in Taiwan, in order to encourage teachers to improve their teaching quality, the Ministry of Education has hired experts and scholars each year to select the best teaching-excellence teams, to which an award with a handsome bonus is given.

Teaching team and school culture innovation

An effective teaching team should include experts, scholars and academic staff. Yet, it should not involve too many people and its members should be able to interact freely in order to eliminate self-isolation among teachers (Shih 2004, Jackson and Davis, 2000). At the same time, school authorities in developing a teaching team must first understand the unique traits of the teaching team to make it run efficiently and smoothly. Then, the school organizational culture can make smooth changes in integrating and transforming school teaching and guidance to enhance student's learning effectiveness.

Relationship between the teaching excellence award-winning team and school teacher culture

School teacher culture is defined as the powerful latent force that resides within a school and guides teachers' behaviours and which can have a tremendous impact upon school effectiveness. As a result, the school culture has a nature of dynamic evolution and it is gradually developed after a long-term cumulative process. Therefore, school culture is fostered by all its elements surrounding the campus, such as teachers and students, parents and community residents and their interactions. A teaching excellence team is of course, composed of teachers who regulate school activities or curriculum implementation. That is why we often say: 'Like teacher, like student.' From our point of view, teachers affect not only students but also schools. The teaching team would have a significant impact on the overall atmosphere on campus and could lead to in-depth changes in school culture (Chang and Lee, 2007). It is therefore worthwhile our attempting to identify the school culture changes that can be stimulated by a teaching excellence award-winning team. There is a close relationship between school culture and performance demonstrated by the teaching award-winning team (Wu 2007). If the school teachers in the teaching team can develop group dynamics and professional action research in teaching so that these elements become accessible to most teachers, the entire school system can then be transformed into a new state of school culture. Subsequently, a new form of school culture will take shape.

Research Design and Procedure

Research methods & Data analysis

This study adopted a case study method in the form of ethnographic qualitative research to describe and explore school teacher culture. The ethnographic research approach, emphasizing the views of researchers in the

natural context to explore how people understand the social significance of the living environment, attempts to watch, listen, and analyze the society in the real world of life.

Data collection methods specifically include (1) participant observation, (2) semi-structured interview, (3) document analysis, and (4) field memos and journal entries.

In order to make the data analysis of this study is more credible, the following measures are taken for data check-up. First, the triangulation method is used to examine the credibility of the collected data through different types of data, different sources of data from teachers, principals, and grade directors at different periods of time. For instance, the collected data are checked for data accuracy by both the narrator and the peer group of teachers. Second, data are collected in diverse ways, such as from official or unofficial documents, and teachers' personal documents to enrich and enhance the credibility of data. Third, the ethnographic approach is used to reflect what we see and what we interpret via regular dialogues between colleagues. In addition to the mutual discussion between the research-related staff, the school teachers, and the researcher, the researchers also share the findings with colleagues and seek suggestions from them.

Selection of a research field

Initially, we tried to find two neighboring elementary schools whose teaching teams have won the Teaching Excellence Award from the Ministry of Education in Taiwan as our object of study. After a brief personal introduction of our case study, two principals were willing to take part in the study, and were then further consulted. We also made assurances that we wouldn't interfere with school operations and would protect relevant people's privacy. Finally, we obtained the two principals' permission for an entry into the tentative research field. Judging from the school context, the teachers' openness, and the convenience of observation time for researchers, we selected just one elementary school called Ta-I elementary school from Yun-Lin county as our case study target for developing an in-depth understanding of the school teaching-excellence team's culture.

The research timetable

This study consists of a two-stage investigation in order to help researchers conduct data collection and interviews. At the first stage about August to October, 2007, the researcher went to the chosen school to make an initial exploration of the research. The researcher had 3 interviews with the principal

about research topics. During this period, the researcher also met with some members of the teaching-excellence team and finalized our initial study plan and research questions.

Beginning February 1, 2008, the researcher entered the research site for the second stage study which lasted one semester. During the observation period, the researcher made school or class observations and conducted in-depth interviews with teachers involved with the study. Reflective anecdotal records from interview notes or observations, memos from transcripts, audio-recordings and school documents were collected, analyzed, and categorized for identification of themes.

Researcher's role and research ethics

In this study, the researchers also acted as a participant to observe. It was thus not possible to be completely value-free. However, the researcher's ethics were strictly observed. The observer maintained a high degree of self-awareness during the participation process in order not to disturb the pace of school operations and the school ecology, so that the school teacher culture could be revealed as it was.

Research Results and Discussion

This study was conducted through a literature review and a case study to clarify the contextual link between teaching team performance and school culture, teacher culture and behaviours of teachers. The empirical results are discussed in sequence according to four major research questions and several topical themes subsumed under each research question.

What are the main characteristics of the school culture and the teacher culture at Ta-I elementary school?

Ethics-oriented harmony culture with mutual caring and support

During the process of the study, teachers at the Ta-I elementary school repeatedly mentioned about mutual caring and aid among colleagues. In particular, many novice teachers were moved in the first year of teaching because of having a lot of senior experienced teachers not only acting as their personal mentors but also extending their welcome, care and support or encouragement. What's more, senior teachers enjoyed sharing their own precious experiences with the new teachers. Excellent interaction and a harmonious organizational atmosphere within the school can be said to be the main driving force to make the Ta-I elementary school outstanding.

When we came to the school 10 years ago, those senior teachers treated us as they were treated before, such as teacher XX who was very enthusiastic about giving us a pull, and would not presume on his old age to despise the novice. (K01-21 interview)

A teacher who taught at the Tai-I elementary school said 'I don't feel any stress from the higher authority, and we all respect our principal and school ethics as well' (Z02-17 interview).

Administrative ethics or campus ethics at the Ta-I elementary school is solidly grounded. The just-mentioned ethical orientation results in a clear definition of roles and produces a traditional atmosphere of authoritative hierarchy. At the same time, the campus ethics can moderate the conflicts between teachers and thus promotes the harmonious relationship among its members.

The sharing culture as an aid to uphold or inherit team experiences

The harmonious culture effectively defuses the confrontation between members and makes the isolated teacher culture shift toward team sharing. It produces a function of inherited-experiences like the apprenticeship system function. As a result, the professionalism of the new teachers can be assured. A new teacher talked about his feeling about the teacher culture at Ta-I:

The teachers at Ta-I elementary school will try their best to emulate the abler ones if they find the other teachers have a better way to make their students advance more and would like to share. In particular, as a novice teacher, I should learn more. (S01-14 interview)

But there is also a teacher at the Tai-I elementary school who complained:

Having a sense of accomplishment, but also feeling very tired! ... In fact, sometimes the school does not demand us to do so well. It is that teachers themselves decide to do the best! Perhaps, this is just the voice from some of the teachers and it does not mean the position from the principal. Instead, some people ask for a better job by themselves.

Obviously, individual behaviours of school teachers are affected by campus culture and group pressure.

Team participation and joint commitment

At the Ta-I elementary school, you can often see a number of classrooms with lights on even at 6 or 7 pm in the evening. Teachers in the classrooms are working on classroom layout and lesson preparation, or correcting

students' work, and so on. Because teachers at the school are usually very busy, these jobs have to be done after school.

Since most of them are unmarried female teachers, the principal asks them to leave the school earlier for safety reason. It is so touching to find that a lot of classrooms are still with lights on at 6 or 7 PM in the cold winter. School teachers are willing to do so. They must be committed to their job and identified with the school; otherwise, they would leave school as scheduled! (L01-41 interview)

They regard the school as a home also in the 'weekends'. For example, there are six or seven teachers who came to school for student paper correction or sports preparation on the weekend right before the school anniversary. They were very busy preparing for the coming games on week days and didn't have time to correct papers or students' homework. I talked to the teacher: 'Why don't you take students' homework home for correction?' They responded: 'They are too heavy to carry and it's inconvenient to take home'. (961.210 Observation & Interview).

What kind of teacher culture is revealed in the award-winning teaching team?

The teaching excellence team is basically an extension of a grade team

Team members all agreed that winning the teaching award is just a joint effort out of the successfully extended operations of the grade team. Therefore, it is a common achievement completed by all members of the Ta-I elementary school.

The glory for winning Teaching Excellence Award is not given to us only! We are just the lucky 10 whose names are listed on the prize. Like Mrs. X, when she is doing her project, there are 2~3 teachers from her grade team at her command. It can be said that such an outstanding teaching team has been supported by all grade teams at our school and has secured all possible resources from each grade to win the award! (A06-54 interviews).

Team members are touched by the driving force of their insistence on educational ideals

Some teachers felt that after participating in the teaching team they were quite impressed by the entire team's seeking novelty and hoping for the best. That is the greatest fruit of their efforts.

Teacher Education in Modern Era

Because everyone is more or less lazy, a teacher cannot be very active every day. In the course of the team operation, everyone has a different job of data collection and does not know if there is any challenge waiting for you. However, you will gain a new impetus for moving on as soon as certain new ideas are proposed after a weekly meeting. ... When you go back to your own class, you will find that you are just a small cog in the big school machine that carries you on for ever. (J01 - 02 interviews)

What motivates the team members to make sacrifices for group benefits and achievement is their adherence to educational ideals that are inspired by the group dynamics. By means of this momentum, many innovative curriculum units are successfully completed.

Teachers in the team are more active than the other teachers

Compared with the other teachers at Ta-I elementary school, teachers from the teaching excellence team are more active and self-demanding. Thinking of possible ways of team development, each person has a lot of potential ideas leading to a lot of feasible directions.

If you want to carry out each aspect of the teaching plan, it would need much manpower to get it done! There are quite a few partners who are worried about this... Everything is hard at the beginning. As long as I start it, I will go on without stopping. To stop halfway is not our style. Just do it without any doubt! (Man 01-02) `

A lot of creativity and wisdom are aroused by the spirit to fight to the bitter end. Each member of the teaching team overcame all difficulties to design a series of teaching materials with enriched curriculum and teaching content. The researcher was impressed by the active, enthusiastic, and initiative eager devotion to education found at the award-winning team. Table 1 summarizes the special traits found in the teaching excellence award-winning team.

Main teacher's traits	Representative Events
Friendship emphasized collaboration shared commitment	Good friendship, active assistance, following a mentor teacher emotional support
	Holding a meeting and a party at the same time existence of a mentor

Joint participation, high team morale competing with the better rather than the worse	Showing a sense of mission
	Warm atmosphere with no pressure, good interaction in the small group, mutual support
	Mutual discussion along with brainstorming co-decision and co-operation
	Determination to get things well done undaunted courage to accept challenges and uphold ideals
	Seeking for a sense of honor be afraid of losing face having a sense of responsibility

Table1: The Special Traits Found in the Teaching Excellence Award-Winning Team.

How does the school principalship affect the school teacher culture

In the past 6 years, the principal Mrs. Wang was the first to win praise and recognition from parents and education authorities. In the eyes of school teachers, such an outstanding principal can be described as having the following qualities:

Good communication skills

Since the principal, Mrs. Wang’s arrival for the new job, teachers have chats more frequently with the principal on their own initiative. Therefore, some teachers feel that Mrs. Wang is well informed about recent news about school teachers. They are sometimes to be found kidding about her as ‘the secret policeman from the Ming dynasty!’

Some teachers think that the principal demonstrates a high EQ because she can effectively handle unpleasant issues which arise between teachers and parents. ‘Our principal’s EQ is quite good, for example, she is good at dealing with the point-of-view conflict between administrative leaders and teachers (Z03-36 interviews)’. ‘Because of her educational ideas, Mrs. Wang will encourage open communication with colleagues to exchange different opinions for peer support’. (A01-65 interviews).

A culture changer

Some elementary schools are relatively old and conservative. As a result, the organizational culture is deeply rooted and could not be easily modified. A new school principal is often defeated by the school traditions and even cannot survive the first few days in the principalship. Although the TA-I elementary school is no exception, the Ta-I elementary teachers felt that an implicit school culture change has been made by Mrs. Wang. She has fulfilled a school principal's main duty as 'a school culture builder' (Campo, 1993, p. 119).

Mrs. Wang has sparked the organizational culture change. (R: What is the difference?) The big difference comes from her sincere care and consideration to teachers.... Mrs. Wang knows how to build an overall development of the school comprehensively. (O01-01 interviews)

Brilliant leadership: recognition, rewarding and encouragement

The principal, Mrs. Wang rarely resorted to authority to demand teacher's obedience. She respected teacher's opinion and listened to their comments. Consequently, teacher's resistance to the authority is also rare. 'Our principal is not an authoritative person. At the open meeting occasions, she does not directly criticize teachers and will communicate openly with us. Our face is saved because of her consideration of others' (I01-65 interviews).

In addition, Mrs. Wang often looks at the bright side of a teacher. She usually looks for the teacher's merits rather than the demerits. 'Mrs. Wang used to praise me in public.(R: Will you feel pressed?) No, open praise is the best way of leading (X02-33 interviews)'. Mrs. Wang often encourages teachers in public by positive comments or feedback. In particular, whenever the parents or the community members are present, she will list each teacher's merits and recognize school teacher's efforts. 'Mrs. Wang's open positive comments are not the same as the smooth mediation to get along with colleagues. That kind of caring is different' (F01-19 interviews). Because of her smooth mediation, care-driven, kind insistence, the teachers at the Tai-I elementary school sense these qualities, and they respond with hard work, which makes school excellence possible.

Colleague's good friends

'Our principal has won our hearts!' This remark has impressed the researcher. Many teachers at Ta-I have a sense of Mrs. Wang's affinity and are willing to make friends with her. A retired teacher recalled: 'Mrs. Wang is so intimate,

and she is often considerate of you! For example, she will buy a small gift for me when she is back from a trip abroad. She has won my heart. It is trivial, but it is important for mutual caring' (X03-26 interviews).

Principal Wang's impact on the school teacher culture

Creating an up-up group dynamic and fostering a win-win environment at Ta-I elementary school

In the information age, the only constant is 'change'. In a new era of education, there are many aspects of education that need adjustment. However, due to the habitual daily routines of life, school teachers in general are usually not preparing for change! 'Even if harmony resides within the school, the phantom of change resistance will always be there' (B01-25 interviews). Mrs. Wang claims that simple 'harmony' within the organization may not necessarily be generating momentum. What is most important is that the principal must lead each of the organization members to participate in school activities.

From the skin-deep point of view, many principals assume that as long as the school teachers would not find fault with something here and there (of course, the less there is argument, the more there is harmony), the school will naturally make progress. From the external point of view, there seems to be harmony within a school, but there is no upward momentum. For the need of school momentum, different levels of school leader's stimulating guidance are required. (B03-23 interviews)

By means of different measures, the principal Mrs. Wang encouraged school teacher's active involvement in school affairs. Not to lose any opportunity, Mrs. Wang managed the upward momentum for the school. It is her important strategy for school management. That is why Alkire (1995, p. 23) has highlighted, 'Principals have the responsibility for creating a school culture that will either move the school toward excellence, or maintain and further the *excellence* that may already be there' .

A sense of accomplishment and importance

Many teachers at Tai-I admitted that they were tired, but they were filled with a sense of accomplishment and proud of being a member of the school. ' To teach at Tai-I, I feel a sense of accomplishment (Y02-23 interview) '. Silvester (2008) also argued that a sense of accomplishment indeed may trigger enthusiasm in work. Mrs. Wang has noticed its importance.

Although teachers are usually mature adults, they are still very concerned about the principal's emotional support and recognition! Due to lack of momentum, some academic grade teams could be strengthened more! Even though they did not do very well, I usually will try my best to pick out some of their advantages for open recognition as long as they are willing to do it. (B05-19 interviews)

Monitoring the development of the administrative team as the school model

Mrs. Wang demands a higher expectation from the administrative team than the general teachers at Ta-I elementary school. The aim is to ask the executive colleagues to serve as a good model so that a positive development of the whole school can be directed. For example, the principal would say: 'School directors should spare no pains. The administrative colleagues should take the initiative to serve for teachers. Then, effective teaching and learning can be facilitated.'

Because the division heads are excellent, they often assist the directors. You, directors should work harder if you want to look after the administrative and teaching quality at the same time. You do have to pick it up! Do it by yourself. In fact, to be responsible, directors themselves have done their best. (B05-43 interviews)

What are the key factors that shape the development of teachers culture at Ta-I elementary school?

Emphasis on campus ethics and experience heritage

Much attention has been paid to the traditional campus ethics at Tai-I, which is the key element affecting the teacher culture. One teacher told us that 'She is the principal, how can we let her do something trivial for us' (A06-41 interviews).

Cultural heritage, including values, norms and basic assumptions is handed down intangibly. Sometimes, it can be just perceived and cannot be talked about. The corner-stone of the cultural heritage at Tai-I is the VIP leaders. Without them, Tai-I would not be different from the other schools! (Reflection 970,103)

During our interaction with the school teachers, we as researchers in the elementary school were impressed that the principal is respected by the school teachers.

Both the former principal, Mr. Lin and the current principal, Mrs. Wang are deeply respected. Although the school teachers association at all levels of education in Taiwan have played a more active role in the past few years, the Tai-I teacher associations have not caused too much conflict or controversy. This can be attributed to the solid campus ethics, which maintains a harmonious campus.

The leading role of senior teachers

In addition, at Ta-I, there is a unique inherited culture: a culture of a hen followed by many chickens. It makes the teacher culture at Ta-I maintain a steady and progressive state and be immune to school cultural deterioration due to the rapid changes in the external environment. Senior teachers take care of us like our own mothers' (U02-23 interview) ! They often take the initiative to share their teaching or life experiences with the new comers at Ta-I. Through a variety of occasions, they help newcomers adapt to the new ecological environment of teaching.

Over the years, there have been a few senior female teachers who have served at Ta-I for a long time. They have won school teachers' respect and admiration. They, like housekeepers, tend to do things more actively and enthusiastically.

At Ta-I, these senior teachers are doing their utmost as a teacher, and get along with everyone quite well. What is more, they are also good coordinators. Especially, teacher X is the best peacemaker! (C02-54 interview)

The researchers also observed that there are many teachers like a housekeeper. They have always been more positive in charge of leading. They are indispensable leaders to stabilize the school development. At Ta-I, there are indeed many senior figures of this type, who provided a model for the other school teachers to follow. Besides, in case of controversy on campus events, they often exert a positive force of stability.

Teacher's overall quality

As one teacher told the researchers: 'You know, it is tough to get into the Tai-I as a teacher unless you are the top 5. All teachers at Tai-I are excellent, no doubt (A07-04 interview) ! Since many teachers in the Tai-I elementary school were outstanding students at college and had a high self-expectation, they have regarded it as a challenge to be a teacher at Ta-I. Combined with a positive group dynamic atmosphere, they created a school culture that is different from the common school culture that is mediocre, isolated, and

indifferent. This type of school culture has made Ta-I create a new era of school development and achieve excellence in teaching.

Principal's personality: considerateness, forgiveness and insistence on educational ideals

How can a principal make a difference? Mrs. Wang invited school teacher's participation in school management and operation with an attitude of empathy and tolerance. She often laughs and says "I am just a person who gives a 'big hand' only". Because of her humility, a good teacher culture can be shaped and it is the driving force of school development.

Everybody, be of good cheer (for emphasis)! Up to this moment, this is the most serious talk I gave! All teachers have known my disposition. The serious talk will pass on from one teacher to another. At least, it happens at our school! (BA1-05 interviews)

The principal Mrs. Wang thinks that upholding ideals of education is necessary for administrative leadership. 'Reducing the conflict between teaching and administration is necessary, but nobody knows how long the balance between the two sides will last. Perhaps, it is 'Me' that keeps the current balance,... because I think sometimes it is necessary to adhere to the ideals (B03-42 interviews)' !

Conclusions and Implications

Based on the foregoing text analysis and discussion of the results of the study, it is concluded in summary that teaching excellence can be only approached by a collaborative school culture, while the school culture is explicitly shaped by the school principal and implicitly dominated by the school senior teachers. Specific conclusions and recommendations are offered below.

Final Conclusions

Campus ethics is tightly embraced by school teachers at the teaching-excellence-award-granted school where a positive teacher culture is demonstrated.

The investigated school put a great emphasis on the campus ethics, harmonious interaction between teachers so that their dedication to education is very high and their working efficiency is very good. Due to those school teachers' positive ways of thinking and senior teachers' active leading and

helping role at the elementary school, a well-established teaching model as well as an ethical atmosphere in the school culture can be inherited from the past generation and can be handed down to the next generation. Obviously, a positive school culture can enhance school effectiveness and productivity.

The Teaching Excellence award-winning team was formed in a study group of the same grade teachers and developed step by step for many years.

The teaching excellence award-winning team can be described as a microcosm of the grade-team. It is peer-oriented for professional development. It has been operating for many years and is quite mature. The team members share good feelings among themselves. They met weekly to share and exchange experience in subject teaching, classroom management issues, as well as emotional catharsis.

Teachers of the winning team are more willing to accept the challenge and uphold the educational ideals than outsiders.

The award-winning team shares a common vision to improve their teaching so that students can receive a better education. Members generally worked hard to carry out their missions. Their mutual cohesion is high so that they are more willing to face the new challenges.

The principal, Mrs. Wang, demonstrates care, empathy, and inclusive communication skills to establish a good friendship with teachers, to offer encouragement as well as a sense of accomplishment. She also is patient to wait for an appropriate time for a change that requires a transformation of school environment or an improvement of the school's fundamental upward momentum. What's more, she always manages to enhance school efficiency through her high expectations and provides more administrative services for ideals of education under such a shared-commitment working environment. Obviously, she 'leads rather than bosses' so that she is driven by service rather than giving orders to teachers and staff (Alkire 1995, p. 22).

Senior school teachers as mentors can implicitly shape a high-quality campus culture.

Senior school teachers, similar to the housekeeper serving as good examples to the junior teachers on the campus, can exert an implicitly stable force. Due to these senior mentors' willingness to share their precious teaching experiences and their active leading role in the development of collaborative

cultures, the newcomers or junior teachers can make a quick adaptation, transformation, and integration into the big quality school family. The school culture is a powerful force.

Implications for practice

Strategies for shaping a high-quality school teacher culture are suggested as follows.

Collaborative teaching teams should be developed to release teachers from their self-isolation

As seen from the case study, the fostering of collaboration, common goal, and shared values among teachers in the teaching team comprise an essential prerequisite to promote teaching experiences and problem solving capacity. The members of the teaching team can help each other in the functions of guidance and counseling; especially, allowing the new teachers in the team to be quickly and effectively integrated into school life or adapted to school traditions under team members' encouragement, support, and assistance. Gradually, a new teacher can be 'socialized into the school culture by adopting its norms and values (Flores 2004, p. 313)'.

To have an effective teaching team, major leaders should be carefully chosen.

As Jackson and Davis (2000, p. 156) put it: '*High-achieving schools have strong, competent leaders*'. Schools should carefully choose an enthusiastic and competent person as a team leader. The teaching team may run through self-developing multi-activities, such as study groups, teaching and research meetings, as well as casual daily gatherings to promote team members' cohesion and release their working pressure. Such mutual supporting of dynamics between team members can only be activated by a leader's engagement and enthusiasm.

Principals and administrative staff should set up a good model by themselves and replace the formal leadership by care and service

A high quality school's administrative team should always make sure that all the necessary resources are in order when needed. Therefore, principals and administrative staff should not act as administrative superiors and instead should offer needed resources, emotional care and support to make the

transformation of campus culture possible. As Burrello & Reitzug (1993, p. 676) claimed, 'A leadership intervention incongruent with the internal and external organizational context is likely to be perceived as intrusive and manipulative and is subsequently to be rejected'. Care and service is the smoothing key to effective leadership.

Be courteous to the quality senior teachers to uphold the campus ethics

The campus ethics can be upheld by the inherited norm and the teaching experience transferred from the excellent senior teachers to the novice teachers. Thus, the high-quality experienced senior teachers should be honored by praise and recognition whenever or wherever it is possible. As a result, school innovation and effectiveness can be enhanced under a stable school culture. The school culture is explicitly directed by the school principal and implicitly dominated by the school senior teachers.

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Danish teacher education, its challenges and conflicts in a Nordic and European context

Hans Dorf¹⁹

Abstract

Taking a recent comparative study of student attitudes to teacher education in Denmark and the Nordic countries as its point of departure, this paper argues that the quality of teacher education must be sought within teacher education itself as well as in political and social factors outside it.

Against a brief presentation of teacher education discourses in Denmark and at the European Union level, it is argued that the development of professional expertise must rest on a notion of theoretical, empirical and practical competence not only in subjects but also in didactics and pedagogy and educational science. The interplay between these educational elements might be handled by teacher education institutions integrating educational research, educational practice and educational reflection within a laboratory model of professional development.

Introduction

The qualities of teachers and their work are not determined solely by the internal qualities of teacher education – just as the qualities of either cannot be measured directly through pupils' results in terms of grades. Teacher education (as well as the teaching profession) is circumscribed by political and social conditions and is carried out by individuals.

In the following three sections, the challenges and conflicts of Danish teacher education is discussed in a Nordic and European context. The first section deals with a number of results from a recent comparative study of teacher recruitment and teacher students' and upper secondary school pupils' attitudes towards teacher education, in which I have taken part. The topic of the second section is the prevailing educational discourses at the European Union as well as the national, Danish level and the challenges they present to teacher education. In the last section, I discuss a couple of issues which I think teacher education must address for teacher students to develop the qualities needed to handle the challenges of the present society.

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Difficulties of recruitment and completion in Danish teacher education

From 1998 to 2008 the number of first priority applicants for Danish teacher education dropped from 5.041 to 2.684. In 2009 and 2010, there has been a minor increase, however, partly due to the economic recession, it is assumed. The total amount of applicants (all priorities) is almost twice as high, but this is a rather theoretical figure. The actual number of students admitted almost equals the number of first priority applicants. In comparison, the number of applicants for Finnish teacher education doubled from 13.082 in 1998 to 26.783 in 2008. Out of the 2008 applicants only 3.076 were admitted. In approximately the same period from 1997 to 2007, the completion rate in Danish teacher education dropped from 80 % to 62 % (70 % for female and 55 % for male students). Data for Finland was not available, but completion rates are assumed to be higher (these and the following empirical data are based on Nordic Council of Ministers, 2009; 2010).

It seems unlikely, that salary or working conditions can explain these differences, but data from the Nordic comparative study suggest a number of other explanations:

Finnish and Danish teacher education

Finnish teacher education is divided into two programs, a subject teacher program for secondary school and a class teacher and special teacher program for primary school (1.-5. standard). Both programs are research based 5 year university master programs. Danish teacher education for primary and lower secondary school (1.-9. standard) is a 4 year non-research based professional bachelor program situated at professional colleges. Teacher education for upper secondary school in Denmark is a university based master program, but will not be taken into account here, since my focus is education for compulsory schooling.

In Denmark, applicants are selected on the basis of grades (and, as a secondary admission mode, additional merits). In Finland, applicants have to go through an admission test and an interview. According to the data, Finnish students value this procedure, which gives them a first indication of their 'suitability' for teaching. The volume of subject studies is higher in the Finnish subject teacher education than in Danish teacher education, and the volume of educational studies is higher in both Finnish programs, particularly in the class teacher program, however. The volume of school practice does not differ markedly between Finland and Denmark; in Finland, however, school

practice takes place at particular practice schools under supervision by specially educated teachers.

The prestige of teacher education

Teacher students following a university based program are more likely to express the view that this fact implies a larger level of social recognition, but also that their educational studies thereby acquire a higher academic standing. In Denmark in particular, teacher education is seen as relatively easier than a university education but also as easier than other professional bachelor educations (leaving time for activities other than studying). Similarly, admittance to teacher education is thought of as easier in Denmark than in some of the other Nordic countries, and generally it can be assumed that four year programs with lower entry demands are less prestigious than five year programs with higher entry demands.

The knowledge basis of teacher education

Teacher students as well as upper secondary pupils emphasize that their education should be interesting and challenging and should offer a broad range of knowledge. However, there are sizeable differences between teacher students and upper secondary pupils as to the extent to which this demand is seen to be met by teacher education, the latter group being more skeptical. In Denmark there is an impression that teacher education is a sort of 'repetition' of youth education, whereas in Finland teacher education is seen to be offering opportunities for further personal and professional development.

The competences offered by teacher education

Finnish teacher students also emphasize the strength of the specialized programs because it makes it easier for students to define the future professional profile. Also, Finnish teacher students more clearly than those of the other Nordic countries express the view that they are acquiring the competences demanded by their future profession, and they are more positive towards the volume of educational studies in their programs. This element is generally seen as constitutive of teacher education quality by upper secondary pupils. For upper secondary pupils as well as teacher students it is important that their education offer an element of practical competence development. According to most teacher students this demand is

met by teacher education; in Denmark, however, this is questioned by a noticeable group of students (Jensen *et. al.*, 2008).

Teacher education as a career path

Teacher students see teacher education as a path to an array of job opportunities to a higher degree than upper secondary pupils, which is important since such opportunities are a generally important aspect of educational motivation. Upper secondary pupils are not very inclined to see the teaching profession as rich in opportunities for academic or professional development. Again, Finnish upper secondary pupils and teacher students hold rather more positive views of this, and Finnish teacher students expect a high degree of autonomy in their future profession.

The social importance of the teaching profession

It appears to be clearly more important to teacher students than to upper secondary pupil that their future work has social value. There is general recognition in both groups and in all the Nordic countries that the teaching profession is important to society. However, this recognition is translated into status and esteem mainly in Finland. In Denmark the status of the teaching profession received the lowest assessment by both groups. 'Fortunately', Danish teacher students attached the lowest importance to status!

Teachers in the media

In Denmark, Norway and Sweden, teacher students complain that the teaching profession and teacher education is presented in a negative light, and they deplore the absence of teachers as role models in the media picture. Again, this is different in Finland.

Educational competences and the daily life of teachers

The research data indicate that the teaching profession is seen by all categories of respondents as demanding and many-sided. Danish teacher students were rather doubtful about their being qualified for the task, and Danish upper secondary pupils were hesitant to accept the pressures which they associate with teaching. There is a perceived distance between the qualifications necessary to be a teacher, and the opportunities to use them in the job, which is seen as repetitive as well as demanding. In Finland, this is different. Nordic teacher students consider it a challenge to obtain the respect

and confidence of their pupils and they look forward to their cooperation with pupils and parents with a certain amount of anxiety. Danish students reported that their decisions to become teachers were met with a mixture of admiration and surprise that they were ready to undertake such a thankless job, whereas Finnish students reported that they were met with respect.

The authority and social relations of the teaching profession

Research seems to indicate that Finnish teachers enjoy a high degree of autonomy in their work, and are less inclined than other Nordic teachers to view their relationships to pupils and parents as problematic. Further, they seem more inclined to uphold a professional distance to their pupils in order to ensure their respect as adult role models, whereas their Nordic colleagues seem to emphasize personal and confident relations more. A large effort in special education as well as a rather homogeneous national culture has served to bring about a cultural unity within the Finnish school, enabling teachers to exert a 'natural' authority. And this has enabled the Finnish school system – despite its 'conservatism' – to implement educational reforms without putting its authority at risk. This is seen as an explanation of the fact that Finnish teacher education enjoys an unequalled popularity and status in the Nordic context (Simola, 2005; Hansén *et. al.*, 2008).

The context of development

I think that these results may indicate that the reality of Danish teacher education is not without problems. However, instead of presenting a list of what should be done, I propose to discuss, first, the challenges to Danish teacher education in terms of the political discourses concerning the functions and goals of teacher education at a European Union and a national level. Presently, I will consider a couple of didactical and organizational challenges, which Danish teacher education is faced with, from a theoretical point of view.

The functions and goals of teacher education

The educational paradigms of the European Union²⁰

From the beginning of the 1990's, the European Union gradually developed its educational policy combining an economic rationale with social and cultural goals:

²⁰ The present subsection summarizes a broader discussion in Dorf & Rasmussen, 2011 (forthcoming).

... we are faced with the immense responsibility (...) of finding a new synthesis of the aims pursued by society (work as a factor of social integration, equality of opportunity) and the requirements of the economy (competitiveness and job creation) (...) Nothing would be more dangerous than for Europe to maintain structures and customs which foster resignation, refusal of commitment and passivity. Revival requires a society driven by citizens who are aware of their own responsibilities and imbued with a spirit of solidarity towards those with whom they form local and national communities – communities that are so rich in history and in their common feeling of belonging (CEC, 1993).

The document goes on to state competitiveness and the fight against unemployment and exclusion as main targets. Educational competences of "learning to learn", communication, cooperation and self evaluation are mentioned as tools. This concern with education is taken further in *Teaching and learning: towards the learning society* stating the necessity of being able to understand complex social situations which change unpredictably and present "a risk of a rift in society between those who can interpret; those who can only use; and those who are pushed out of mainstream society and rely on social support: in short those who know and those who don't know" (CEC, 1995, 9).

In 1998 commissioner Edith Cresson expressed the dual vision of competence and citizenship development in the following words:

I maintain, then, that turning a Europe of Knowledge into reality importantly includes promoting a broader idea of citizenship, which can strengthen the meaning and the experience of belonging to a shared social and cultural community. The active engagement of citizens is part of that broader concept of citizenship, and the aim is that people take the project of shaping the future into their own hands. (...) A deeper commitment lies behind these words - the affirmation of a coherent set of democratic values and social practices which together respect both our similarities and our differences. In a time of fundamental change, we need the solid foundation which those values provide, for they underlie our recognition of the social reality of a globalised world in which the significance of active citizenship extends far beyond local communities and national frontiers" (CEC, 1998, foreword).

The goal of the Lisbon declaration of 2000 was to make the European Union the most competitive, dynamic and knowledge based economy of the world (a goal hardly mirrored in present economic growth rates). Once more, the goal of developing active citizenship is juxtaposed to the goal of developing the economy. Education is placed at the centre of both. The development of

knowledge, skills and competences – the Trinitarian formula of the present European qualification frame (QF-EHEA, 2005) – is set in a personal, political, social and employment perspective. The strategic educational goals are quality and effectiveness, access for all, and educational openness to the wider world. Among the thirteen detailed aims were the improvement of teacher education, the development of skills for a knowledge society, and social equity and cohesion (CEC, 2002).

As indicated, a concern with competence development and competitiveness is joined with a concern with active citizenship and social cohesion in this 'integrated' educational paradigm. A number of authors have criticized this ideological program of being more rhetorical than real; of subordinating social development to a functionalist economic thinking; of weakening democracy by means of neoliberal governance technologies; and of putting the social institution of education at risk by focusing on individual competence development (Nóvoa, A. & W. de Jong-Lambert, 2003; Dehmel, 2006; Moutsios, 2008; Milana, 2009; Young, 2010). These criticisms will not be discussed in this paper, however (see Dorf & Rasmussen, 2011). Instead, I will mention briefly a few elements of the European Union thinking on teacher education.

Key competences in teacher education in the European Union

It is a goal that all teachers are educated at institutions for higher education; that they are encouraged to continue their professional development throughout their careers to the highest level, *i.e.* from bachelor, through master and to PhD level; that teacher education is research based in order to obtain an evidence based practice; and that teacher engage in lifelong learning. Educational mobility is recommended for students as well as educators.

Key competences for teachers are presented in three main categories: working with human beings, working with knowledge, and working with society. They encompass knowledge og human development, academic (subject) knowledge and skills in collection, analysis, validation, reflection and dissemination of knowledge. Besides these competences, teacher should be able to reflect on their practice in a systematic way, do classroom research, utilize the results of research in their practice, evaluate and adjust their own teaching strategies, and assess their needs of further education. Teacher qualifications should be made more transparent.

At the societal level, the key values are global responsibility, intercultural respect; key competences are to understand heterogeneous learning cultures

and the factors determining social inclusion or exclusion as well as the ability to work in multi-cultural societies and local partnerships with labour market and other social actors.

It is pointed out almost in passing that the incentives, resources and support systems necessary to obtain this at the national level, should be provided, and teacher education should enjoy a higher social prestige (!) (CEC, 2005; CEC, 2007)

There are obvious links between the European Union's general educational policy of competence and citizenship development and its policy on teacher education in particular, and the Danish 2006 reform of teacher education. However, the differences are equally apparent.

Competence development I Danish teacher education

An evaluation of Danish teacher education in 2003 pointed out that the academic and didactical quality of the school subject studies should be improved; the interplay between subject studies, educational studies and school practice should be strengthened; that the quality of school practice itself should be supported through annual assessments; that the level of the entry qualifications as well as the expectations during the education should be raised; and that teacher education should be evidence based to a larger degree (EVA, 2003).

In the bill of the subsequent reform it was made explicit that the students' competences in the school subject studies as well as the didactical and educational studies should be improved since "The school holds a key responsibility that all young people are armed to get on in a democratic society. High quality in the school is crucial for Denmark's development as a knowledge society" (Undervisningsministeriet, 2006). The ministerial order mirrors the focus on competence development with the statement of a new set of goal for teacher education:

... in preparation for her professional work as a teacher in the school, the student should 1) acquire theoretical and practical competences to collect, analyze, order, select and communicate knowledge on the basis of the methods of the various subjects and in accordance with the professional aims of the education; 2) learn to plan, assess and evaluate, develop, practice and cooperate on teaching utilizing her theoretical and practical competencies and; 3) obtain didactical insight in the school subjects in a close interplay with the pedagogical subjects and school practice, qualifying her to found her teaching on the aims of the school as well as of the particular subjects; on important aspects of societal development;

and on the individual pupil's needs, potentials and learning conditions (Undervisningsministeriet, 2007).

The reform encompassed the following changes:

- Strengthening subject didactics
- Stronger links between subject studies, didactical and educational studies, and school practice; school practice is declared to be the pivotal element in learning progression
- Higher entry qualifications for subject studies and demands of active participation
- Educational studies should put a stronger emphasis on classroom management, cooperation with parents, and pupils with special needs
- Special education is made a subject and an inter-professional element is made compulsory
- National and international research and development results must be included
- Students must obtain qualifications to participate in research and development in areas relevant to their profession
- Evaluation must be strengthened as a content area and a practice in teacher education

In comparison to earlier reforms, the bill and the subsequent guidelines of the ministerial order were unusually detailed and explicit, resulting in a high degree of organizational complexity. However, teacher education in Denmark remained a four year non-research based bachelor education situated at professional colleges (Rasmussen, 2008; Rasmussen & Dorf, 2010).

Citizenship development in Danish teacher education

Prior to the reform, Danish teacher education included a subject called *The School in society*, encompassing various aspects of educational sociology such as the school as a social institution and organization; the educational importance of different social and cultural backgrounds; and school and democracy. Another subject was *Knowledge of Christian religion and existential issues* (in approximate translation). With the reform, *The School in society* was abandoned, and citizenship education was made an element in a new composite subject aptly named *Knowledge of Christian religion, existential issues and citizenship*. Its task is stated as follows:

Besides encompassing the central elements of Knowledge of Christian religion and existential issues, the new subject must help to ascertain that all teacher students acquire through their education a knowledge of basic democratic values and Danish 'rule by the people' and become able to pass

on these values to the school. (...) the subject aims at enabling the future teacher to introduce the pupils to the meaning of being a citizen in Danish democracy and the international community.

The citizenship element further encompasses:

democratic citizenship, participation, co-responsibility, rights and duties in a society with freedom and rule by the people;

understanding the difference between politics, culture and religion and an awareness of different interpretations of citizenship and political participation;

learning to live together in mutual respect for the values of others
(Undervisningsministeriet, 2006)

The subsequent Ministerial order states that teacher students should acquire competences to

a) assess the importance of Christian religion and other 'philosophies of life' for the structure of values in a European and Danish cultural context;

b) relate to the educative goals of the school with regard to the pupil as an individual as well as a Danish and world citizen;

c) prepare the pupils to participate in a society with equity, intellectual freedom and rule by the people;

d) and develop the pupils' critical sense and potential to make judgments and act when meeting with new challenges, teaching them to live together respecting each other's values and norms
(Undervisningsministeriet, 2007)

The ambivalent construction of the new subject merging democratic citizenship education with Danish culture and Christian religion, while at the same time pointing out the differences between politics, culture and religion, is interesting. It is also interesting to compare its mildly national profile with the European Union association of citizenship with labour market and inclusion or exclusion issues. In the Danish political discourse citizenship education has been presented time and again as a cultural counterweight against the identity threats of a globalized economy. Thus, citizenship education appears as a sort of compensatory measure separated from competence development.

A brief historical excursion²¹

The teacher education reform of 2006 in so far reproduces a conflict which can be identified at the very beginning of Danish teacher education at the of the 18th century, between two antagonistic parties: one interested in instilling piety and docility in teachers in order to ensure their function as upholders of the social order, the other interested in educating teacher students to become well qualified 'maieutics' of social progress. This conflict was 'updated' from the middle of the 19th century as a conflict between those (mainly liberals) who wanted the teacher to be a non-academic *primus inter pares* in the (rural) local community, and those (mainly social democrats) who wanted the teacher and the school to be knowledge based vehicles of social progress and mobility. To these conflicts were added new real or imagined polarities during the 20th century: between democratic education and education for work and economic development, between personal development and academic qualification.

The conflict of reproduction of social order and conformity against progressive development of human potential and qualifications is real enough, just as the conflicts between a communitarian, a liberal, and a left wing vision of society are real enough. In contrast, it is highly problematic – as it has nevertheless been done in a Danish context – to oppose education for democracy and/or personal development on the one hand and academic or vocational qualification as such on the other. It may be that educating for the differential demands and requirements of a globalized, capitalist market economy may neglect important aspects of educating for society as a whole, thus reminding us of the Durkheimian duality of specialization and integration (Durkheim, 1956). However, it is nonsense to oppose personal development to qualification as such, or cultural identity to democracy, or competence development to democratic citizenship resources and values. Competences are prerequisites to becoming an efficient and active citizen, though not the only ones. Therefore, teacher competences and teachers' personal qualities are important.

Didactical and organizational challenges to Danish teacher education

I will avoid commenting further on the duration, research foundation, or institutional setting and tradition of Danish teacher education. Instead, I want to discuss two interrelated issues: one concerning subjects and didactics, the other concerning the relationship between theory and practice.

²¹ The issues of this subsection are discussed more extensively in Dorf, 2010.

Subject competences and didactic competences

As remarked by Sjöholm & Hansén (2007), an historical tension between academic, 'declarative' and descriptive knowledge and educational 'procedural' and normative knowledge. Didactical knowledge seems to occupy an ambivalent position between the other two. However, in Finland the didactical tradition has been strong, and perhaps Finland has been an inspiration for the attempt to strengthen subject didactics in connection with the subject studies in the Danish 2006 reform. Educational studies are concerned with the processes, conditions and relationships of becoming a mature individual in a social and societal context. Didactics links these concerns with the teaching of subject matter for the acquisition of knowledge, skills and competences.

From a learning progression point of view, the rather worn-out slogan of 'learning-to-learn' could be rephrased as a movement: from the acquisition of 'basic' factual *knowledge* and 'basic' *skills* of approaching and collecting it to *competences* in organizing (differentiating, linking, patterning) knowledge by means of concepts, putting it into perspective by means of theories (hypothesizing relationships between knowledge elements), reflecting on the scope, reliability and nature of knowledge as well as its origin and genesis, the values and interests attached to it, one's own prejudices towards it. Finally, *competences* encompass creative questioning of knowledge and production of new knowledge as well as using ones knowledge, skills and competences in action and for anticipation and evaluation of such action.

However, from a didactical and pedagogical point of view a number of *addenda* to this conception of learning progression or competence development are necessary:

- Any progression is prone to failure if it does not take the conditions, potentials, experiences or outlooks into account;
- The relevance of learning cannot be defined from the point of view of the learner alone, but has to take the social and societal contexts into account;
- Competences make reflections, evaluation, involvement and action possible, but do not engender them – or legitimize them; normative criteria and motives are necessary elements of personal engagement, although personal engagement can be informed and supported by knowledge, skills and competences;

For these reasons, teachers should know their subjects, know their pupils and their society, and be empathic supervisors, inspirators and models of

academic, social and societal conduct. Empirical research indicates that teacher expertise in subjects *and* didactics makes for better learning results, especially in the eventuality of learning difficulties. Such expertise enables the teacher to make detailed and differentiated plans for the learning progression of pupils with different potentials and from different backgrounds, and *vice versa*, the expert teacher's knowledge of pupils' backgrounds and potentials enables her or him to use her subject and didactical knowledge creatively. Good learning results are also obtained through a high teacher engagement, an open and respectful classroom climate and a clearly visible focus on the elements and aims of the teaching program (Dorf & Rasmussen, 2011).

Theory and practice in teacher education

It is a theoretical and empirical challenge to the integration of subject studies, educational studies and school practice to develop such a professional expertise, and it is not without good reason that the 2006 reform places this challenge in the centre of teacher education along with teacher students' ability to draw on research and do research at their classroom level themselves.

Sjöholm & Hansén have shown that teachers' understandings of the relationship between theory and practice fall into three categories:

- Theory as the opposite of practice – and with a potentially negative loading
- Theory as a potentially positive support for practice
- Theory as a tool for didactical reflection

But teachers need declarative, scientific knowledge as well as procedural, practical and intuitive knowledge, because they have to be able to think and act under spatio-temporal constraints in complex situations (Sjöholm & Hansén, 2007).

A similar distinction is made by John Dewey: Scientific theory represents reliable truth, whilst practice represents an emergent and contingent reality. From the vantage point of the first of these positions, the learning process must be described from outside the learning situation, while seen from the second position the reading must be made from within the learning situation. Both positions may fall back on routine and none of them is tenable in itself. We must accept that we live in a contingent reality and try to order it. Thus teacher education can work neither on the basis of an academic model alone, nor on the basis of a pure apprenticeship model. Even a situated learning model has its shortcomings, since in a dynamic society with a complicated division of labour, a societally relevant learning progression cannot rely solely

on a local learning universe. Therefore, Dewey advocates a laboratory model of learning in which school practice is not merely training, but an opportunity for detailed and attentive and mindful observation alternating with reflection supported by academic (subject or educational) studies (Dewey, 1897; 1904; 1960).

This line of thinking leads on to Emile Durkheim's distinction between educational *practice*, educational *research* and – as a distinctive 'third' activity – educational *reflection* dealing with the reconstruction of descriptive and normative (declarative and procedural) knowledge for the sake of guiding education (Durkheim, 1956; Rasmussen, 2008). It would be a temptation to make an institutional short circuiting by making the school responsible for the first, the university responsible for the second, and teacher education colleges responsible for the third of these functions, especially since in Denmark teacher education is not research based. The point is, however, that in order to reach its goals teacher education is dependent on offering and demanding all three: practical experience, attentiveness and mindfulness; theoretical and empirical research foundation; and subject, didactical and pedagogical reflection. And quite possibly, a really convincing teacher education would have to encompass all these functions within one integrated organization to attract a sufficient number of able students and meet its challenges in the age of reflexive, socially stratified and transnational modernity.

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Teacher Training in England; an ever changing vision where the concept of education has been lost in favour of training

Gilian Hilton²²

Abstract

This paper discusses the position of teacher training in England from its inception in the nineteenth century up to today. The picture has been one of ever increasing central government control and a move away from autonomy for training institutions. At the same time the concept of educating teachers has given way to a more instrumental model of training, preferably at the feet of a Master, i.e. another teacher in a school. From guidelines came competences, then tighter standards, not just for newly qualified teachers but for those advancing to various levels in the profession. As a result it is argued English teachers have to a great extent lost their professional status, as they are controlled and inspected by outside authorities. Over recent years the ways in which a prospective teacher can be prepared to enter the profession have expanded greatly, resulting in a wide variety of ways to train. However, all must meet the set government standards before beginning to work as a teacher. The future looks even more changeable in that government dislike of the involvement of higher education in the preparation of teachers may result in training that takes place totally in schools. The theoretical element of teacher education has, over the last few years, to a great extent disappeared and such a move of teacher preparation out of higher education would be its final death.

Introduction

Teacher education in England has, in its short history undergone very many changes moving from a situation of no training, to that of apprentice type experiences for student teachers working in classrooms with experienced colleagues, to an insistence that all teacher possess a degree and more recently a return to a more school focussed method of training. Common to all these approaches has been the question of how to ensure good preparation of the next generation of teachers. Concerns have included the following; what is the best way to prepare teachers, what knowledge and skills do they need to acquire and how can costs be met?

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In all debates the question of do we train or educate teachers has been at the forefront and in recent years training rather than education appears to have had the upper hand. Lawes (2004:197) encapsulates the changing nature of preparing new teachers for the profession in England claiming that 'education has given way to training'. This move away from a theoretical knowledge base, to a standards led, practice oriented training has been accompanied by a vast diversification in the ways in which people may qualify to enter the teaching profession. These include undergraduate three and four year routes, postgraduate, school-based, e-learning based and fast track routes. This article will detail these routes into the profession and at the same time examine the changing nature of that profession and the issues faced by today's prospective teachers in England.

It is important to remember that there is no such thing as a unified United Kingdom teacher education system so this article addresses the situation on England not in the other areas of the UK as they have their own control bodies and differences in how teachers are prepared for the profession.

The place of schools in the training of teachers has been debated since the 1920s when pleas to bring schools and teacher training closer together became stronger. Initially, in the voluntary system of education for children of the poor in the early nineteenth century in schools founded and run by religious societies (Church of England and Non-Conformist) the monitorial system for training teachers was used. Able pupils worked as monitors to teach their classmates under the supervision of the teacher. This system had also been used in the public schools where the sons of the rich were taught (Barnard, 1961). Later this approach was found to be inadequate as these monitors knew little more than the other children, so a pupil teacher system was devised where bright children from the age of thirteen were selected to work under the guidance of the class teacher for a five year term in an elementary school. If successful the prospective teacher was entitled to a three year training course at a teacher training college. This system grew through the century but at the establishment of compulsory elementary education by the Education Act 1870 and subsequent acts the quality of the entrants to training colleges was found to be poor and local Boards of Education began to establish centres for pupil teachers to improve their knowledge and training. The 1902 Education Act brought into being secondary schooling for many more children raising the level of education for potential recruits to the teaching profession and in 1903 the Board of Education introduced the first Pupil-Teacher regulations regarding time spent in schools and the amount and time of instruction that had to be given (Board of Education, 1903).

The end of the pupil-teacher approach came with the recommendation that all prospective teachers should receive secondary education until the age of 18 followed by a training college course for two years. However, places were insufficient and many colleges were of a specific religious foundation. So, at the end of the nineteenth century universities were allowed to establish day training colleges (Board of Education, 1903). The final certificate examination to become qualified remained the same and eventually Local Education Authorities were allowed to open training colleges, thus removing the religious domination of training. This brought about the beginning of the divide between college and university based training that was only changed after the rise of the polytechnics, which absorbed training colleges in the 1970s; these polytechnics eventually becoming universities in the 1990s.

From the 1920s in England pleas had been made to bring academic organisations closer together with schools, but in fact schools played very little part in Initial Teacher Training (ITT) during most of the twentieth century after the demise of pupil-teacher training (Brooks, 2006). In the latter part of the twentieth century therefore, teacher education in England came under fire from successive governments as being too theoretically oriented, based on the study of psychology, sociology and philosophy, with too few links between theory and practice (Pring, 1996). Right wing commentators in the 1960s and 70s had produced constant attacks on what they perceived as the failings of teachers, as for example the 'Black Papers', a series of publications which over a period of time criticised left-wing teacher educators who filled students' heads full of ideas such as the need for child-centred education (Lawton, 2005). The advent of Thatcher's Conservative government in 1979 saw a concerted effort to remove teacher education from the influence of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), staffed by what were perceived as left wing academics and base it more firmly in schools, where it was believed more relevant training would occur (Tomlinson, 2001). Interestingly, at the same time, those academics were themselves rejecting education theory and supporting a more practically based approach to teacher education (Lawes, 2004). Cole (2000) however, asserts that teachers need to have an understanding of the global and local societies in which they live and the influences upon those societies. Sociology however, despite this plea has virtually disappeared from the present teacher education curriculum.

Lawton (2005) points to the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) set up in 1984, as one of the first major attempts to control the quality of English teachers and how they were trained; but this was just the beginning. Despite repeated efforts from governments to break the control of higher education and the issuing of government Circulars 3/84 and 24/89, designed to give schools a greater part in ITT, even teaching practice

was under the main control of the visiting tutor. The tutor trained and assessed the prospective teachers in school as well as in the training institution. However, money began to move from the HEIs to the schools to reflect the greater importance of schools in ITT. This caused dissatisfaction in both schools and HEIs, neither group feeling that they were adequately recompensed for their roles as the finance was split, resulting in some HEIs dismissing staff. The rise of competence based assessment for newly qualified teachers (NQTs) in the 1990s under Circular 9/92 was accompanied by a determination to move training (the word education had disappeared from official documents) into schools. These set criteria raised the status of schools ensuring more of the trainees' time was spent in the classroom and that schools and HEIs became partners in the training of teachers.

Increasing government involvement in education and control of the production of teachers has resulted in teachers themselves feeling that they are mistrusted by policymakers and successive governments. The desired teacher was pictured, according to Lawes (2004), as a person who was compliant, cautious and conformist and these attributes are required for success in the profession. Furlong (2005) asserts that in recent years the Labour government in England moved on from Conservative policies of market orientated competition, to one of state definitions on what is good teaching and assessment with a move towards all further teacher development being based in school rather than in HEIs.

Interestingly a recent debate has been raised by the ex Chief Inspector of the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) which was founded in 1992 and came to inspect teacher training from 1999, becoming an organisation that has struck terror into the hearts of heads and teachers across the country. A determination to root out failing teachers and the government's intention to close failing schools led to a culture where adherence to government directives held sway and teachers became afraid to speak out for their profession, instead following the increasing demands of successive governments with ever rising zeal. At the advent of New Labour in 1997 and the mantra of the then Prime Minister Tony Blair of 'Education Education, Education' as an election slogan, teachers and teacher educators (TEs) considered that they might be granted more autonomy. Not so; in fact the control of curricula, and training assessments increased, together with a target setting culture, against which all initial training establishments, of any kind and schools were to be judged. As a result Woodhead (2009) the ex chief inspector produced a tirade against what he sees as the de-professionalisation of teachers. This he believes is led not by Ofsted, but by the Teacher Development Agency (TDA) founded in 1994 (then the Teacher Training Agency) and the National College for School Leadership (NCSL)

which he believes slavishly follows the dictates of the TDA. The chief executives and members of the TTA/TDA are appointed by the government which has led to real concerns over the lack of independence of this body; many academics (Pyke, 1993) expressing concerns over the lack of independence of the TTA. The TDA's name change Woodhead (2009) believes demonstrates the creeping control over teachers, as from the first inception of teacher competences in 1998 to the standards of 2002 and now from 2008 the standards to be achieved by not only teachers who are newly qualified, but also by those at various stages in the profession, post-threshold, advanced skills teacher and excellent teacher (TDA, 2008). Woodhead (2009) is supported in these complaints by others such as Tomlinson (2001), who points to the creeping influence of government on teacher's lives and work. She cites the increasing controls on the practice of teaching with preferred methods dictated by the Department of Education, (which itself has undergone many name changes in the latter part of the twentieth and the twenty first century) such as National Literacy and Numeracy Strategies introduced towards the end of the 1990s. These moves she believes have led to teaching being reduced to 'technician status delivering' a controlled ready prepared curriculum supported by increased web based resources and TV programmes (Tomlinson, 2001:169). This has undoubtedly led to a lowering of teachers' morale and Woodhead (2009) believes a crushing of their professional status. To be professionals teachers need autonomy to 'determine their own beliefs and practice' (Woodhead, 2009:37). With a constrained curriculum for TEs to 'deliver' and a similar one for teachers to teach, one cannot but agree that the professional teacher has to a great extent disappeared from England. These opinions are supported by comparative research carried out in England and Norway on how teachers are prepared for the profession. Stephens et al (2004) clearly demonstrate from their research that the model used in England is one of training, as opposed to the Norwegian one of educating prospective teachers to become reflective, considering how theory and practice are related. In addition Hartley (2000), whilst acknowledging the increasingly centralist approach to teacher education in England questions whether it is financially advantageous, as so much resource is utilised on that control. At one point questions were asked about the size of Ofsted as the staffing levels and budget of that organisation appeared to be greater than that of the Home Office.

Routes to qualification

These are now many and varied as successive governments have attempted to base training more in schools and battle with the lack of teacher supply in

particular areas of the curriculum. They include three and four year courses leading to Bachelor of Education or Bachelor of Arts degree both with recommendation for the award of Qualified Teacher Status for those intending to teach in the primary or early years phases and a one year Post Graduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) for primary, early years and secondary subject specialist teachers. The PGCE follows a degree course in a subject linked to the subjects studied in school under the National Curriculum. The PGCE therefore is now focussed on the school National Curriculum subject content and how to teach it and professional studies including classroom management. This for those intending to teach in the primary school this means that all subjects taught in the primary curriculum have to be covered. In reality this can only, in many areas, be superficial as the main thrust of the training for primary teachers in literacy numeracy, science and information technology. Subjects such as education history, philosophy, sociology and psychology have virtually disappeared. Students are assessed during their training in a variety of schools against the TDA standards and are expected to steadily improve. On becoming qualified a further year in employment is deemed to be an induction year with further school based or Local Authority based in-service training and a lighter timetable.

Teach First 'high flyers' from 'top' universities are trained in 6 weeks during the summer to work in challenging secondary schools. The initial contract is for 2 years then these teachers can leave the profession and take the skills developed into other employment. This idea is based on the Teach for America scheme run in the United States. These students are mentored and supported during the first year of teaching/training by a tutor and also by the school. If they stay in teaching the trainees can expect accelerated promotion. The scheme is now to expand to primary schools as the new coalition government (elected in May 2010) has put an extra 4 million pounds into this route, as it wants top graduates with first class or upper second class degrees, the highest achieving graduates from the so called 'top' universities such as Oxford, Cambridge and other of the older and well established HEIs, coming into the profession.

Overseas qualified teachers are a large feature in many inner city schools in the country. England has a very high immigrant population, particularly in cities such as London, with the subsequent need to provide role models for ethnic minority students. In addition at times at the end of the last century there were considerable shortages of teachers and in maths, chemistry and physics these still exist today. As a result, the country has traditionally imported teachers from the Commonwealth to make up the shortfall particularly in inner cities, especially London. Specific courses have been designed to train these teachers in the delivery of the National Curriculum and

to bring them up to the standard required for teaching in England. This has caused great resentment from many of these teachers who come from schools many of which are run on English models, taking English examinations (Miller, 2007). However, the Overseas Teacher scheme is run by HEIs with the co-operation of schools, where until achieving QTS the teachers is deemed to be unqualified, no matter how many years have been spent in the profession in another country. Due to European regulations however, teachers from Europe have the right to teach in English schools without this additional training. Overseas teachers have to demonstrate an understanding of the English system, school curricula and assessment. Many London schools are kept open by importing these teachers; however the moral of relying of teachers from other countries is questionable when there is such need elsewhere in the world. Some overseas teachers who are refugees never get accepted into teaching as their qualifications are not recognised as being equivalent to English ones.

iTeach is a recent development, an attempt to increase science (physics chemistry) and maths teacher numbers in secondary schools. The pathway is intended for those changing careers. Subject and professional studies are provided on line (by an Irish College) with a supporting tutor and also a pathway tutor, who then oversees the teaching practice in 3 different schools/colleges. Students are assessed against TDA standards as per normal. The scheme initially run by one university is now spread across 5 providers but has encountered problems with finding practice places, particularly in good maths departments in schools and with the quality of some of the prospective students in particular with the ability to express themselves clearly in English.

The *iTeach* programme offers a Postgraduate/Professional Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) with recommendation for [Qualified Teacher Status](#) (QTS).

- 20 months full time
- 14-24 weeks of classroom teaching practice including one week in primary school
- Course delivered online and through live virtual tutorials
- Ongoing continuous assessment
- Suitable for practising educators as well as those wishing to enter the teaching profession (iteach.ac.uk, 2010)

Graduate Teacher programmes are based in schools where prospective teachers who are already educated to degree level are employed as unqualified teachers earning a salary. The school, in partnership with a local

HEI trains the student to reach the TDA standards whilst they are working. Many of these teachers have been working in schools for several years, often as support staff, for example with special needs children. There is also a Registered Teacher Programme run for prospective teachers working in schools who do not have the equivalent of a degree but can claim higher education credits equivalent to two years of degree level work. Again a partnership between a school and an HEI is essential to allow progression to degree level and the main problem here has been helping the student reach subject knowledge at the requisite level. This has proved especially problematic for those who do not naturally have a subject based qualification that is allied to school National Curriculum subjects and those whose experience has been with children with special needs where a generalist support is offered across subject boundaries.

SCITTs are school centred initial teacher training institutions and have been growing in number since the 1990s. They often involve a group of schools working together. At first they received poor Ofsted reports but now are more successful and popular with students due to the support received from teachers in the schools and the small group sizes (Hobson et al, 2006). Many SCITTs also work in conjunction with an HEI to award PGCE qualifications not just Qualified Teacher Status to their trainees.

In general students are satisfied with the programmes but Foster (1999) in research in France and England discovered that many English students considered the short but intensive PGCE thirty six week programme too pressurised, particularly as regards assessment and preferred the two year time scale used in France. The multitude of training programmes offered provides a bewildering range of choices for prospective students. In 2009 another six month training course was suggested and put out to tender for competitive bids from providers to train redundant 'high flyers' from industry, particularly financial institutions from which it was hoped to recruit graduates with maths and ICT qualifications. Whether an industrial/business background is a good preparation for the teaching profession and whether money spent on this scheme will see these new trainees succeed in the profession and remain in it when the financial situation of the country improves, remains to be seen.

For entry to the profession for those coming straight from schools (primary and early years routes) and entry to post graduate training requires maths and English at General Certificate of Secondary Education C or above (or the equivalent) and for those wishing to train for the primary sector, science. A minimum of two Advanced Levels or their equivalent is required and HEIs prefer at least one of these to be in a National Curriculum subject. For post

graduate study a degree linked to the school National Curriculum is preferred with a preference for those students with first, upper or lower second class degrees. Older students can attend an Access to Teaching Course run by some Further Education Colleges and these tend to feed students into the local HEI for primary or early years Bachelor courses. The training providers themselves have to meet standards as regards entry requirements for students, which encompass qualifications gained in previous education and the potential trainee's suitability to teach. An interview is therefore required before a potential trainee is accepted. Qualified teacher status is achieved after the success in the course in both theoretical and practical elements and in addition passing of government set tests on English, Maths and Information Technology. Tomlinson believes that TE has been reduced to 'technician status delivering' a controlled ready prepared curriculum supported by increased web based resources and TV programmes (Tomlinson, 2001:169). The main thrust of the training is on subject knowledge for those in undergraduate programmes and in all programmes how to teach the subject/s and manage the class. Hence now a great deal of time in all programmes is based in school and HEIs pay schools to take trainees using part of their government training grants for this purpose. Partnership between schools and universities is key, as the training is a combined effort between the two establishments. Exceptions to this are found in some totally school based programmes like the SCITTS who provide theoretical input as well in addition to the practice element of training.

The variety of routes into teaching now available in England all result in assessment against the standards set by the TDA. Menter et al. (2006:269) point to the globalisation of these standards, which they describe as an 'instrumentalist' and politically driven approach to educating teachers, whilst research demonstrates the complexity of the teacher's role and comes from a professional standpoint. These standards (originally competences) now stretch beyond initial training to cover career progression. That is, to progress as a teacher new sets of standards have to be met at each stage. These standards therefore now cover the following (TDA, 2008:18)

- The award of Qualified Teacher Status (QTS)
- Teachers on the main scale (Core)
- Teachers on the upper pay scale (post threshold)
- Excellent teachers
- Advanced Skills teachers

For all levels the standards are presented under three sections which the TDA (2008:18) claim are inter-related

- a) professional attributes
- b) professional knowledge and understanding
- c) professional skills

For NQTs there are 33 standards to be met, most of which are directly related to the practice of teaching and are judged by the training organisation and also by the schools where practice is taking place. Many of these assessments are now made by school based mentors, working in partnership with the training body which trains the mentors and uses them to support students on placement in the classroom. The training body is therefore in close contact with these partners with regard to judging students against the standards. HEIs and their school partners together discuss changes to the training programmes and the needs of the students. Further standards are set in relation to the programme design, the at least 'satisfactory' quality of the programme (determined by Ofsted inspection grades), resources, individual needs, access to all training, preparation for the induction year (first year of teaching) and that all trainees are prepared to teach across two or more consecutive age ranges. The time which has to be spent in schools is also set as a prescribed number of days, depending on the training method and the age range trained for. Lastly comes a list of management and quality assurance standards that ITT providers have to meet. In addition trainers of graduate, registered overseas trained teachers and Teach First programmes have to meet with further conditions set for those programmes.

Teacher supply has in England, as in other parts of the world been continuous problem. A fluctuating birth rate and the influx of large numbers of refugees and economic migrants have made planning for the number of teachers to be trained difficult. The TDA on behalf of the government controls the numbers of teachers in training and has, in recent years, cut primary Initial Teacher Training (ITT) numbers quite sharply in the north of the country. In the London area however, there is still a need for teachers and a recent rise in the birth rate has questioned this strategy of cutting numbers in training, resulting in 2009 further numbers for the September intake for primary training being issued in June of that year, putting HEIs under pressure to recruit and to appoint new staff if required. It also appears sad that this reduction in primary aged children outside of London in England has not been seen as an opportunity to cut class sizes, especially for younger children. In recent years there has been a fast rise in teaching assistants whose

qualifications vary from none to degree level and whose role is to support the teacher in the classroom. Some have seen this as a way of providing teachers cheaply and though at first there was strong resistance, now most teachers would struggle without the help of classroom assistants who often work with groups of children or those with special educational needs and when they have attained Higher Level Status may take over and teach the class for a period of time. By 2013 however, it is expected that the demand for primary school places in schools will rise by about four per cent, off set by a surplus in places around the country. However, the available places may not be where they are needed as migration within the county from rural areas to cities is changing the nature of the demand (Eason, 2009).

The balance in gender and subject specialism of those coming forward for training as teacher has also caused concern in recent years. Teaching in England is rapidly becoming a female profession. This is giving rise to concerns about the role models presented to boys, particularly at primary school level. More than a quarter of English primary schools have no male teachers (Burley, 2009). Some believe that pay rates are the cause but Burley's investigation considers inaccuracies in perceptions of primary teaching such as it being a step to promotion to secondary schools and that pay rates differ. However, for some it appears odd that a man should want to work with young children and this country's present obsession with paedophilia makes it unsurprising that many young men are wary about working with children in younger age ranges. The result is an imbalance in the profession and children given the idea, albeit passively, that education is for and about women.

There are also concerns about the lack of ethnic minority teachers in the profession where so many school children come from those minorities. Ofsted now assesses establishments on how well they prepare students for a diverse society. The status of the profession in the country has some effect here, as those from some minorities prefer professions such as medicine, law and engineering as they have higher status and remuneration. Recent hints that possibly the three and four year routes to primary teaching should be closed in favour of PGCE give rise for concern on the future make up of the profession. Ethnic minority students often come to primary teaching courses via the Access to Teaching route mentioned above, rather than coming with a degree onto PGCE routes. If this route is closed to more mature students it is possible that ethnic minority recruitment to teaching could be adversely affected. Interestingly over the last decades there has been an increasing interest from government and the TDA to encourage ethnic minority recruitment into ITT courses. This has been supported by extra funding made available to HEIs who recruit good numbers of ethnic minority students, to

help with retention and any special support required. Concerns had arisen that the teaching profession did not mirror the multi-cultural community it served; concern over racist attacks and unrest amongst ethnic minorities focussed the thinking of successive governments on how teachers should be trained. The Swann Report (1985) had raised the need for all teachers to be educated in the effects of racism on the achievement of the children they taught (Tomlinson, 2001). Klein (1999) had raised the question of concerns strongly expressed by the Race Relations Commission to the TTA about the lack of anti-racist material included in ITT courses with none of the set competences/standards addressing this issue. At the time the Agency was merely expressing a desire to see more students from ethnic minorities coming forward for training. Although these numbers have increased there are still standards, still do not clearly spell out the need for anti-racist understanding and actions by teachers (Givens, et al, 1999). Things, according to Gilborn (2000), have improved little under the guide since 1997 of 'New Labour', as instead of tackling overt racism they have instead put forward a policy of watered down multi-culturalism which he considers is at the best naïve. More recently schools have been urged by the then Department for Children Schools and Families (DCSF, 2007) to actively encourage social cohesion in the communities in which they work (within school, locally, nationally and globally) advising that this is part of the duty of a school under the law and that community cohesion involves 'a common vision and sense of belonging' (DCSF, 2007:3). As for teachers, from the advent of the subject of Citizenship being added to the National Curriculum in the 1999 rewrite, HEIs and other providers have been able to bid to train citizenship subject teachers. However, it is now possible that this subject will be removed from the school curriculum in the promised rewrite.

However, as much of teacher training in England now occurs in schools it is possible that it is school policies, training events and induction for new teachers that should be examined as regards training in anti-racism rather than HEIs. As Gilborn (2000) points out this leaves a great deal of uncertainty as to what training is actually received, as schools' approaches differ widely. The teachernet website (teachernet, no date) in offering guidance to teachers acknowledges 'Schools are often reluctant to acknowledge the presence of racism for fear of being perceived as inept in handling the problem or, worse yet, insensitive to it.' Some HEIs, themselves, acknowledging that ITT is lacking in this regard, bid for funds to set up a website for trainees and teacher educators to help them with this sensitive area. Resources and guidance are provided at various curriculum levels and issues such as challenges presented to student teachers by diversity in the classroom (Multiverse, no date).

Teachers are of course, expected to continue to update their skills and qualifications. All schools have days set aside for training and post graduate qualifications such as Master's degrees, Education Doctorates and PhDs are on offer from universities across the country. The previous Labour government, seeing the example of Finland, claimed to want an all Master's qualified profession. Take up of higher qualifications has never been very high in England, teachers professing that their time is too overloaded with school work to allow them to follow higher degree courses, but the previous government put forward the new Masters in Teaching and Learning degree that was to be free to newly qualified teachers and intended for those in the first five years of the profession. The fate of this qualification at present hangs in the balance of government funding cuts. Private companies and Local Authorities have also offered courses to update teachers, but the high cost of cover for those teachers is proving prohibitive for schools who cannot afford the costs of the course plus travel and also funding for a supply teacher. Take up of such courses has dwindled of late and schools have looked to producing their own courses to up skill their teachers, often with the support of universities.

As well as this desire to have the all Master's qualified profession a training scheme for heads and those aiming to be head teachers had been introduced in 1999 at the University of Nottingham under the guidance of the National College for School Leadership. The idea, according to Tomlinson (2001) was to produce the charismatic school leaders required today. However, the initiative has received a mixed press in that material produced for study has been criticized as lacking relevance and reality and that all it has achieved is to produce further hurdles for teachers to gain promotion. In reality the lack of candidates applying for school leadership posts has been causing government concern for several years. The demands on heads are now seen as so heavy that many teachers do not want the responsibility of school leadership. Further initiatives have ensued where heads are put in charge of a group of schools, especially where ones have been deemed to be failing and successful heads have been paired with those whose schools are having difficulty. However, in primary schools in particular, the numbers coming forward to take up headships is falling below demand. Teachers point to the massive government demands on head teachers involved in running a school, the affects of Ofsted inspections and the stress of the position on leagues tables formed as a result of testing primary aged children. This is worrying as the profession is an aging one with many teachers now in their fifties.

Recently a further government initiative was being discussed, that of teachers having to renew their licence to teach every five years. The proposal was to weed out weak teachers and has been put forward in the education White

Paper *Your child your schools our future: building a 21st century schools system* (DCSF, 2009). Baker (2009) the BBC's education correspondent questioned whether this is again demonstrating excess control by government and a lack of trust in our teachers. However, he sees this as part of the new move to remove micro-management from the education system by ensuring good quality teachers who can be trusted to perform well. To do this could mean more selection for those who are allowed to enter the profession and an insistence on higher levels of qualification before and after training. Lessons from other countries where standards of achievement in schools are higher demonstrate that high selectivity for entry into the profession gives good results for children. To do this however, teaching has to become an attractive profession to the able in society not the refuge of the weak and under qualified. The question also needs to be asked is will teachers be better teachers with a Master's qualification? There is little research evidence to demonstrate this. Also how will NQTs cope with studying for Master's level qualifications whilst beginning their classroom career, a very stressful and demanding time? Also as no pay rise is on offer for those with Master's degrees will the qualification prove popular? Baker (2009) quotes Williams from the Institute of Education in London who criticizes what he describes as 'policy tourism' insisting that taking ideas from other countries and expecting them to work in England is unwise to say the least. All these ideas await the new government's spending review and the new austerity may cause many of these initiatives to fade away. Most in the teaching profession if this occurs will breathe a quiet sigh of relief at just being allowed to do their job.

So what of the future? Curriculum revision at school and teacher training level, cuts in numbers in training, movement of finances towards children who are from disadvantaged backgrounds away from more affluent middle class areas, the further demise of Local Authority Education departments resulting in less support for schools, the advent of Academies, schools becoming independent and allowed to set their own salary scales, more school based training, possibly the removal of HEIs from training altogether. As usual teacher training in England is in a state of flux as it has been for many years. Is there any chance of a return to teacher education? Unfortunately it appears not; training mostly in schools seems to be the favoured option but that is only the present picture and nothing is assured.

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Teacher Training Today

Issues and Challenges in French-Speaking Belgium

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Abstract

In general terms, the school system in French-speaking Belgium appears in international evaluations (OECD) as one of the most inequitable in the industrialised countries as well as relatively inefficient. In addition, it suffers from a dearth of teachers. Together, these conditions call into question the teacher training system. French-speaking Belgium is one of the only countries which does not offer university training to most of its teachers. The paper advocates a form of teacher instruction rooted in and informed by research, which can be provided only by genuine university training.

A Dearth of Teachers

Like many other countries, the French-speaking Community of Belgium suffers a cruel lack of teachers. This phenomenon manifests itself in two ways.

On the one hand, not all trained and qualified teachers stay in the profession: in fact, two out of five teachers leave their post within five years of starting, and those who do stay will retire as soon as the opportunity presents itself, that is, between the age of 55 and 60. In fundamental education (pre-school kindergarten and primary school), it is anticipated that only 11 % of the teaching staff aged 54 will still be active at the age of 61 (ETNIC, 2009).

On the other hand, since 2006-2007, the number of registrations in teacher education departments has decreased. For primary-school teacher instruction only, numbers have fallen from 5,809 students in 2005-2006 to 5,301 in 2006-2007. A similar downward trend has been observed throughout the teacher-education departments in the Higher Pedagogical Schools (*ibid.*).

We are, then in a situation of teacher shortage, a lack of manpower felt more particularly in certain schools of the large urban centres like Brussels, Mons, etc.

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The processes whereby this shortage is quantified vary from one country to another. In Belgium, it is calculated at the beginning of each school year on the basis of surveys conducted in a limited sample of schools, which report the percentage of the total number of teaching hours left "vacant" (i.e. unstaffed) as well as the percentage of posts filled by teachers not qualified for the subject matter they teach (Eurydice, 2002). In 2007 this calculation showed that for the secondary schools of the Brussels Capital region (i.e. the City of Brussels and adjacent boroughs) some 260 full-time teaching posts were staffed by unqualified personnel, whereas the equivalent of 37 full-time posts remained unstaffed for the duration of a whole school year. (CSC-Educ, 2007). The dearth of teachers, then, is real, and detrimental to the quality of education, as a number of pupils do not enjoy instruction provided by qualified teachers, or do not receive all the instruction they are entitled to.

It seems reasonable, then, to investigate the dual origin of this teacher shortage, i.e. both an insufficient number of entries into the profession, and too high a number of early "exits". One may wonder whether the situation might not also be read as a sign of the inadequacy of teacher instruction in the French-speaking Community of Belgium ?

A Diseased School System

This dual movement, i.e. a deficit in access and a surfeit of early exits leads to a shortage in teaching staff. This shortage is strengthened by a phenomenon so deep-rooted and strongly anchored in French-speaking Belgium that it may be qualified as a structural problem, namely the repetition of a year. By the time they reach the age of 15, over half of all pupils have been held back for one year at least (Hindriks and Verschelde, 2010). In other words, these youngsters, most of whom have had to re-sit a year in a French-speaking Belgian school, "use up" an extra school year, and consequently an extra portion of available full-time teaching posts. This "overconsumption" of manpower would be fully justified if the repetition were a measure with genuine pedagogical value; but this is not the case: its inefficiency and inequity weaken the Belgian school system as a whole from the inside. Research has shown that re-sitting a year does not increase student competence (= inefficiency) and more often tends to touch students from less privileged social strata (= inequity) (Crahay, 2005).

In addition to the problem of repetition, the dropping-out rate must be taken into account as well. The percentage of young French-speaking Belgians aged 20 to 24 who do not hold a diploma of higher secondary studies amounts to 14,6 % for girls and 21 % for boys. While in Wallonia the average rate of youngsters in the 20 to 24 year bracket without a high school diploma

amounts to 17 %, this rate rises to 28 % in the Brussels region (Hindriks and Verschelde, 2010). For the sake of comparison, the average rate of early school leavers for the 27 countries of the European Union amounted to 15,1 % in 2008 (MENFP, 2008).

Of course, school dropouts do not contribute to the “overconsumption” of teaching time and manpower denounced above: as they are computed in the teacher/student ratio quantified at the beginning of each year, they qualify as “ordinary consumers”. Most often, dropouts will wait until they have reached the end of compulsory instruction at the age of 18 to leave school for good. But it is now known that the path leading to eventual abandonment of school is rarely a straight one. Dropouts have most often repeated several years and progressively moved down towards less highly regarded, and therefore less gratifying, forms of instruction. In other words, all the well-intended pedagogical measures to which they are exposed eventually prove to be counter-productive and costly in terms of investment in teacher time and effort.

One may then rightfully wonder whether the academic failure typical of French-speaking Belgium’s school system should not be regarded as another sign of the inadequacy of teacher instruction in the French-speaking Community of Belgium.

Obsolete Teacher Instruction

In French-speaking Belgium, there exists a great diversity in forms of teacher instruction, for the training of kindergarten teachers differs substantially from that of primary teachers, and the instruction of junior high school (lower secondary) teachers differs from that of senior high (higher secondary) school teachers. Only higher-secondary school teachers are trained at the University. The instruction of all other teachers is performed in non-university colleges of higher education, in studies of the “short” type, i.e. three years after graduation from secondary studies.

Within the purview of this paper, only the instruction of pre-school (kindergarten) and primary-school teachers will be dealt with, for reasons of simplicity and clarity. But the need for changes in the instruction of secondary-school teachers (whether lower or higher) raises similar issues with the same degree of urgency.

The instruction of primary-school teachers takes place in Colleges of Higher Education of the “short” type. The prospective teacher may access the pedagogy department of a College of Higher Education to earn a degree of pre-school or primary-school teacher after three years of study.

The short and non-university character of this instruction constitutes an exception in the European educational landscape, since almost all EU countries offer a 4- or 5-year instruction programme for future teachers. Romania, which has also maintained a three-year span, has however suppressed the non-university character of the instruction. Thus, Romanian primary-school teachers are now recruited after they have obtained a Licence (Bachelors' degree) in education in which they have opted for primary and pre-primary pedagogy (Eurydice 2010, Bourdet 2010). Portugal and Lithuania offer future teachers the choice between two possible modes of instruction, i.e. university or non-university. In Austria, initial training for acquiring the teaching qualification at primary school is received at university college of teacher education.

Belgium, then, constitutes a notable exception within the European Union in that its primary-school teacher instruction is both short and of a non-university character. This exception is all the more difficult to understand and defend since the French-speaking Belgian school system is found to perform poorly according to the PISA evaluations in which the system has been rated against 67 in 2006. In this recent evaluation, the Belgian French-speaking community was rated 23rd in mathematics, 24th in reading and 27th in science. By the same token, the school system also proved to be the least egalitarian of the OECD countries, since the gap between the top 5 % and the bottom 5% of students is the widest of all OECD countries (Hindriks and Verschelde 2010). It must be granted that the OECD evaluation standards are not beyond reproach (Rochex, Rayou, Crinon, Bautier, 2006), but even so, the publicly accessible results indicate the situation of one school system with regard to that of other participating countries, and lay it open to response from the media. International evaluations like these encourage education systems to operate transformations under the influence of outside inspection. In this manner, the comparisons to which these international evaluations give rise will underlie not only the choice of a participant country's education policy, but also the action of international organisations like OECD or UNESCO (Rolf, Olsen, Svein Lie, 2006). In a way, it might be said that each country accepting to participate in these evaluations places itself in a situation where it is accountable to international finance, to potential investors, or to a variety of expert consortiums, in other words, to what has been called the persuasive and unobtrusive power by Martin Lawn (2006), or governing European education through data by Jenny Ozga (2009).

Given the verdict of an inefficient and inequitable educational system, of a teaching profession and a teacher instruction which are no longer attractive to youngsters, how could Belgium, alone in Europe, maintain and defend an obsolete instruction system which is both short and non-university? How

could the accumulated instances of poor performance not lead to a total overhaul of a system designed to train those who are to become the central actors in education? It could be objected, of course, that the present recession affecting the Western countries is not favourable to such an undertaking: it could be claimed that French-speaking Belgium does not have the financial resources to offer her future teachers a longer and more demanding, and therefore more costly instruction. Or then again, it could be pointed out that a better instruction of teachers would necessarily be conducive to an upgrading of the profession; meaning that teachers would be entitled to higher financial benefits, and one might start wondering whether French-speaking Belgium has the means to face their cost.

While that question cannot be answered by a plain affirmative, it can not be negated without further ado either: for French-speaking Belgium is one of the industrialized countries which spends the highest proportion, i.e. some 6 per cent of its GDP, on its educational system, which, as we have seen, does not operate well. Only Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Sweden spend more than Belgium, but on considerably more satisfactory educational systems. In other words, it should be possible, in absolute terms, to do a better job with the same education budget. Admittedly, many attempts at top-down reforms have been made seeking to improve the efficiency of the school system -- but all have failed.

In 2000, the instruction system of teachers (kindergarten, primary and lower secondary) was renovated, entailing changes of certain features of their professional education :

- The introduction of professional training workshops, allowing to establish a clearer link between theory and practice;
- The introduction of new disciplines, such as Sociology, Cultural Diversity, or New Educational Technologies.
- Raising awareness of scientific procedure, involving notably an initiation to research strategies and epistemology, and the demand to realize an end-of-studies project.
- An attempt to explicitate the competencies required by the practice of the profession.

These reforms, however, could be qualified as superficial, since the reform does not guarantee that future teachers will acquire the 13 high-level competencies deemed to be necessary to the profession: for it is difficult to

"put one's knowledge in human sciences to the service of a correct assessment of situations both in and outside the classroom, so as to adapt more easily to the needs of different classroom audiences" (competency n° 1); to "be aware of the ethical implications of one's everyday practices" (competency n° 8); to "develop, test, assess and refine teaching aids and methods" (competency n° 10) or to "maintain an autonomous, critical attitude towards past and present scientific knowledge" (competency n° 11) (Ministère de la Communauté française 2000) if one has not enjoyed university instruction; for only a form of education closely related to research allows the acquisition of these competencies, and it is the specific feature of the university to offer just that: an instruction rooted in and informed by research, since the teaching at this level is entrusted only to professional scholars skilled in expert research (attested by a doctorate and publications accessible to the scientific community); the postulate being that their teaching is based on the results of research and that they will guide and supervise their students in their own research projects. In other words, in addition to the acquisition of knowledge and know-how, the students and prospective teachers will also acquire the profile of a researcher, and thus become both practitioners and researchers, trained to perceive and analyse the relevant elements in their daily professional practice from a researcher's perspective rather than from a commonsense-based one (cf. competencies 1 and 8). They will verify or falsify the results of their analyses through scientific means, and on this basis, work out new teaching procedures and practices (cf. competency 10). Their entry into a scientific community will allow them to stay informed of developments in the education-related disciplines, and to adopt a critical stance towards widespread educational abstractions like "student activity", "need for remedial work", or "the necessity of differentiated pedagogy", etc. (Kahn, 2010). In short, research may thus be put to the service of professional practice, just as professional practice may be put to the service of research: the two activities may thus interact and enlighten each other in their most practical and lively aspects (Perrault Soliveres, 2001).

The instruction of primary-school teachers, however, has not become part of university education, and the length of the instruction has gone unchanged. The renovation, then, has not resulted in a real transformation of teacher training that might in the long run counter the present lack of attractiveness of this kind of study. Indeed, whereas registrations in the pedagogical sections of colleges of higher education marked a steep rise between 2000-2001 and 2005-2006 (from 12,535 to 16,953 students), the number of registrations has slumped back since 2006-2007, causing a return to former levels (ETNIC, 2009).

Concluding Remarks

We have seen that the school system in French-speaking Belgium is dysfunctional and that a renewal of the available workforce is uncertain, since neither the profession itself nor the instruction conducive to it are sufficiently attractive to youngsters. We are thus caught in a vicious circle, where the schools' problems lead to a dearth of teachers, and the dearth of teachers reinforces the schools' problems.

Until the present day, the politicians in charge have sought to reform the school by means of injunctions addressed to the teachers; injunctions which range from, say, the development of the students' competencies to the practical prohibition of having a student repeat a year, or the obligation to engage in teamwork (MEN, 1997). But it can be observed that recourse to the repetition of a year has not decreased in French-speaking Belgium, that teamwork is inefficient, and that few teachers implement pedagogical processes favouring the development of genuine competencies in their pupils. Yet, the vast majority of teachers are not opposed to the principles of these reforms, since these are supposed to boost the success of all pupils, an aim which they themselves keep pursuing. They even adopt a number of formal elements of the reforms and put them into practice, but this is done only through an interpretation which renders the injunctions inoperative as instruments increasing the success of all students (Latour, Akrich & Callon, 2006, Kahn, 2009, 2010).

Injunctions imposed on teachers, prove to have only a limited impact. It seems reasonable, then, to address the issue of teacher instruction. The important thing here is not to limit this instruction to telling prospective teachers how to cope with students or how to conduct classes: it must also provide them with a toolkit of theories, explanatory models and concepts which will allow them to perceive their respective classroom situations in a more informed and analytical manner than a commonsense approach would yield. They must be given the opportunity to establish a correlation between research procedures and teaching practices; and this kind of insight can be provided only by university-level training.

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Mathematics and English – Universal Languages – Challenges for Teacher Education

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Abstract

Mathematics and English are core subjects in school, gate keepers for further education and threshold markers for entering academia. Preparing teachers to teach these subjects is therefore a challenge task. In this paper we relate to English and mathematics as international languages which have some common ground. Communalities between the two languages is discussed, highlighting two issues which play an important role in teaching and learning and are somehow neglected: gender differences in learning English and mathematics and anxiety towards mathematics and English as a second/foreign language. We propose questions relating to the similarities and difference and provide some food for thought.

Introduction

English and Mathematics are two international languages used all over the world allowing people from different countries to communicate for different needs. We would venture to say that to a certain extent, every citizen of the modern world is expected to be familiar with the two languages. In the schooling system, both primary and secondary, English and mathematics are considered core subjects. They are usually allotted quite a number of time slots on every pupil's weekly timetable, as these are two compulsory subjects in the matriculation exams. In higher education, Mathematics and English are the gate keepers to universities, either in the form of psychometric exams, or as threshold standards required by institutions. Having this in mind, there is no doubt that teacher education institutes hold a great deal of responsibility in educating prospective teachers in these subjects. In this paper we would like to discuss some common features that mathematics and English share, and to raise some questions regarding the challenges we face in preparing teachers for teaching English and mathematics.

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We are both teacher educators in an academic college of education teaching two different 'Languages'. Zvia is an expert in mathematics education and Shosh is an expert in teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL). We both have experience as teachers in schools (Zvia in elementary, Shosh in Secondary). As head of faculties we have been responsible for the education of prospective teachers in the fields of mathematics and English respectively. In our collaboration we came across different interesting incidents that emerged in our teaching and urged us to delve into the possible links between the two languages and their implications to teacher education.

In the course of one of Shosh's academic writing courses at the college, we discussed the different processes that writing entails, in order to achieve an elegant coherent piece of text. Students were invited to share how they perceive the art of writing. *This is just like 'problem solving'*, said one of the students. *There are so many linguistic elements that we have to think of and knit them all together into a colourful tapestry of words that everybody can read and understand. This is not easy when you have to write in a language different from your mother tongue. You have to draw the right words from your command of vocabulary, be familiar with the right lexicon, know the grammar and convey meaning in an unambiguous manner. This is high order problem solving.* This description brought home some thoughts about the possible similarity to mathematical problem solving.

The following took place in one of Zvia's mathematics classes with prospective teachers in their last year of study, specializing in the teaching of mathematics for elementary school. We discussed a research study which investigated the understanding of 7th grade students of the relationships between fractions and decimals and realized that although we know that $0/5$ and $1/2$ are equal, this might be difficult to grasp for some students, since the two numbers do not look alike. But, we agreed that students need to understand that even though those two numbers, like many others, are visually different; they are different representations of the same rational number. One of the students commented that this is just like in languages. The word '*cat*', he said, is pronounced differently in Hebrew and in English. When written down, this word does not look alike in those two languages. Still the words have the same meaning. Thus, he said, we can use the example from languages in order to explain and make sense of the problem in mathematics. This comparison is interesting, and one might wonder how many math teachers, if any, use languages to discuss possible misconceptions in mathematics. We have to keep in mind though that in relation to languages, we are talking about two different languages but when dealing with fractions and decimals, we are talking about different representations in the same language – the language of mathematics.

So, what do we understand by the word 'language'? What are the features that characterize a language?

What is language?

A language is based on a set of rules relating symbols to meaning which allows the forming of an infinite number of utterances from a finite number of elements. The rules are what we call the grammar of the language, the system underlying our use of language. These rules are abstract rules of a language which we use to construct our sentences in speech and writing (Freeborn, 1987).

'When you know a language you are able to produce the sounds which signify certain meanings and understand the meanings of the sounds others produce.... Besides knowing the sounds and sound sequences in language, you know that certain sound sequences represent different things or 'meanings'. Language is therefore a system by which sounds and meanings are related. The relationship between sound and meaning they represent is arbitrary. You have to learn, for example, that sounds represented by the letters house stand for the concept (Fromkin & Rodman, 1974, p. 2).

The fact that human language is a learned symbolic system allows flexibility. Language changes, words are transformed and new words are created. Language evolves in response to changing historical and social conditions. People in different places in the world speak divergent languages. However, the need for social or commercial communication brought about 'lingua francas', one language used by common agreement. Having this in mind, let's see how English has become the lingua franca of the whole world (Fromkin & Rodman, 1974, p. 266).

If English and mathematics are indeed languages, do they possess the same characteristics?

English as an international language

English is the language for international communication and is nowadays used by more non native than native speakers, and that most non native speakers will need it in order to communicate with other non native speakers.

English has developed from 'the native language of a small island nation to 'the most widely taught read and spoken language that the world has even known (Kachru & Nelson 2001, p. 9). Since the second half of the twentieth century, the English language has spread around the world to an extent unknown in any other historical period or for any other language (Jenkins,

2006). It has turned to be the nativized language for what Kachru terms as the Outer Circle (Kachru, 1985). It also serves as a lingua franca among non-native speakers of English. Beneke (1991) estimates that about 80 percent of verbal exchanges in which English is used as a second or foreign language do not involve any native speakers of English.

For the first time in history, a language has reached truly global dimensions, and as a consequence, is being shaped, in its international uses, at least as much by its nonnative speakers as its native speakers (Seidlhofer, 2004). The globalism of the English language is well described by Brumfit: The members of the expanding circle who do use English are an increasingly significant group who operate in an increasingly global economy which has an impact on the economy in all countries...and the internet, mobile phones and other technology increasingly establish the potential for use of English which is quite independent of the controls offered by traditional educational systems, publishing outlets and radio/television (Brumfit, 2002, p. 5). The language is also used more and more for practical purposes by people with varied norms and scopes of proficiency. This could be described as a process of internationalization and destandardization. Thus, English as a language, according to many linguists, is undergoing a process of internationalization and destandardization (Melchers & Shaw, 2003).

The native speaker norms, in light of the internationalization of English, has been a debated issue for quite some time. Actually, the 1990s were a revolutionary decade, according to Crystal (2003) due to proliferation of new linguistic varieties arising out of the world wide implementation of the Internet. The consequences were a public recognition of the global position of English. English is now the language most widely taught as a foreign language-in over 100 countries and in most of these countries it is emerging as the chief foreign language to be encountered in schools, often displacing another language in the process (p. 5). Since the 1960s, English has become the normal medium of instruction in higher education for many countries. About 80 percent of the world's electronically stored information is currently in English.

Crystal (2003) argues that a global language is particularly appreciated by the international academic and business communities. English is the medium of a great deal of the world's knowledge, especially in areas as science and technology. The reason why so many nations have in recent years made English an official language or chosen it as their chief foreign language in schools, is educational (p.110). The rapid change, the growth in international contacts, the mobility of people, the 'global village' have provided the circumstances needed for a global language: *There has never been a time*

when so many nations were needing to talk to each other so much,. There has never been a time when so many people wished to travel to so many places. Never has the need for more widespread bilingualism been greater, to ease the burden placed on the professional few: And never has there been a more urgent need for a global language (p. 14).

This has also aroused thoughts among TESOL (Teaching English for speakers of other languages) teachers about the consequences it might have on the conceptualization, development and teaching of English: how far should students, classroom teachers and teacher educators conform to native-speaker norms (Timmis, 2002)? What is the best way to prepare learners for international communication if 'second language pedagogy should not aspire for intelligibility for native speakers receivers (Jenkins, 2002).

The language of Mathematics

Is mathematics really a language? In school mathematics is referred to as a subject, most of times a difficult one, but still a subject. We believe, as many others do, that mathematics is a language. Galileo Galilei said that: "Mathematics is the language with which God has written the universe". Indeed, some of the characteristics of languages can be found in mathematics. Mathematics is the language of numbers, symbols notations and grammar. Using numbers and mathematical symbols, one can write "words" and "sentences". When appropriate, several "sentences" together might form a "mathematical story" (solutions of exercises, problems, etc.). Mathematics has also grammar – the mathematical logic which determines whether statements are valid or not. Jamison (2000) is using linguistic terms to describe mathematics and argues that not many see mathematics as a language. He suggests that treating mathematics as a language would help to increase its understanding: "I want to show how making the syntactical and rhetorical structure of mathematical language clear and explicit to students can increase their understanding of fundamental mathematical concepts. Regrettably, many people see mathematics as a collection of arcane rules for manipulating bizarre symbols – something far removed from speech and writing" (p. 45). Gough (2007) suggests that mathematics is a language, not a natural language but a formal language, artificial constructed and we use our natural everyday language in teaching the mathematical language. In the document "Making Mathematics Count" released by the department of education and skills of Great Britain, mathematics is described as a "powerful universal language".

And indeed mathematics is an international language, since the same numbers and symbols (in most of the cases) are used around the world by

billions of people. If a person in China would write a letter (written in Chinese) to a person in the United States it is almost sure that the person in the United States will not be able to read it. But if, instead, he will send a simple mathematical equation together with its solution, it is almost certain that the person in the States will be able to "read" the solution and probably be able to understand it. Mathematics as a universal language is important to the modern society and is being used in technology, sciences, business and financial services. It is also used at many workplaces around the world (Making Mathematics Count, 2004).

Mathematics is a language taught in school. It is learned all around the world from first to twelfth grade. It is also part of the activities children are engaged in during pre-school. Woodin(1995) refers to mathematics as a language and suggests teaching it as a language to children with learning disabilities. He even compares math to English and says that: "Math may be viewed as a language – a simpler, more consistent, and more regular language than English. This is especially the case with math facts. Numbers represent nouns, while operational signs (+, -, x, /, =) serve as verbs. Both components are governed by rules of syntax. Math facts, such as $2 \times 3 = 6$, may be thought of as math sentences. Students should be encouraged to speak in complete sentences, to convey an entire thought, and to develop a consistent rehearsal pattern for the math fact.... Math at the simple sentence fact level is a much easier language than English. Although math has an infinite number of nouns, it has only five verbs (+, -, x, /, =) associated with four basic operations. Some students, however, may need to have the syntax, as well as the coding (place value) and number theory, explicitly taught to them".

Mathematics is being taught using another language, a natural everyday language. This situation might, in some cases cause difficulties, when the mathematical language meets the natural language but in a different meaning. Such words, which have a different meaning in mathematics, can be found in every language. In particular, this might be difficult for non-English speakers who learn English as their second language and learn mathematics in English. For them, the word odd, for example, means in English something unusual or different, while in mathematics we refer to the numbers 1,3,5,7...etc. Students when hear a number referred to as odd, might think something is incorrect with that number (Garrison & Kerper, 1999).

Mathematics is also a language of communication. Citizens in our modern society, who want to understand what is written in the newspapers or what is shown on the television news need to understand mathematics, since many

such items include graphs, percentages and other concepts taken from mathematics. Mathematics as a language of communication is emphasized in mathematics curricula around the world. For example, the NCTM (National Council of Teachers of Mathematics) in the United States, in The Standards for School Mathematics (NCTM, 2000), refers to mathematics as a language of communication and states, among other standards, that "Instructional programmes from pre-kindergarten through grade 12 should enable all students to:

- communicate their mathematical thinking coherently and clearly to peers, and others.
- use the language of mathematics to express mathematical ideas".

Another example can be found in the Ontario Mathematics Curriculum (2005), where under the heading "Communication" it is written: "communicate mathematical thinking orally, visually, and in writing, using everyday language, a developing mathematical vocabulary, and a variety of representations". Mathematics teachers around the world relate to the aspect of communication in mathematics by emphasizing cooperative learning, writing of mathematical journals, asking students to explain their work and by encouraging discourse in the mathematics classrooms.

The language of mathematics together with some mathematical skills are an integral part of each of our everyday life, from small children who refer to "3 candies" or to "one half" up to recipes in which the ingredients are given by numbers such as "200 grams of flour" or "3/4 cup of sugar" or when during sales the prices go down by "20 percent". In this matter all of us actually speak "mathematics",

Returning to our initial question concerning communal characteristics between the two languages, one might say that both English and mathematics do possess some similar characteristics. They both are languages of signs and symbols which combine to 'words' 'sentences' and 'stories'. These 'stories' have a grammar, which is universal and thus makes them languages of international communication.

Mathematics as well as English as a second/foreign language are not "mother tongue languages" and have to be taught. In the next part we describe the learning of mathematics and English in the school system and teacher education in Israel.

Learning and teaching mathematics and English Mathematics

In our local context in the Israeli education system mathematics is considered to be an important teaching and learning subject. Mathematics is part of school curriculum and appears almost every day on the weekly school timetable. Mathematics is part of the curriculum in pre-school and kindergarten ages 3-6 as well. In elementary and junior high school all students learn mathematics at the same level. In high school students have the option to choose from 3 different levels. Mathematics is one of the matriculation exams and all students have to take the exam according to their level of study. Israeli students take part in the international tests (like TIMSS and PISA) as well as in national tests in which mathematics is always included. The results on the international tests in mathematics during the last years were not high and the government is looking for solutions of improving the way students learn mathematics and the way teachers are taught to teach mathematics.

The programmes for preparing teachers to teach mathematics differ from elementary school to junior and high school. Teachers for elementary school study in colleges of education for four years. If they choose to specialize in mathematics, then about 1/3 of their training time is devoted to the learning of the subject matter (mathematics) and of the pedagogical subject matter. They receive a diploma of teachers for elementary school with a specialization in mathematics. Elementary school teachers who do not choose to specialize in mathematics do not study mathematics (almost) at all in college. The Ministry of Education recommends that only teachers who have specialized in mathematics will teach mathematics, but this is not the situation in schools, where many teachers without specialization do teach mathematics. The ministry of education puts a lot of effort in teachers' professional development and offers in-service courses for teachers in order to improve the teaching of mathematics in elementary schools. The situation in junior and high school is different. Most of the teachers (especially in high school) have a diploma of teachers of mathematics. They study four years at the universities. Some of them study at departments of Science Teaching. Others study for a bachelor degree in mathematics, science or engineering and then study for a mathematics teaching diploma. Ministry of Education offers professional development courses for junior and high school mathematics teachers as well.

English

In our local context in the Israeli educational system, English is solidly entrenched in Israel as the "first foreign language," as defined in the Policy of Language Education in Israeli Schools (National Curriculum, Ministry of

Education, 1996). It is the language that, after Hebrew and Arabic, is considered the most valuable asset of a plurilingual Israeli citizen. For the Arab population, English would mostly be the fourth language as they learn literal Arabic, spoken Arabic, Hebrew and English. As a global language, used in international trade, tourism, academia, research and electronic media, professional English teachers are in high demand in Israel.

Learning English is compulsory from the fourth grade. In most schools English teaching starts officially either in the third or fourth grade. However, some schools have started integrating English in the first grade. In most of the private Arab schools, English teaching starts in the first grade.

According to the National English Curriculum, by the end of the twelfth grade, students should be able to interact effectively in a variety of situations, obtain and make use of information from a variety of sources, present information in an organized manner, appreciate literature and other cultures and the nature of language. Performance is assessed in a national oral and written matriculation exam.

Mastery in English is considered the 'gatekeeper' for entering higher education and broadens employment options. It is therefore an important school subject with the aim of sustaining accuracy and proficiency.

In order to become professional certified English teachers, one needs to have a BA in the subject matter plus a teaching certificate and a teaching license. Teacher Education Colleges provide a B.Ed where the degree is integrated with teacher education awarding the student both a degree diploma and a teaching certificate. Studies take 4 years. In the fourth year students are supposed to teach part-time in order to gain their teaching license from the Ministry of Education.

The teacher education syllabus comprises two tracks, elementary or secondary education, allowing the student to choose. As far as education subjects are concerned, there is not much of difference between the two tracks apart from the fact that teachers who choose the elementary school, would practice-teach in elementary schools. The rationale is that teachers, who are trained for secondary schools, need to know the principles and foundations of teaching English as a foreign language and thus understand better the students who enter secondary school.

Overlooked agendas in teacher education programmes: gender and anxiety

As we have seen, learning languages is a multifaceted process which entails a web of interrelated variables. In our story of English and mathematics as

universal languages, we have chosen to illumine two factors which have a prominent place in the research arena of mathematics and English, and yet are somehow overlooked in education programmes, as far as we have experienced. The two factors are gender differences and language anxiety. What role do they play in foreign language and in mathematics learning?

Gender in Second Language and Mathematics learning and teaching

The role of gender in L2 (Second Language) learning and teaching

The issue of gender differences and second language acquisition has been an important issue of discussion in the area of second language acquisition (Ellis, 1994; Clark & Trafford. 1996). It has been researched for many years from both applied linguistics perspectives and psychological perspectives (Skehan, 1989; Dornyei, 1994; Oxford & Shearin, 1994). There is a study, for example, among Japanese students that indicates the female students' superiority in attitudes to English learning over male students (Kobayashi, 2002). One of Kobayashi's finding is that Japanese female students associate English with positive images more strongly than male students. The dissemination of positive images of English in the Japanese context might be one factor influencing Japanese women's attitudes towards English and the frequent choice of English as a major at university and occupation. In another study on boys' and girls' achievement, Clark and Trafford found that males ascribe less importance to foreign language than girls. Modern languages seem to be perceived as traditionally female subjects. Gardner (1985) reinforces this assertion and reports more positive language learning attitudes among girls. He argues that attitudinal differences might be responsible for obtained sex differences in achievement. According to Worrall & Tsarna (1987) Language teachers self reported practices suggest a pattern that would favour girls over boys in the language classroom and reported having higher expectations of girls than boys providing girls with more career encouragement.

Gender differences are also evident in learning strategies. In a study on vocabulary acquisition strategies it has been found that female students use more strategies than male students when learning new vocabulary in a second language (Catalan, 2003). Strategy gender differences have also been investigated in relation to L2 reading performance. However, findings have not been consistent. Some found no gender differences (Spurling & Ilyin, 1985) and others found that females demonstrated higher levels of performance than males in reading tests and made more use of metacognitive learning strategies than males (Chavez, 2001). These findings are supported by another study on the role of motivation, gender and language learning strategies in EFL proficiency where findings show

significant differences between males and females in their use of memory, cognitive, and compensation strategies, in favor of females (Salem, 2006).

Insights on gender differences in attitudes, perceptions and learning skills have pedagogical implications for teachers, teacher educators. They draw attention to the social, cultural and educational impact on people's attitude to learning English as a foreign language and their choice of their discipline of study. In light of the research findings concerning gender differences in learning styles, teachers and teacher educators are provided with food for thought on how to deal with the heterogeneity of their classes.

Mathematics – Gender, achievement and beliefs

The relationship between mathematics and gender is multifaceted. Researchers from the field of mathematics education, as well as psychologists and sociologists study this issue. Facts show that there are more male than female students in the faculties of sciences and engineering around the world. Research points at gaps in the achievements in mathematics between girls and boys, mostly in favor of boys. The gaps are explained by two main assumptions. The first argues that the gap occurs as a reason of biological differences between men and women. The other implies that the gap is due to social-environmental factors. Recent studies tend to the second approach for explaining the gap. This explanation is supported by research studies which investigate beliefs held by girls and boys toward mathematics, and show that there are gender differences in the way girls and boys perceive mathematics, the way they perceive their abilities in mathematics and the abilities of the other gender.

A large variety of research studies investigated the gap in achievement among girls and boys. The findings are not homogeneous and seem to depend on participants' age, the research tools and the data analysis. A research study conducted with 29,171 participants in the 9th grade showed a minor difference of achievement in favor of boys when one statistical model was used and a major difference again in favor of boys when the researchers used a different statistical model (Brunner, Krauss & Kunter, 2007). In another research which compared the achievement of boys and girls in China and in the United States (Tsui, 2007) it was found that in 8th grades there is no gender difference between the two countries, but on the entrance exams to college, the US results were in favour of males while the China results showed no difference. The investigation among top students entering college pointed at gender differences in favor of males for both countries.

The PISA tests, (PISA – Programme for International Student Assessment), international tests for reading, math and sciences, serve as a basis for gender comparisons. A research study based on the PISA tests compared the achievement of fifteen year old students in math and reading among 31 countries (Marks, 2008). He found that in most of the countries girls performed better than boys on language skills but boys performed better in mathematics. Guiso et al (2008), according to the PISA tests, suggest that indeed in many countries boys performed better than girls, but in countries like Sweden, Denmark and Norway, girls and boys performed equally well. They claim that in countries where there are equal opportunities for both genders, girls will perform even better than boys. In Israel on the PISA tests conducted in 2006 it was found that boys performed better than girls in the Jewish sector but girls performed better in the Arab sector.

Spelke (2005) in a review of a large number of studies, says that research done with babies, pre-school children and students of all ages do not support the claim that there are born differences between boys and girls as to their mathematical and scientifically abilities. Research showed that babies, boys and girls, learn about objects, numbers, language and space at the same time and in the same ways. But later on, some inconclusive differences can be seen. Spelke claims that there are no cognitive differences between boys and girls as to mathematics and science and the explanation for this is due to social-cultural factors.

One of the interesting suggestions to explain the difference has to do with the difference in learning styles of girls and boys. Girls like less lectures, prefer discourse in small groups and suffer more from competition in class. Geits & King (2008) point at the differences in learning style between genders and to the fact that curriculum and math teachers are not aware of these differences and do not take them into account in their teaching.

Beliefs held by students toward mathematics might have an influence on their motivation and achievements. Research literature shows that gender might control beliefs toward mathematics in the sense that boys think they are better than girls in math because of their natural talent, while girls are good in math because of their hard work. Research shows that some of the teachers and parents also hold such beliefs. In a research study among forty five high school girls with high achievements in math and science the girls claimed that they need to work harder and for long periods of time to receive the appreciation boys do. They felt that this is because they are girls (Dentith, 2008). Preckel et al (2008) investigated self concept, interest and achievement in mathematics among 181 gifted students and 181 average sixth grade ability students. They did not find any differences in mathematics

abilities between boys and girls, but found that the girls in both; the gifted and the average ability groups, held lower achievements regarding self concept, interest and motivation. The differences between boys and girls were more in evidence among the gifted student group. In a research study conducted in Israel, Birenbaum and Nasser (2006) compared the achievement and beliefs toward mathematics among Jewish and Arab eight grade students. They found higher achievements among the Jewish students. But analysis of data according to gender showed that among the Arab students the girls were better than the boys and among the Jewish students there was no difference or a slight difference in favor of the boys. The Arab girls claimed that they receive less help at home but more expectations to succeed than do the boys. The Jewish girls said that their parents have less expectations from them compared to expectations they have from boys and that they have to put more effort in math than boys do.

Teachers who teach mathematics might also hold gendered beliefs. They think, for example, that among elementary school students boys are better than girls in mathematics (e.g., Tiedemann, 2002).

Anxiety in Second Language and Mathematics teaching and learning Language learning anxiety

What is the relationship between language learning and anxiety?

In the last 20 years there has been a great deal of research into second or foreign language anxiety (Woodrow, 2006). Anxiety has been regarded as one of the most important affective factors that influence second language acquisition (Na, 2007). Although early research (Scovel, 1978) has demonstrated conflicting results with regard to how anxiety relates to second language learning, advances in measurements and theory has brought more revealing results (Horwitz & Cope, 1986; Horwitz, 2001). They considered anxiety as comprising three components: communication anxiety, test anxiety and evaluation anxiety. Foreign language anxiety is defined as 'a distinct complex of self perception, beliefs, feelings and behaviours related to classroom learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process' (Horwitz & Cope, 1986). Thus, the type of anxiety related to foreign language learning is situation specific where the emotional state of the learner affects the engagement in any situational learning (Ellis, 1994; Brown, 2001). MacIntyre and Gardner (cited in Ellis, 1994) contend that anxiety might increase as a result of a learner's bad learning experience or continued bad learning performance.

The major significance of research into foreign/second language anxiety is in the relationship between anxiety and performance in the foreign language (Woodrow, 2006). Some research suggests that it is the strongest predictor of foreign language success (MacIntyre 1999). MacIntyre and Gardner (1994) theorized that FL anxiety occurs at three stages of the language acquisition: input, processing and output. At the input stage, high level of anxiety may reduce the efficacy of input. The learner would usually have difficulties to attend to material presented by the teacher and ask the teacher to repeat sentences more often than low anxious learners. At the processing state, anxiety may reduce the efficiency to solve tasks when memory processes are utilized. In particular, high levels of processing anxiety may reduce a student's ability to understand messages or to learn new vocabulary items in the foreign language. Anxiety at the output stage would cause difficulties in retrieval of learned material and also hinder students' ability to speak or to write in the foreign language.

In early 1983, Bailey found that competitiveness can lead to anxiety.

In a later research with colleagues (Onwuegbuzie, Bailey & Daley, 2000) students with a high level of foreign language anxiety reported that they spend too much time on some subjects and not enough on others, they feel tired in class, have difficulties in spacing their study time and have trouble settling down to work. In another study which investigated 115 high school students' English learning anxiety in Chinese EFL classroom, it was found that students do have high anxiety in English learning. Males have higher anxiety of English classes than females (Na, 2007). Reticence and the reluctance to participate was investigated among Asian students. They were asked to describe how they felt when singled out for a question during discussion in English. The most common response was fear and anxiety. This resembled much Bailey's finding that 'foreign language classroom anxiety' is created by the need to perform classroom tasks in a language other than one's native tongue (Jackson, 2002).

In a study among Israel foreign language seventh grade students Abu Rabia investigated the relationship between anxiety and achievement in the language. He found that anxiety was negatively and significantly correlated to FL achievement on all FL tests. He also found that gender was a strong predictor of L2 anxiety. Female students showed poorer linguistic results than male students. Consistently, female students showed higher anxiety results than the male students. The teachers' attitudes to teaching as perceived by the students indicated a significant prediction of L2 anxiety, as did the students' gender (Abu-Rabia, 2004).

As we have seen, anxiety is definitely an issue in foreign language learning and can negatively affect the reading writing and speaking of the learners. Consequently, achievement might be low

Mathematics anxiety

Mathematics anxiety is expressed by a feeling of fear, tension and panic when asked to perform mathematical tasks. Many students in school and as adults after finishing school suffer from math anxiety. Cyntia Arem (2010) in the preface of her book "Conquering Mathematics Anxiety" claims that millions of students in the United States are terrified of mathematics and "they do whatever they can to avoid numbers and mathematics problems as if they were the plague. ...One young student described how she panicked in mathematics class to the point that she would run out of the room and vomit uncontrollably. As a child she always had nightmares about numbers chasing her, wanting to hurt her" (p. xi). Indeed, many students in all grade levels do not like mathematics. Some of them express negative feeling toward mathematics and some suffer from mathematics anxiety, which in some severe cases might cause symptoms as described by Cyntia Arem.

Mathematics anxiety is a world wide phenomenon. Research studies suggest, as can be expected, a negative relationship between anxiety toward mathematics and achievement in mathematics. Ma (1999) in a meta-analysis research study in which 26 studies were surveyed concludes that this relationship is "consistent across gender groups, grade- level groups, ethnic groups, instruments measuring anxiety and years of publication" (p. 520). Mathematics anxiety causes low achievements in mathematics and thus might prevent students from choosing careers which have anything to do with mathematics classes. "Highly mathematics-anxious individuals are characterized by a strong tendency to avoid mathematics, which ultimately undercuts their mathematics competence and forecloses important career paths". (Ashcraft, 2002, p. 181). Scarpello (2007) says that according to the American National research council, 75% of the Americans stop studying mathematics before they have completed the needed requirements for their careers of jobs, thus transforming mathematics anxiety into a significant concern.

Math anxiety exists among all grade levels. Wigfield and Meece (1988) identified two components of mathematics anxiety, affective and cognitive: negative affective reaction to mathematics, such as nervousness, fear and discomfort and worries about doing well in mathematics. Those components were similar in younger and older students and among boys and girls. College students might also suffer from mathematics anxiety .Baloglu and Kocak

(2006) investigated mathematics anxiety among 759 college students. They found higher mathematics anxiety among female students and among older students.

Research suggests that mathematics anxiety exists also among pre-service teachers. Rayner et al. (2009) investigated the relationship between mathematics anxiety and knowledge of fraction among 32 prospective elementary teachers. They found that as mathematics anxiety scores increased scores on knowledge of fraction decreased. Gresham (2007) found mathematics anxiety in prospective pre-school and elementary teachers. Participation in a method mathematics course reduced mathematics anxiety.

Jackson and Leffingwell (1999) examined the type of teacher's behavior which might create or exacerbate mathematics anxiety in students. They asked 157 prospective elementary mathematics school teachers to describe their worst or most challenging mathematics classroom experience from kindergarten through college. Data showed that only 7% of the participants reported of having only positive experiences in their math classrooms. From the analysis of the other 93% of the responses, the researchers determined the grade level at which the anxiety-producing problem occurred. For some of the participants it occurred during elementary level, especially in grades 3 and 4, for other during high school, especially grades 9-11 and for the rest during college especially in freshman year.

The way teachers teach mathematics is the key in reducing mathematics anxiety. Gresham et al. (1997) report on a significant reduction of mathematics anxiety among fourth grade "at risk" students when changing instructional strategies to include cooperative learning groups, use of manipulative, real life problem solving, calculators and computers. Sengul and Dereli (2010) report on decrease in 7th grade students' mathematics anxiety on the topic of "integers" in the experimental group for whom the instructions were accompanied with cartoons, while in the comparison group "integers" were taught by using traditional methods.

Coda: food for thought

We presented some of the communalities between English and mathematics. In a wider perspective, they are both languages. They are both languages of signs and symbols which combine to 'words' 'sentences' and 'stories'. These 'stories' have a grammar, which is universal and thus makes them languages of international communication appreciated by the international academic and business communities. They are both a medium of communication of the world's knowledge. However, mathematics might be superior to English in its

universality, as mathematical concepts and thinking will be comprehensible to all mathematicians, no matter what language they speak and what culture they come from.

In the area of education, mathematics and English are both core subjects, gate keepers for further education and threshold markers for entering academia.

Both mathematics and English are daunting subjects for students. In mathematics it is associated with fear, tension and sometimes even panic, which according to research, have consequences on achievements. Likewise is the situation in learning English as a foreign language. Anxiety influences performance and may cause inhibitions in communication, tests, reading and writing.

Research also deals with the issue of gender both in mathematics and English. In mathematics, studies suggest that boys perform better than girls. In English, there is female superiority in attitudes to English learning over male students. Attitudinal differences might be responsible for differences in achievement.

There is also evidence of significant differences between males and females in their use of learning strategies. How can this gender difference in both English and mathematics be explained? What can we as teacher educators in teacher education colleges do to enhance awareness?

Since teachers' beliefs regarding gender might influence their teaching and their students' beliefs on gender, we suggest that the issue of gender is included in the preparation of teachers for teaching mathematics and English. We also believe that attitudes of anxiety toward the learning of mathematics and English can be overcome if more attention is drawn to the issues and it becomes an essential component of the regular teaching programmes for prospective teachers.

We chose to present some of the similarities between mathematics and English as two universal languages. We did not deal in this paper with the differences between the languages. However, in light of our experience we would like to raise some questions that would be part of further research on the issue and might highlight some of the differences as well.

For example, how do we prepare prospective teachers in English and mathematics due to the fact that they are similar in many of their characteristics, but yet so different? Can teacher preparation be the same at all, taking into consideration that in a natural language, it does not matter what grade level one teaches, prospective English teachers have to master the language and be competent English speakers. This is not the case in

mathematics. The subject matter knowledge base required of teachers for elementary schools is different from the subject matter knowledge base required of secondary school teachers, thus the way teachers are prepared is different.

In light of the rapid changes in world communication, do we need a different notion of communicative competence – one which recognizes English as a world language?

What could be the implications to pedagogy and testing procedures?

The same question can be asked about mathematics. Some would claim that most of what is taught is never used in real life and mathematics should be taken out of the compulsory matriculation exams. So, how and what should be taught? Do we need a modified specification of what we mean by a competent mathematics teacher?

In this paper we had a brief glimpse into an intriguing issue for us as professionals in the field of teacher education. We started a dialogue between the language of mathematics and the language of English. In light of the generic features of linguistic competence that we touched upon, it would be interesting to pursue and encourage such dialogues in teacher education.

We also propose that programme designers and teacher educators who prepare prospective teachers to incorporate some of the factors discussed above into their syllabi as part of teacher education to raise students' multidisciplinary awareness that is so apt in the global village of today.

We hope to further investigate the issue and produce empirical evidence based on students and teachers perceptions.

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**Title of Paper: Teacher Education or Language Policy
for ESL learners in Southern Africa.**

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Abstract

This paper has been prompted by studies that have shown that learner performance and quality of education in bilingual contexts are persistently under threat from language policy and planning as much as from other factors. Millions of children are missing out on education because they don't speak the language used in their schools. In this context the paper argues that language policy issues are indeed teacher education issues in bilingual contexts. It argues that in bilingual contexts the language question should be central to educational planning and policy outcomes and that failure to implement progressive policies or to empower the indigenous languages has been linked to poor educational outcomes in bilingual contexts in Africa, Europe and the Americas. This paper examines the language policy endeavours and the effect they have on educational outcomes in a cluster of Southern African countries of Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. The conclusion arrived at is that the cluster countries should embark on reform agendas according to their socio-historical, linguistic and pedagogical situations. Such agendas must be informed by and linked to ideologies of power; politics, history and culture while their schooling and curricula must become the terrain of struggle for legitimate knowledge and culture.

Introduction

The International Symposium on Teacher Education in Modern Era: Current Trends at the University of Crete, Rethymno Campus (1 – 3 / 10/ 2010), convened to debate current problems and policies, approaches and trends including professionalism and in-service education the world over. The forum reviewed new research on teacher education and training including many aspects of what is known about teachers and the teaching profession today from an international perspective highlighting similarities and differences across various countries. It discussed the role of culture in understanding

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variations in teacher education and profession, the changing levels of responsibility for teachers as it cast a modern glance at the teaching profession and teacher education throughout the world. Additionally the forum also made extensive reference to the challenges facing teachers' education in the socio-political, cultural and economic context of the 21st Century (Karras and Wolhuter, 2010, p. 13). This paper is a contribution to that forum. It focuses mainly on bilingual teachers and learners in multilingual contexts to highlight the challenges facing education when L2 is the language of instruction (LoI). The paper has been prompted by the numerous studies that have shown that learner performance and quality of education in bilingual contexts are persistently under threat from language policy and planning as much as from other factors. In this context it argues that language policy issues are indeed teacher education issues in bilingual contexts.

Unlike their counterparts in monolingual contexts, bilingual learners in bilingual educational contexts experience a host of additional challenges emanating from language policy and planning in their countries to the extent where language choice remains an albatross round learners' necks. This paper argues that in bilingual contexts the language question should be central to educational planning and policy outcomes. Failure to implement the effective policy or to empower the indigenous languages has been linked to poor educational outcomes in bilingual contexts in Africa, Europe and the Americas. Here a comparison is made of the different language policy endeavours in a cluster of Southern African countries of Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe and the effect this has on educational outcomes. The paper outlines the challenges in the African classroom and then reviews the socio-political background to language policies in each of the four countries to assess their impact on education.

Challenges in bilingual African Classrooms

Poor performance by ESL pupils in mainstream classrooms remains a big cause for concern for educators across the North and South divide. Debate about possible ways of improving pupil performance in contexts where a second language is the language of instruction has been on-going for decades. The contribution of factors such as availability of teaching and learning materials, teacher quality and classroom conditions has been noted. There is no doubt, using a second language (L2) as language of instruction (LoI) presents a host of challenges to both teachers and learners because the language becomes a barrier instead of a medium of learning. Research has

however shown that more careful consideration of how to handle the two languages, L1 and L2, can produce positive outcomes. For its contribution this paper explores challenges faced by teachers and learners in bilingual classrooms as a result of language of instruction. Emphasis is on possible ways of creating more opportunities for both bilingual teachers and learners by focusing mainly on how language policy and the language of instruction (LoI) can be transformed.

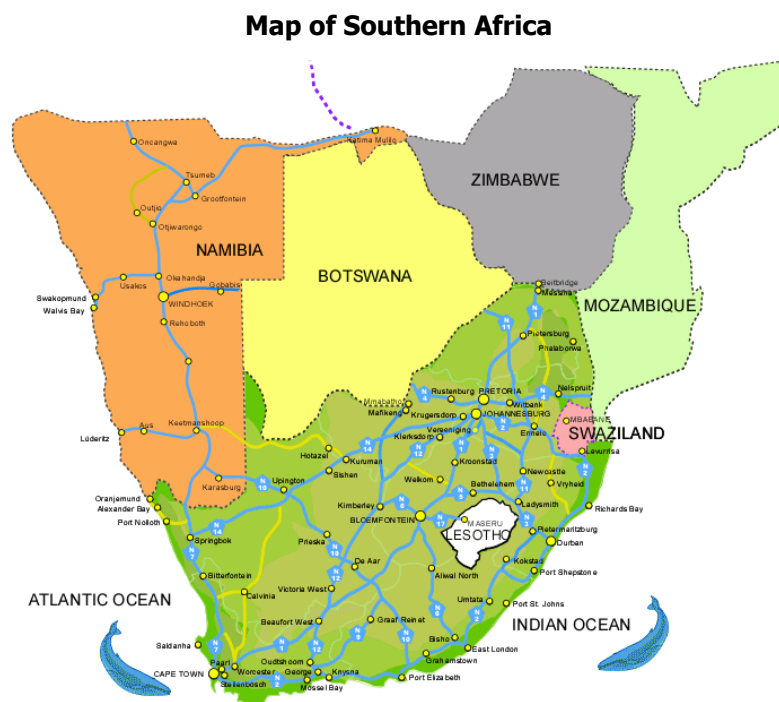
Examples from Africa put the discussion on the four cluster countries into perspective. Different factors that influence the education of the African child have been explored and their effects documented. Heyneman et al (1981), for instance, conclude that, compared with commonly measured potential correlates of school achievements, such as teacher training and class size, the availability of books was consistently associated with higher achievement levels. A number of studies in Sub-Saharan Africa show that different countries with teachers trained and educated to different standards and quality face similar problems as a result of LOI. Classroom studies relating to language practices in post-colonial multilingual contexts have illustrated the critical place of LoI. Seminal among them include Chick's (1996) on safe talk. Others include Bunyi's (1997; 2005) on code switching, and the benefits of mother tongue literacy in classrooms and Rubagumya (1990; 1993) and Alidou and Brock-Utne (2005). Chick found prevalent, the use of safe talk, a type of chorusing and patterned classroom talk which allows participation without risk of loss of face for the teacher and the learners and maintains an appearance of 'doing the lesson'. Bunyi (1997; 2005) on the other hand, focuses on code switching in Kenyan classrooms showing how teachers switch between English and Kiswahili to explain texts, elaborate a point, and provide pupils who have limited knowledge and control over the language of instruction access to the curriculum. Rubagumya (1990; 1993) and Alidou and Brock-Utne (2005) discuss the benefits of mother tongue literacy in classrooms in Tanzania where, when English was used students were silent and grave and teacher talk dominated the lessons. What these studies illustrate is that the language problem affects teachers as much as learners and therefore an equally urgent issue of curriculum and pedagogy. We now move to the country-by-country account of language situation and policy to reveal how the precursor process of L1 alienation developed.

The Language Situation as background to LoI Policies

Language policy and planning invariably occur in environments circumscribed by language ideologies which emerge in specific historical and material circumstances. These Ideologies necessarily emerge out of a wider socio-

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political and historical framework of relationships of power, of forms of discrimination, and of nation building. As a result, they usually reflect efforts to reconstruct images and perceptions of self especially by a people emerging from colonization, domination and oppression. This is the reason why language of education policy is an important ideological statement made in the advent of decolonization and freedom that usually remains difficult to fully implement (Baldauf jnr. & Kaplan, 2006). These countries' efforts to reconstruct images and perceptions of self after the advent of colonization bring them closer together as a cluster. Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe make up the bulk of Southern Africa in terms of both land mass and population. On the map below Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (so-called the BLS countries) with a combined population less than three million complete the Sothern African land mass. The BLS countries have a history of being administered jointly by the British in the colonial era and have much in common that is quite different from the selected cluster countries. This makes them a useful group to examine for the processes of language policy developments and implications.



The selected Southern African countries represent a cluster in several other senses. They represent the last countries to achieve independence in Africa (1975, 1980, 1990 and 1994) respectively. This alone unites them in a special way around the issue of length of time they remained colonized after the majority of the countries were independent. Decolonization in Africa started in 1956 in Ghana and Mozambique followed 20 years later and South Africa

almost after 40 years. These countries are geographically proximate roughly along a north-south axis and share common borders. They are members of the Southern African Development Community (which integrates a total of 15 countries) and they share a number of African languages among them. They share a number of common educational, social and economic problems. Zimbabwe and South Africa had English as a colonial language while Mozambique had Portuguese and Namibia Afrikaans. They all have autochthonous languages, some in common with one another, (Baldauf jnr. & Kaplan (2006) which require planning development. All are members of the Commonwealth of Nations group and have a common concern in terms of languages as they recognise the existence of a gap between official policy and actual practice. We now turn to a country-by-country descriptive analysis of language situation including how the language policy evolved.

Mozambique

The language situation in [Mozambique](#) is very much similar to many other Sub-Saharan countries. The ten most widely spoken languages are used by 84.6 percent of the population as follows: [Emakhuwa](#) 4,007,010 (24.8%) [Cisena](#) 1,807,319 (11.2%) [Xichangana](#) 1,799,614 (11.2) [Elomwe](#) 1,269,527 (7.9%) [Echuwabo](#) 1,203,494 (7.5%) [Chishona](#) 1,070,471 (6.6%) [Xitswa](#) 763,029 (4.7%) [Xironga](#) 626,174 (3.9%) [Cinyanja](#) 607,671 (3.8%) [Portuguese \(Mozambican\)](#) 489,915 (3%) (http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country; downloaded 30/11/10). It is significant to note that only three percent of the population speaks Mozambiquen Portuguese. All these languages were made redundant by the assimilado policy. "Assimilado" or "Civilizado" was the Portuguese administration policy or rule that bore striking resemblances to French "Direct Rule" and Belgian "Paternalism" especially as far as administrative centralization was concerned. Press censorship, police repression and the suppression of all forms of democracy were the instruments of this centralization. Based on this combination of economic, political and administrative policies employed by other powers, Portuguese colonialism came to be called "Assimilado" or "Civilizado." At independence therefore, the country faced great language planning challenges.

At independence the illiteracy rate was 93% and there was no starting point with local population and or local languages. VSO Mozambique's first CSP (2000 to 2003) aimed to help "increase availability, quality and access to education", hence during this time 95% of education volunteers were classroom teachers of which 85% were English teachers. Later, the IEPALA University Institute in Madrid would set up an institutional network with the

Institute for Technological Education in Mozambique. They will jointly design and deliver a training programme for primary school teacher trainers, who in turn will be capable of addressing the wide variety of issues in primary schools and in communities including admission rates, attendance, drop-out rates, academic standards and gender considerations. What we highlight here are the challenges emanating from language situation, policy and planning in bilingual contexts.

For a better understanding of the Mozambican situation, brief information about the colonial process will be helpful. The tenets of Mozambique's official language policy are expressed in Article 5 of the 1990 revised version of the Constitution of the Republic (República de Moçambique, 1990) in the following way:

(1) In the Republic of Mozambique, the Portuguese language shall be the official language (2) The State shall value the national languages and promote their development and their growing usage as vehicular languages and in the education of citizens (Lopez 1998, p. 458). This was the first time ever that the official language issue was dealt with in the country's Constitution but occasional pronouncements by the authorities had already made Portuguese function as the country's official language since Independence in 1975. Portuguese had been chosen to unite nationalist freedom fighters with different language backgrounds in 1971. After Independence, the option for Portuguese was reiterated at the 1st National Seminar on 'The Teaching of Portuguese', held in 1979, in the following terms: The need to fight the oppressor called for an intransigent struggle against tribalism and regionalism. It was this necessity for unity that dictated to us that the only common language — the language which had been used to oppress — should assume a new dimension Machel (1979: 6). And, Ganhão, (1979: 2) also reiterates that the decision to opt for Portuguese as the official language of the People's Republic of Mozambique was a well considered and carefully examined political decision, aimed at achieving one objective — the preservation of national unity and the integrity of the territory. The history of appropriation of the Portuguese language as a factor of unity and leveller of differences dates back to the foundation of FRELIMO in 1962, he said.

NAMIBIA

The situation in Namibia bears some similarities with Mozambique but is peculiar in its own way. English and Afrikaans are used for public communication, but there many indigenous languages spoken as L1s by the various indigenous populations including: San, Damaras, Ovambos, Namas,

Hereros, Oorlams, Kavangos, East Caprivians, Rehoboth Basters, Kaokovelders, Tswanas and European settlers. At Namibian independence 16% of the nation's 13 000 teachers had no professional training (Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture, Namibia, 2001). Ministry placed in-service teacher training at the top of its priority list because of the large portion of unqualified and under-qualified teacher.

Basic Education Teacher Diploma Training programme (BETD) was introduced in 1993. The programme aims were to produce teachers who could meet the demands and rise to the challenges of the post-independence basic education system. It was also to strike a balance between subject knowledge on the one hand and professional skills and insight knowledge on the other. The central concept in BETD programme was Critical Practitioner Inquiry (CPI) (Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture, 2001). CPI, a term used in Namibia since 1995, is an umbrella concept used in teacher education and professional development courses for teacher educators. In this paradigm, teachers are viewed as researchers who can reflect critically on their own practice and the contexts in which they teach, change their practice according to the outcomes of their enquiry, while growing professionally and changing social reality in the process (Government of the Republic of Namibia, 2000).

This unique historical, educational and economic situation presents a different scenario on the ground. Uniquely, Afrikaans and not English was the former colonial language with English only adopted at independence in 1990. Throughout the country's history the medium of instruction played a major role. The use of Afrikaans undermined the self-concept and cognitive growth of the African language speakers. This created the notion that the African languages were deficient and resistance built up against the use of mother tongue as medium of instruction in education. On the other hand, among African language speakers, the notion that English was the key to empowerment therefore grew ever stronger (Heugh 1995, p. 43). After independence in 1990, the Ministry of Basic Education realised that a new language policy for schools was urgently needed and a policy promoting the use of the mother tongue together with English, and not Afrikaans, was the obvious choice (Dolores Wolfaardt, 2005).

The national language policy for schools in Namibia (MEC 1993) stipulates that the medium of instruction in Grades 1 – 3, the Junior Primary phase, should be the mother tongue and English will be taught as a subject. From Grade 4 onwards the medium of instruction should change to solely English. The policy was perceived as a combination of an additive and subtractive model of language in education. During the initial implementation, it was perceived to be following a gradual transition or late-exit language

programme. But, the policy was not explicit in its guidelines on how the different mother tongues should be used in schools. It only mainly spelt out how the phasing in of English as medium of instruction between 1992 and 1996 should be achieved. There were however, discrepancies in the implementation of the policy from region to region, as policy implementers, due to misinterpretation and manipulation, mainly preferred teaching through English. Currently Namibia has a typical subtractive bilingualism or early-exit language programme which still leaves formerly disadvantaged learners further marginalized in this process (Wolfaardt, 2005). The result is that, despite efforts to train teachers to high standards, there are still many learners failing to attain the minimum language proficiency in English at appropriate age levels. The same learners cannot cope with school work at the introduction of linguistically (and thereby cognitively) more demanding, English-medium subjects in Grade 4. It is a concern that learners continue to lag behind their required level of language proficiency and the majority never really reach the language proficiency in English which their age and school level demand (Jones 1996:285). Sadly this a situation that teachers can do very little about because it is rather the language policy and not teacher quality that bring about effective learning.

SOUTH AFRICA

The language and education situation in South Africa, again bear similarities and peculiarities. South African languages by size of population has [Zulu](#) 10,677,000 (23.8%) [Xhosa](#) 7,907,000 (17.6%) [Afrikaans](#) 5,983,000 (13.3%) [Northern Sotho](#) 4,209,000 (9.4%) [Tswana](#) 3,677,000 (8.2%) [English](#) 3,673,000 (8.2%) [Sotho](#) 3,555,000 (7.9%) [Tsonga](#) 1,992,000 (4.4%) [Swati](#) 1,194,000 (2.7%) [Venda](#) 1,022,000 (2.3%) [Ndebele](#) 712,000 (1.6%) (http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country; downloaded 30/11/10).

South Africa has 12.3-million learners, some 386 600 teachers (but there is a very high teacher turn-over rate) and 26 292 schools, including 1 098 registered independent or private schools. Of all schools, roughly 6 000 are high schools (grade 7 to grade 12) and the rest primary (grade 0 to grade 6). Most currently serving teachers received their professional education and entered teaching when education was an integral part of the apartheid project and organised in racially and ethnically divided sub-systems. Notwithstanding the improved qualification profile of the teaching force, most reports on South African education indicate that the majority of teachers have not yet been sufficiently equipped to meet the education needs of a growing democracy in a 21st century global environment. The President's Education Initiative research project (1999) concluded that the most critical challenge

for teacher education in South Africa was the limited conceptual knowledge of many teachers. There is diminishing interest in the profession because of poor public image of the profession, and its status, particularly among young people, uncertainty about where new teachers would be placed after qualification, a competitive employment market. The result has been especially evident in the low enrolment of African student teachers. The situation is especially grave in the Foundation phase where learners require teachers with mother-tongue competence. For example, of the 6 000 new teachers likely to graduate in 2006, fewer than 500 will be competent to teach in African languages in the Foundation Phase. In South Africa the apartheid legacy had English and Afrikaans as national official languages while indigenous languages were designated homeland languages only.

Colonialism and apartheid have meant that all of the languages have acquired socio-political meanings, with English currently highly prestigious, Afrikaans generally stigmatised, and the Bantu languages with little economic or educational value. In fact, the Bantu languages are said to be viewed by many of their own speakers as symbols of being “uneducated, traditional, rural, culturally backward people with lower mental powers”, and as languages which are “sub-standard” and less capable of carrying serious thought”. Though the Bantu languages, as well as Afrikaans, are numerically “major” languages, they are “minority languages” in language political terms. In terms of power and prestige, English is the major language of the country, with Afrikaans lower on the power hierarchy, and the Bantu languages effectively marginalized (Webb, 2002). The 1996 constitution acknowledged that the inherited language-in-education policy in South Africa had been fraught with tensions, contradictions and sensitivities, and underpinned by racial and linguistic discrimination. It underlined that a number of these discriminatory policies had affected either the access of the learners to the education system or their success within it. After independence in 1994, the constitution of 1996 recognized eleven official languages – IsiNdebele, IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda and Xitsonga, as well as English and Afrikaans which were previously the two official languages – a radical departure from what was happening in the apartheid era. Although theoretically the country has a policy of mother-tongue based bilingual education, the only developments to date are two pilot projects, one in the Western Cape involving sixteen schools) and the other in the Eastern Cape involving one school. There remains little progress at a national level and learners are still disadvantaged.

The South African Language in Education Policy, in Terms of Section 3(4) (M) of The National Education Policy Act, 1996 (Act 27 of 1996) outlines the

country's main aims The main aims seek to redress current trends and create more opportunities by trying to:

- promote full participation in society and the economy through equitable and meaningful access to education
- pursue the language policy most supportive of general conceptual growth amongst learners, and hence
- establish additive multilingualism as an approach to language in education;
- promote and develop all the official languages;
- support the teaching and learning of all other languages required by learners or used by communities in South Africa, including languages used for religious purposes, languages which are important for international trade and communication, and South African Sign Language, as well as Alternative and Augmentative Communication;
- counter disadvantages resulting from different kinds of mismatches between home languages and languages of learning and teaching
- develop programmes for the redress of previously disadvantaged languages.

ZIMBABWE

In Zimbabwe two major indigenous languages dominate the indigenous language scene sharing 92 percent of the population between them: Shona with about 11 million speakers (80%) and Ndebele with about 1.5 million speakers (12%). Also, 14 other less widely spoken languages used by about eight percent (8%) of the population including Kalanga, Shangaan, Chewa, Venda, Tonga, and Nambya which are officially recognized.

A segregated education system was inherited at independence in 1980 and underwent tremendous transformation in education and teacher training between 1980 and 1995. UNESCO Report (2003) on National Capacity-building of Lead Teacher Training Institutions on Zimbabwe Ministry of Higher And Tertiary Education made many recommendations but none on language of education. Language of education remains largely an invisible barrier.

Teachers in Zimbabwe had a reputation of being highly educated and trained but remained ESL users of English who faced great challenges in the classroom. With the majority of their learners ELLs whose proficiency is even more limited, the typical situation in the classroom presented as many challenges as the other countries. The language of instruction policy is predicated on an early exit transitional model as the Education Act 1986 as amended in 1996 states that:

1. The three main languages of Zimbabwe, namely Shona, Ndebele and English, shall be taught in all primary schools from the first grade as follows:
 - a. Shona and English in all areas where the mother tongue of the majority of the residents is Shona or
 - b. Ndebele and English in all the areas where the mother tongue of the majority of the residents is Ndebele.
2. Prior to the fourth grade, either of the languages referred to in paragraph (a) or (b) of sub section (1) may be used as the medium of instruction, depending upon which language is more commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils.
3. From the fourth grade, English shall be the medium of instruction provided that Shona or Ndebele shall be taught as subjects on equal time allocation as the English language.
4. In areas where minority languages exist, the Minister may authorise the teaching of such languages in primary schools in addition to those specified in sub section (1), (2) and (3). (Part X1, Section 55, p. 255)
5. The relationship between mother tongue and second language as provided in the education act above has wide ramifications in the classroom. Neville Alexander (2005) says:

Colonial conquest, imperialism and globalisation have established a hierarchy of standard languages, which mirrors the power relations on the planet. The overall effect of this configuration has been to hasten the extinction of innumerable language varieties and to stigmatise and marginalise all but the most powerful languages.

For example, English remains the de facto and de jure official language although more than up to 98% of learners use it as a second language in the cluster countries. In all cases it is in diglossic relations with the indigenous languages. This is the situation that requires urgent redress.

. . . What is at stake for the people of Africa in a field such as language policy in education, for example, is to pose the question: how can we make the move from the existing situation where the former colonial languages dominate to one where the indigenous languages of Africa become dominant? (Neville Alexander, 2005).

Alexander further says that the empowerment of the people is axiomatically only possible in and through a language, or languages, in which they are proficient. Sadly, the generality of the African population has no sufficient command of the former colonial languages used as LoI and cannot conduct their essential transactions in those languages without assistance. In all the cluster countries there is no competition between the colonial and indigenous languages because of the functional differentiation supported through legislation as indicated above? The use of English as the medium of instruction from Grade Four onwards is what is called subtractive bilingualism. In Zimbabwe the amended education act stipulates that the level of transition to instruction in English can be brought forward or delayed depending on the linguistic environment of the school and in South Africa the act stipulates that school governing boards have the right to choose which language to use as LoI and this licenses schools to use English much earlier before learners get to the fourth year of primary school. Similarly, in Namibia discrepancies occur in the implementation of the policy from region to region and most schools mainly prefer teaching through English. This is because policy implementers misinterpret and manipulate policy in favour of English.

In monolingual contexts in general, the language issue tends to be perceived as neutral and unproblematic while in multilingual contexts it is usually emotive. In the cluster countries context, the biggest challenge is that the majority of learners and teachers use English, an unfamiliar language in which they have little proficiency. All this demonstrates that the current policies and situation do not create opportunities but instead create more challenges for both teachers and learners and are the more urgent reform.

The resultant linguistic and pedagogic situation

It is not surprising that the language and learning situation in the post-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa, is characterised by teachers who use a colonial language (English or Portuguese in the case of the cluster countries) as the official language while pupils are second language learners who have insufficient proficiency in the language to succeed in English or Portuguese-only classrooms without carefully considered support. They need ongoing support to bring them to the same grade level proficiency as L1 speakers (Lessow-Hurley, 1991; Cummins, 2000). There is no doubt that colonialism, and imperialism left English, for example, enjoying elite status while indigenous languages remained with low status. As a result, the middle and

working classes, and rural families all want their children to acquire the language because fluency in English "is associated with 'being educated' and is therefore seen as a prerequisite for upward mobility" (Myers-Scotton, 1993) in Edwards (2009: 33). Lack of political will to incorporate African languages in education following independence is therefore not surprising. Notwithstanding, however, research findings (Ramirez et al, (1991), Thomas and Collier (2002) are indicating that a pupil's mother languages can, as a matter of fact, be used as a tool for the fluent acquisition of the second language. This is however possible when additive, and not subtractive, bilingualism is in application. Lambert (1977) points to the majority of positive studies which have involved bilingual students whose L1 was dominant and prestigious and in no danger of replacement by L2. The resulting form of bilingualism is termed 'additive' in that the bilingual is adding another socially relevant language to his repertoire of skills at no cost to his L1 competence (Cummins and Swain 1987, p. 18). Cummins draws the distinction between additive bilingualism in which the first language continues to be developed and the first culture to be valued while the second language is added; and subtractive bilingualism in which the second language is added at the expense of the first language and culture, which diminish as a consequence (Cummins, 1994).

The language policies in the cluster countries are matter-of-factly based on subtractive bilingualism because the L1 is completely diminished as a language of formal and school communication after three years. Even in South Africa where the L1s are also official languages, they still play second fiddle to English. With the L1s out of mainstream formal and school communication goes the majority population's culture out of the official domain. There should be recognition that the colonial languages and the indigenous mother tongues can work side by side. Radha Nambiar, (2009, p. 115) says it is becoming increasingly clear that learners do use their L1 to help them comprehend when they read in the L2 as emphasized by many researchers (Cook 1992, Kern 2000, Koda 1993, Bernhardt 2005, Pang, 2004). The pertinent question that arises then is how do we make this happen?

The low achievement levels in both English and the other subjects taught in English appear to indicate that learners are being insufficiently assisted to develop the language skills they need to learn effectively as well as challenge societal injustices and become creators of vibrant knowledge. Although they make by far the majority of the school going population, speakers of African languages in the cluster countries represent a cultural and linguistic minority in the power relations in the school and wider education society. The school creates a mainstream English environment to which learners appear linguistic

and cultural minorities. The observations by various researchers about the situation of minority children in the Northern hemisphere, apply equally to the situation of children in Sub-Saharan African contexts. Willis (1995, p. 34), for instance, has argued that children from cultural and linguistic minority groups continue to have difficulty in achieving school success because of the dominant pedagogical approaches that are based on “a narrow understanding of school knowledge and literacy which are defined and defended as what one needs to know and how one needs to know to be successful in school and society”. Au (1993) suggests that the lack of educational success of students of diverse backgrounds reflects structural inequalities in the broader social, political and economic spheres and Cummins (2000) points out that in many bilingual contexts little is done to accommodate the needs and interests of bilingual learners.

The curricula in not only the four but also all other Sub-Saharan countries require continual qualitative research-informed reforms to offer children more support to achieve better success. Such reforms will benefit quality teacher education endeavours as much as transform pedagogy in both primary and secondary school. A carefully contextualized fresh look at the implications of the language policies including LoI is overdue to meet these needs and interests of the countries in post independence. Countries must therefore amend and adopt research-based LoI policies that will support learners to access the curriculum sufficiently at appropriate grade levels by steering away from the subtractive towards the more additive bilingual thrust.

Research-based rationale for late-exit L1 instruction

Current research shows that there are two useful concepts that work to explain how L1 and L2 can reinforce each other if carefully planned. One is CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency; see Cummin, 2000). This is a contested term, but it serves to point up the fact that school makes particular language demands on learners: they need to use a special variety of language for learning purposes. This includes reading school texts, planning and writing academic texts, listening to teachers and taking notes, conducting effective group work, using charts and graphs, writing examination responses, etc. The second useful concept is ‘transfer’. CALP can transfer from one language to another (Cummins, 1984) but this happens only under certain conditions. Firstly, the skills must be taught well enough in the L1. Secondly, this teaching must continue for a long enough time for L1 CALP to establish firm foundations (Rubagumya, 2003). The Interdependency Hypothesis and Threshold Theory can be used further to illustrate how L1 instruction extended to at least six years would benefit L2 learners. This

arises from the current consensus in bilingual learning that, instead of separate underlying proficiency in the first and subsequent languages, there is, in fact, a common underlying proficiency (Edwards 2009, p. 18). This means that, because of the Common Underlying Proficiency model, L1 and L2 are integrated in a single thought process despite their surface features varying a great deal.

In addition, Cummins (2000) claims that effective bilingual education requires teachers to give extra emphasis to CALP in both L1-medium and L2-medium parts of a bilingual education. In L2-medium learning, learners should be shown explicitly how to use their learning skills. This means that L2 teaching – throughout schooling, but especially in the early years before the switch of medium – needs to focus on this variety of language. Very often, early years L2 lessons in African classrooms are not intended to do this but instead to teach general-purpose, rather than academic-purpose language. For example, broadly speaking, the Zimbabwe primary English syllabus “is based on a list of Functional objectives . . . seen as a part of overall communication skills” (Primary English Syllabus Grade 5: 5.1). Gurunlu (2005) says the Functional National approach will help learners at each level acquire (only) a reasonable, basic knowledge of the phonological, grammatical and lexical subsystems of the language and that a variety of learning activities will enable learners to encode or decode a message. This reasonable basic knowledge is not adequate for the development of requisite cognitive academic language proficiency. Therefore the current model of early-onset L2-medium education may not be effective because it may not be long enough and it may not focus sufficiently on academic learning skills either in L1 or L2.

Conclusion

In the context of the current problems, policies and approaches in education, this paper has highlighted one of the key strands requiring urgent attention: language policy and planning. While recognizing that quality of teachers and teacher training is crucial, it highlights the fact that education in European languages is not working in Africa (Carol Benson, 1998) and that it is no longer legitimate to avoid the debate on the language of learning. It is now known that mother tongue-based bilingual education can raise school achievement if correct policies are implemented consistently. It is prudent to suggest the replacement or appropriate modification of the current early exit L1- medium education in early years in accordance with each country’s specific objective circumstances. It has been demonstrated clearly that the alternative to the existing early exit bilingualism can significantly raise classroom interaction and school achievement in Mozambique (Lopez 1998,

Benson 1998) as elsewhere (Cummins, 2009), Edwards (2009, p. 33), Ramirez et al, (1991), Thomas and Collier (2002) Lambert (1977). While three years L1 instruction is what most countries currently use, this needs to be extended to six years at least. Indeed 'early-exit' L1-medium education is now considered by many specialists to be insufficiently effective in terms of academic achievement compared to late-exit models or continuous bilingual education Ramirez et al 1991). Some commentators believe that this is particularly true of African education (Heugh, 2006), where six years are thought to be the minimum needed for L2-medium education to become effective. This will not only provide more connection to their community and culture (Brock-Utne & Alidou 2006) but also to better cognitive and literacy foundations for education as a whole. On top of that, it will become an essential foundation for bilingual education especially for children with low socio-economic status for whom it has an important compensatory value (Thomas & Collier, 2002).

To sum it up all, there is no doubt that this is the time for genuine efforts to redress the current language and pedagogical situation in the cluster countries to empower learners. Language pedagogical reforms must go beneath surface meanings and empty policy pronouncements that leave the status quo intact. With the knowledge we have now, it will be prudent to underpin language and educational reforms on the backdrop of critical pedagogy defined by [Shor](#), (1992, p. 129) as:

Habits of thought, reading, writing, and speaking which go beneath surface meaning, first impressions, dominant myths, official pronouncements, traditional clichés, received wisdom, and mere opinions, to understand the deep meaning, root causes, social context, ideology, and personal consequences of any action, event, object, process, organization, experience, text, subject matter, policy, mass media, or discourse.

The cluster countries' socio-historical, linguistic and pedagogical situation demand that their reform agenda become informed, shaped and linked to ideologies of power, politics, history and culture and their schooling become the terrain of struggle for legitimate knowledge and culture. Schooling here must address cultural politics and legitimize and challenge histories and social realities that have given meaning to student lives including their language. While acknowledging the role played this far by colonial languages, time is ripe to utilize research findings and revisit language policy and restructure the school curriculum accordingly. The countries should not continue proverbially, to bury their heads in the sand and appear to uphold traditional perspectives of education that claim to be neutral and apolitical. They must seriously

legitimize and challenge their cultural experiences that comprise the histories and social realities that in turn comprise the forms and boundaries that give meaning to student lives (Darder 1991, p. 77).

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EDUCATION IN POLANDWitold Tulasiewicz²⁸**Abstract**

This paper attempts a critical survey of education in Poland from the establishment in 1793 of the Commission for National Education (*Komisja Edukacji Narodowej*) to the present. While there had been a network of schools in Poland going back to the tenth century, the Commission marks the start of a formal, secular, nation-wide system of all levels of educational provision in the country. The emphasis, in the paper, of teacher education reflects the prioritization of this sector of education by the Commission.

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the two nations. The Commission for National Education

The decisive factor leading to the establishment of the Commission was the dissolution of the Jesuit Order by the pope, the Order until then being the main provider of education in Poland. Indeed, by 1773 the Jesuits, who arrived in Poland in 1564, were responsible for maintaining sixty six secondary schools as well as a number of classes for the preparation of teachers.

Even so, when in 1773 Pope Clement XIV decided to dissolve the Order, many members of the ruling Polish middle and upper classes, dissatisfied with the exclusively religious character of education in the country, wanted to use the opportunity to take education out of the hands of the clergy. This must be seen in the context of the Enlightenment movement, particularly in view of the good record of the Jesuits who, in 1579 for example, set up the country's second university in the city of Wilno in the Greater Duchy of Lithuania half of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations.

In Warsaw, in the Polish Crown part of the Commonwealth, The King, Stanisław August Poniatowski, was anxiously waiting for the arrival of the Pope's *breve* so as not to antagonize the Church by a predated announcement of the planned secularization of the school system.

The overwhelming 'yes' vote in the Polish parliament ((the *Sejm*) led to the establishment on 14 October 1773 of the National Commission for Education,

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a first dedicated ministry of education responsible for an education system owing no allegiance to the Church.

The ideas of the Commission proved easier to formulate than to implement. The problem was the transfer of the wealth of the dissolved monasteries to the state which would henceforth maintain the educational services. This affected not only the Jesuits, their economic as well as their intellectual capital, but also the other teaching orders, the financing of education services leading to disagreements, of the kind still encountered in many countries, concerning the status of the agencies responsible for providing the schooling.

For reasons to do with the Polish policy to keep ahead of her neighbours in matters of education ranging from wider educational access for the peasants, to which rather less attention was paid by the gentry whose offspring did not attend the parish schools, to the education of women, albeit another low priority, the educational proposals were readily agreed by members of the Commission. Many of its members and their advisers were themselves involved in the production of textbooks and other pedagogical materials. The release of the monasteries' funds, on the other hand, was delayed by opposing deputies of the *Sejm* who laid claims to substantial parts of them.

The proposals themselves were unique. The entire centralized education system would be headed by the two universities (*szkoły główne*) situated in Cracow, in the Polish Crown part of the country, and in Wilno in the Lithuanian half, responsible for delivering all provision from village schools for the peasants, through secondary, district and specialist schools in towns and other important centres for the benefit of the middle classes, the peasants not used to attending school, all the way to higher academic and vocational institutions including the universities. In this way, the state would assume control over all education except the elementary village schools, which, however, would henceforth be administered not by the parish but by a secular village council.

University teaching staff, most of them laymen, were entrusted with ensuring the efficient running of all schools achieved by a system of annual visits, the entire country being divided into ten areas for this purpose.

There was to be provision for women's education, usually in separate schools, the clergy preferring to use teaching materials prepared by the church. Teacher education was to be delivered principally in seminaries attached to some schools, with all instruction given in the mother tongue, mainly Polish. However, Belorussian and other ethnic languages were also available as a teaching medium if required. At the time, this language policy was far from being the norm, especially in many Catholic universities in Germany where the tuition was in Latin.

Though the provision of elementary education in every village suggested by the Commonwealth Chancellor in 1780 was rejected when put to the vote, the opposing nobles unwilling to enlighten the peasants, a number of far-reaching curricular details and a list of teachers' duties proposed by Grzegorz Piramowicz, a member of the Commission, were passed by the *Sejm* and introduced in several districts. In his seminal book on teachers' duties (*P. Komisja Ed. Narodowej, 1787*), Piramowicz, who saw the parish school as a preparatory stage for future employment, suggested a different, restricted curriculum for the parish or village schools compared with the extended one for the town schools.

The provision of different programmes was vocationally and academically sound, including practical farm work in the village schools and elements of manufacturing, accountancy and health education skills as an integral part of the curriculum in the urban centres. Indeed, Piramowicz anticipated many curricular innovations and professional duties expected of teachers in later centuries.

The detailed instructions for a syllabic reading and writing education involving the use of a 'movable' alphabet, part of the 1783 Ordinance, deserve mention.

In Chapter III of his book Piramowicz lists approaches such as warning teachers not to tell a lie when unable to give an answer to their pupils' questions but to admit ignorance. He further insists on teachers taking time off to reflect on their teaching so as to improve their pedagogical style. Religious education in school, no longer administered by priests, would lose its faith instruction character. In fact, religious education was intended to be the spiritual counterpart of moral education, a start being made, in this way, with civic education. Moral upbringing, above all honesty and loyalty to others and to one's native country, as well as diligent execution of one's tasks and duties, were among the virtues inculcated to pupils and expected of teachers. Parents would be involved in the education of their children.

Antoni Popławski's book on citizens' education (*O rozporządzeniu i wydoskonaleniu edukacji obywatelskiej*), another of the Commission's publications, suggested delaying the teaching of national history until the senior classes to prevent a hatred of otherness developing if the subject was presented to pupils at too early an age for a proper assessment of its implications.

Even so, Nobility and the Church being acknowledged as the principal pillars of society led to a system of education divided on social class lines which, while introducing a number of reforms, confirmed a passé semi-feudal political order in the country that teachers were meant to uphold. This changed with the

enactment of the May 1791 Constitution and the enfranchisement of other social classes.

Teacher Education and the Universities

Reform of teacher education counts among the principal achievements of the National Commission. Indeed it is possible to find links between the eighteenth century innovations and the abiding interest in the topic and measures taken throughout the following centuries of Polish education and the fact that Poland was among the first countries in the world to deliver a cohort of tertiary, degree level educated primary school teachers.

The active participation of the universities in education involved the restructuring of the entire system of schooling, and the curricular changes that went with it, being followed by teacher education and the establishment of a professional association of teachers.

The creation in 1793 of an association of teachers, the *stan akademicki*, the first association of teachers in Europe with members accorded distinctive status and privileges, was an important feature of the reforms as were the preparatory institutions attached to the two university centres which had begun to recruit men aiming for an academic teaching career.

The *stan akademicki*, the autonomous academic teachers' professional association admitted, *ex officio*, university and secondary schoolteachers, the personnel of the first group put in charge of all educational institutions in their given districts. In this capacity they administered and evaluated school curricula and inspected schoolteachers' professional performance. Members could elect their own institutional principals with the exception of university rectors.

Pedagogical advice given to village school teachers, the setting up of teacher training seminaries preparing teachers to teach in elementary education, the insistence on compulsory teaching practice, and the publication of books and other teaching aids, are examples of proposed and partly implemented early reforms. The distinctive interpretation and implementation of the role of the universities in the initial training of teachers and supervision of their work must be seen as an unparalleled contribution to the service of education. The modernization of the universities' academic and administrative structures was an integral part of the reforms.

The involvement of the universities is noteworthy, because, unlike some of the other innovations, the close professional and administrative link between teacher training and the university emerged in Poland a hundred years before anywhere else in Europe, and, in a number of regions, unlike other reforms,

survived the partitions of the country. The idea of higher education training for all teachers did resurface in several contexts before being fully implemented in an independent Poland. The link between teachers' subject knowledge and their pedagogical and psychological preparation advocated by the German professor Johann Friedrich Herbart in nineteenth century East Prussia owes much to the measures of the Polish Commission for National Education.

There was much activity prompted by these policies. Mindful of its task to train teachers for the growing number of district and sub-district senior level secondary schools, a delegation of Cracow University professors arrived in Warsaw in December 1773 offering to assume overall control of secondary schools and to advise the staff of all parish schools. The promise to deliver some 120 teachers a year trained in a teacher seminary in Cracow was not taken up at the time, the more than four hundred years old university being regarded as a relic of a bygone age unfit for such a modern task.

This changed after the establishment of an 'academy' dedicated to the training of secondary schoolteachers, the university of Cracow becoming the first higher education institution in Poland linked with a local secondary school to train teachers.

Modernizing, at the same time, the academic teaching side of the university involved the establishment of academies of fine arts, philosophy, law and medicine and other vocationally oriented disciplines. The task of the academy of philosophy, which by 1778 had become a *de facto* teacher training seminary, was to revise the study of the humanities and to provide laboratories to raise the academic and practical professional levels of the future district and specialist schoolteachers educated there. This, albeit limited in scope, influenced the teaching methods in many secondary schools.

Discovery and analysis as well as discussion approaches in teaching were used in the preparation of the forty alumni turned out each year. Between 1780 and 1793 the two original teacher training academies were joined by a further sixteen institutions in the Cracow area alone producing substantial numbers of secular secondary schoolteachers to compete with the monks still working as teachers. An important part of the work of the academy of philosophy was the publication of school and pedagogical textbooks.

It was in 1783 that the new school hierarchy headed by the two universities, the University of Wilno was modernized a year after Cracow, and the special status of teachers within the universities first proposed by the Commission was confirmed. Hugo Kołłątaj, the rector of the Jagiellonian University of Cracow, was made responsible for all schools in the thirteen provinces (voivodships) of that part of the Commonwealth including the hitherto

neglected elementary village schools, many of which being overhauled during his tenure.

Assuming, between 1781 and 1783, overall control of the entire system of education in the country gave the universities the unprecedented dual role as centres of academic learning as well as professional teacher education, the latter ensured by the regular, annual visits by academics and experienced school leaders. The academics inspecting and the school rectors reporting on activities allowed cross checking that would guarantee a high standard of all school education.

Teachers' 'Academic Status', enacted in 1789/81, allowed teachers to teach in all the nation's schools, except village schools. Those not fully qualified could become so after passing an additional examination, in this way acquiring the privileged status to which professors and distinguished schoolteachers and students could aspire. As a further break with the monastic tradition, after 1783 students were required to pay for their own tuition rather than being sponsored by religious bodies. They were obliged to serve as teachers for at least six years after graduation.

Implementing Educational Reforms

After visiting schools in 1782 Grzegorz Piramowicz became a staunch supporter of raising teachers' professional standards. He expected more from them than just a good knowledge of their teaching subjects. It was also his brief that after 1787 many village schools were being administered by the village council rather than the parish priest, encouraging an admission policy enabling both peasants and impoverished nobles as pupils. By 1789 there were 204 such schools in the Cracow area alone.

The practice of initial training of secondary schoolteachers being available in the 'academies for higher grade teachers' attached to the universities, which started with the 'seminary' established in 1780 in Cracow, continued for many years. The academic status of the seminaries as a permanent part of the educational establishment confirmed government recognition of the national importance of teachers' work.

As against that, the village schools had difficulty with shedding their generally accepted inferior status, their teachers having to conform to a dress and approved lodgings code not unlike that expected of clerics.

The class character of educational provision, albeit modified, continued for years after the demise of the Commission, especially in the matter of teacher recruitment and preparation.

Only parts of a forward looking single structure of compulsory schooling for all could be implemented in some districts before the partition of the Commonwealth by its three neighbours completed in 1795 brought to an end its independence, making many of the Commission's innovations in teacher education and the delivery of a secular education system with a curriculum modern for its time, such as pupils' work experience and physical education (Chapter XXII of the 1783 decree *Ustawy Komisji Edukacji Narodowej*), a promise rather than fact.

The Commission did not take sufficient account of the opposition of large sections of the nobility to the education of the peasant and working classes as well as their own. The Church was reluctant to release ex- Jesuits and monks belonging to still functioning teaching orders, such as the Piarists, to staff the schools, the objection being that control of the schools and their clerical staff would pass into the hands of the secular state. There were, moreover, too few secular teachers available (Kurdybacha, 1973).

In the complex socio-economic, political and indeed religious contexts of the country, even before partition, many of the National Commission's declared proposals for modernizing the education system of the Commonwealth were difficult to implement.

As it were, the implications of the impending partitioning of the country by her neighbours were being debated by the *Sejm* at the same time as the educational reforms themselves.

The reforms that had been introduced and had to be withdrawn after the third and final partition in 1795 included Komeński's model of a seven years education in the same schools for all able pupils which, minus its teacher training facility component, did function for a period in several areas of Poland. Opening the more senior state maintained secondary schools to all would, of course, have enabled a system of education not based on social class.

A similar fate befell Ignacy Massalski's December 1774 set of instructions for parish schools, *Przepis dla szkół parafialnych*, intended to raise their status. Although a failure, this first 'seminary' for the training of elementary, village school teachers led to the founding of more such institutions beginning with Cracow in 1780.

The partitioned commonwealth: 1795- 1918

After the partitioning of the 'Republic of Nobles' (Fedorowicz, 1982), most of the north-east of Poland was incorporated into Prussia, its education system becoming a regional version of the Prussian model. After 1867 Austro-Hungary

allowed in her parts of Galicia and areas of Lesser Poland a degree of independence, with Polish education practices relatively freely available. The main two thirds bulk of the country became first the short-lived Duchy of Warsaw and, after the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the Kingdom of Poland in personal union with the tsar of Russia. It enjoyed, to begin with, a good deal of political and administrative autonomy.

Especially in the latter it was that, initially, several measures enacted by the Commission during its official existence could continue, particularly the secular status of the elementary schools and the work of the Society for the Publication of School Textbooks. Most of this was lost after the second uprising against Russia in 1863/64 which led to a severe curtailment of all Polish cultural activity.

In Prussia a restricted Polish school system catering for a Polish and Catholic identity existed until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when draconian repressive measures, the *Kulturkampf* introduced by Bismarck to weaken the power of the Catholic political parties and keep Prussia Lutheran, put a stop to all education in the Polish language seen as the main exponent of Catholicism.

Before that, catering for teacher education, there were, following the Prussian model, Polish Catholic seminaries in a number of locations. The Prussian teacher seminaries, a secondary school level institution without the right for its graduates to proceed to university conceived by the liberal pedagogue Friedrich Diesterweg, were the first nationwide formally established institutions in Europe for training elementary school teachers. To be sure, the general idea of the seminary was not entirely uninfluenced by the pre-partition proposals of the Polish Commission twenty years earlier.

In West Prussia the first German and Lutheran seminary attached to the Danzig Academic Gymnasium was opened in 1801, with students starting at the age of 17 after completing elementary school and a three years preparatory course supervised by experienced teachers being taught for a qualifying examination. The course involved a practice period in a regular elementary school. The first seminary independent of a school was founded in 1813 in Malbork, teaching general subjects to primary school level and pedagogical disciplines in the Pestalozzi tradition.

The number of Polish and Catholic seminaries was much smaller, the first one being opened in 1816 in the city of Graudenz. Its director, Franciszek Dietrich, was a loyal German citizen but happy and qualified to teach Polish. The Graudenz seminary was not different from its German counterparts except for teaching some lessons in Polish. A later, more exclusively Polish seminary in

the same district was capable of turning out twenty teachers of Polish language and subjects such as Polish history and geography each year.

Polish educators were active in setting up their own institutions. Through the efforts of Jerzy Jeziorowski a seminary was opened in Poznań, while Ewaryst Estkowski established a Polish Pedagogical Society in 1848. Its journal: *Szkoła Polska*, following National Commission practice, published articles on pedagogy, psychology as well as selections of general education and school curriculum subjects.

Tertiary level, higher education preparation of secondary schoolteachers had always been more or less the norm. In Prussia, university graduates could aim for a 'professorship', introduced in 1810, to enable them to teach in secondary schools. In 1812 the *Abitur* secondary school leaving examination, equivalent to the Polish *matura*, became the regular access path to university studies and a career as a secondary school teacher.

In Austro-Hungary the emphasis was on quick delivery strategies. After 1854 the so called 'preparanda' offered courses lasting two years, producing growing numbers of elementary school teachers. Teaching methods included teacher- trainer interventions, not unknown in the Commonwealth, with tutors and students discussing the lesson they both had attended. In Galicia, one year refresher courses envisaged in selected schools were an early model of continuing teacher education.

A reminder of the role of the universities in the management of schools in the Commonwealth was the advocacy, as early as 1873, by a group of influential educationalists of a university education for all teachers. This led, in 1910, to the Union of Polish Teachers in Galicia demanding a higher level professional academy for their training, staffed by university educated tutors and including adequate practical teaching experience. There was opposition to such projects on the part of Polish conservative politicians in Austro-Hungary who discouraged university education for teachers lest it give them ideas critical of the socio-political system of government.

In the Kingdom of Poland, following an 1862 Ordinance, five county pedagogic schools were set up to train elementary school teachers, the former parish school teachers, the course lasting five years. In the early twentieth century private school education, not all in Polish, began to flourish in the Kingdom, the numbers of pupils attending being much higher than in the Austro-Hungarian and German controlled parts of the former Commonwealth.

The second half of the 'eighteen nineties and the early 'twenties was the time for intensive discussions of teachers' duties, their precise roles and status in society and, especially, the nature of their professional training. The concept

of the 'creative', autonomous teacher emerged in a number of influential writings; questions as to what a teacher should study rather than how he or she should study anticipating future priority debates (Suchodolski, 1931).

In the new socio-political circumstances few of these led to successful results. The teacher education researcher Jan Dawid's 1912 proposal for the creation of a university level 'higher pedagogical institute' in Cracow, with his unrivalled definitions of its work in the areas of child psychology and subject teaching methods, did not get beyond the proposal stage. Neither did the suggestion, made at the 1919 teacher parliament in Lwów (Smołalski, 1992), of linking the four years of secondary education with the two years of teacher training courses.

These debates dealt with a variety of topics that after one hundred and twenty three years would be addressed in an all-Polish educational agenda in an independent Poland.

Poland Restored

1918 - 1939 The Second Republic

With the desperate shortage of qualified teachers in partitioned Poland, unqualified candidates could be employed in state schools if they had passed a special examination until August 1927, teacher education was bound to become a priority concern of governments in the Second Polish Republic, public as well as private and communal interests involved in its provision.

In the post 1918 republic, however, the authorities also faced what was probably an even greater challenge, that of creating a single, Polish education system for citizens coming from different areas and used to a variety of educational experiences and expectations. This resulted in decreeing universal compulsory schooling for all children aged 7 to 14, the age, as in other countries, later raised to 15.

The 'thirties were also characterized by the growth of the neglected further education, vocational and university institutions sectors, as well as the emergence of school centres offering more than one type of school on a given site. Provision was also made for basic education for those who had missed out on regular schooling (Bromberek, 1964).

In the last year before World War Two there were 227.5 thousand vocational school pupils compared with 230 thousand in general education. Several new institutions were awarded the right to confer academic degrees, including the Catholic University of Lublin. The number of all university students rose from

34.790 in 1921 to 47.739 in 1937, albeit, of more than six thousand students graduating in 1935, teachers accounted for only 1292.

There were three different routes in the restored republic to acquiring qualified primary schoolteacher status, the principal being successful completion of a professional seminary course after attending primary, later renamed general (*powszechna*) school, seven being the starting age with a compulsory attendance of seven years. To meet demand, 'preparanda', preparatory educational institutions not unlike those in nineteenth century Austro-Hungary, with courses lasting two, later one year, recruited those candidates aged 12 to 15 for admission to the seminaries who had failed to complete general education. The two year courses ceased in 1926, those lasting one year in 1932, by which time all general schools were deemed capable of delivering a complete seven years general education.

The seminaries, secondary level education institutions also known before independence, with an admission age of between 14 and 20 and courses lasting five years, restarted in February 1919, being abolished in 1932, with some continuing until 1937. They were superseded by 'pedagogical lycées' (*liceum pedagogiczne*) a more prestigious form of upper secondary education accessed after four years of lower secondary experience and lasting three years. Lycée leavers were eligible to proceed to a higher, tertiary level education institution, whereas the seminaries had offered a more basic, secondary level general education of three years' duration followed by two year courses of pedagogical training.

Training consisted of school subject teaching methods, history of education, child psychology, art, music and technology. It also included compulsory teaching practice. The curriculum was modern for its time, with students planning their own courses. The final qualifying examination required the presentation by the future teacher of a study profile of at least one child being educated and a detailed critical teaching diary. In-service activities were available.

The lycées taught a new subject: experience of contemporary Poland which included neighbourhood studies, alumni being encouraged to pursue courses of continuing education. The two qualifying criteria were thorough professional preparation plus leavers' ability to make a meaningful contribution to society at large. These courses bore similarity to the civic education curricular reforms of the National Commission.

The problem affecting the educational status of the seminaries, in 1934/35 there were 170 of them, was to determine the distinction between the professional character of the secondary school level seminaries and the general education offered in the regular secondary schools, the declared aim

of the seminaries being the delivery of 'a good and general education'. This objective, not significantly different from that of the regular school, was considered explicit enough in view of the young age of the students not believed to be ready to engage in serious professional pedagogic inquiry, also in view of the experiential gap between the seminarists and their graduate instructors. The inadequate, vague definition did not help in drawing up an acceptable teaching programme for the seminaries preventing them from making a successful contribution to teacher preparation. To some extent the dilemma also affected the lycées, which included physical, moral and civic education, with Catholic religious instruction given a privileged place after the Concordat of 1925.

The year 1928 saw the introduction of the appropriately called 'pedagogia'. These were explicitly post-secondary professional institutions admitting students who had completed secondary education. They offered a more advanced curriculum of pedagogical subjects, such as ethics, psychology, sociology or philosophy, methods of teaching early beginners, arts, music and technology, and specialist general knowledge subjects which took account not only of general school curricula but also emphasized awareness of their pupils' environment. There was a period of one term of practical teaching.

The aim of the pedagogia, the third route to acquiring a primary or general teacher qualification, was to impart professional expertise in courses lasting two years. Unlike the seminaries, attendance in the coeducational pedagogia assumed that all primary, that is general school teachers must receive a post secondary, albeit shorter than the equivalent academic discipline, university education preparation. To the four main elements of professional educational study offered was added a fifth general education subject providing an advanced grounding in Polish, history, mathematics or science enabling graduates to teach in the senior forms of the general schools.

Being older, the pedagogia students' choice of profession was a more carefully considered decision than that of students choosing to enrol in the seminaries and lycées. There was also the bonus of a considerably longer period of teaching practice and training given in dealing with special needs and disabled pupils.

A criticism of the pedagogia was that they were seen as a hybrid institution, neither secondary nor higher education, and regarded as an experimental solution. Fewer working and peasant class students enrolled; the majority preferring to attend the seminaries with their predominantly lower social class intake. The distinctive feature of the pedagogia of combining preparation for

teaching with other work experience and the qualification to teach two subjects, was often overlooked.

So-called 'state teacher courses' advocated by the Association of Polish Teachers and introduced after 1920 were intended to provide a post-secondary school level teacher education for older students deemed capable of making their own choice of career. To begin with the 'teacher courses' took students who had completed four, later, their standard raised, only those with six years of secondary education.

The eleven 'Teacher Courses' existing in 1930/31, with tuition lasting four years, after adding general school subject education to the curriculum, delivered a preparation one year longer (four years general plus eight secondary schooling followed by the one year of 'teacher course' work) than that of the seminaries. The negative side was the shorter time available for professional study.

After 1923 a tertiary level teacher education of one year duration for those already qualified as teachers was provided in advanced education courses in three state-run 'higher teacher education institutes' operating in the country, their number growing to seventeen by 1930. Though their declared aim was to provide a high level professional expertise for all its students, their impressive in-service, lifelong pedagogy and subject methods training approach was not accorded tertiary education status.

This could be obtained by graduates of the 'higher teacher courses' in the National Pedagogical Institutes in Warsaw (created in 1918, later renamed State Teacher Institute) and Katowice. They were university level establishment with a large number of specialist pedagogical departments for the professional training of inspectors and supervisors. A number of other similar institutions, including the education departments of the universities, were also available for this work. These centres could be attended by experienced teacher seminary alumni who wished to obtain a higher education level qualification.

Calls for higher education training for all teachers usually made when the role of the pedagogy was debated, as in the Association of Polish Teachers conference in 1933 in Lwów and again in the memorandum addressed to the then minister of education in October 1936, confirm the intention to provide tertiary level education of all teachers.

Even so, the legacy of the National Commission notwithstanding, by the time of the outbreak of the Second World War, still only those wishing to become secondary school teachers or instructors in a pedagogical institution had to have obtained a master's degree in a chosen subject awarded in a tertiary

level, higher education institution providing both, an academic school subject tuition and professional training. The cost of fully implementing the teacher training policy, plus the updating of hundreds of general schools, to which military expenditure had soon to be added, was more than the country could afford.

The Second World War

Underground Education

Within a few weeks of enemy occupation, with its abolition of a Polish education, a system of 'underground' education was established in Poland, a service sponsored by the 'underground' government which functioned in most parts of the country, with its 'open' headquarters in London. Due to Polish experience of such initiatives acquired during the partitions, there was a wide range of 'secret' school as well as higher and teacher education on offer.

Teachers would use textbooks banned by the occupiers, particularly those dealing with Polish language, literature and history in lessons held on school premises after the regular, enemy controlled institutions had closed for the day. They would offer different interpretations from those suggested in books in official use. Schools that were allowed to function under occupation, mainly general and vocational, would also be used as the secret secondary and higher education classes as per demand. A Department of Culture and Education of the 'underground' government was responsible for coordinating these efforts and for issuing teaching instructions.

This Department was able to check the education provided and the diplomas awarded for quality so that after the war 'underground' diplomas and other qualifications were duly recognized. This included teaching certificates. Pre-war syllabuses were used almost exclusively. A number of 'underground' institutions created during the war, such as the School of Marine Business, were given official educational centre status after the war.

In the Warsaw area of the General Government part of Poland, albeit controlled by Germany, more institutions had remained open and more 'underground' diplomas were awarded there than in the parts incorporated into Germany proper. In 1940/41 some 20 percent of pupils in the upper grades of general schools were able to study the 'illegal' curriculum. All secondary level 'underground' teaching had been properly organized and its output recognized by 1940/41. In the early 'forties in the Warsaw provinces there were 71 secret schools in operation with 22 thousand pupils. By 1943 the number had grown substantially; 86 percent of the pre-war number of pupils were studying in 'underground' establishments.

In addition to several higher education institutions running in the Warsaw area, there was 'underground' teaching going on in universities in Lwów and Wilno, medicine proving especially popular and easy to organize. Conspiratorial work was most difficult in areas incorporated into Germany where all instruction in Polish was punished as a criminal activity.

It has been claimed that 'underground' teaching experience during the war had given future teachers a good preparation for their career (Miąso,1981). It certainly contributed to maintaining a Polish cultural identity.

Mentioning the widespread system of Polish schooling made available for expatriates in a number of countries by the *Polska Macierz Szkolna* (association for the promotion of Polishness) before and after the Second World War, and the Polish university abroad (PUNO), though not underground institutions, may not be inappropriate, demonstrating as it does the continuity of Polish education in very different political contexts.

Poland after World War Two: two political systems

Creating a Communist Education

An examination of the education system of post-World War Two Poland reveals developments happening with two different, ideologically and politically opposed, sets of government in power. It is convenient to start the survey with the Soviet-supported administration from 1944/5 until 1989 and to follow with the 'Western' oriented coalition governments after 1989.

While concentrating on the ideological aspect of educational provision, the communist government managed to substantially rebuild the country's general education system which, as once before in 1918, had by 1945 again been damaged by foreign oppression and the ravages of war. The experiences gained in 'underground' education and innovations introduced by the provisional government in 1944 could, with the post-war, communist administration directing its efforts to specific objectives, help undo much of the destruction. Illiteracy was virtually abolished, more higher education institutions were created than ever before, the number of study places had trebled, and a sizable qualified force was ready to start teaching.

In 1945 there were over 40.000 unqualified teachers in the country. By the 'sixties provision of teacher education had substantially increased. Whereas in 1946 24.4 percent of the 66.643 primary, later general school (*szkoła powszechna*) teachers were unqualified, by 1984 there were 279.376 qualified teachers of whom 47.8 percent had a university degree.

The new government promoted self learning by pupils and students, ideological education being ensured by officialdom relying on regulations such as teachers having, until 1954, to pass a loyalty test as evidence of compliance with the Soviet model of citizen and teacher.

There were problems with the compulsory learning of Russian, what with the generally higher social class background of the majority of secondary school teachers, many of whom, compared with the rest, totally unimpressed by Marxism and its Soviet model cadre policy. This involved rewards made when securing the appointment of party members as headteachers or senior teachers.

Not surprisingly, the communist government encouraged school and teacher preparation courses emphasizing ideological links such as the relevance of the Gracchian reforms in Ancient Rome to Marxist collectivist policies, while condemning traditional Polish policy of expansion to the east as an 'aristocratic' ploy of an alliance with the 'decadent' West. Good 'Eastern' contacts would have been of greater advantage for the country (Mielczarek, 1992).

Even so, official surveillance did not seem particularly efficient since many teachers and their pupils attended church services and received religious instruction. In 1947 there were still a number of private schools and after the end of Stalinism in 1956 religious education returned as part of the school curriculum only to disappear after the departure of the more liberal Gomółka regime, being finally restored in 1990. The Catholic university in Lublin remained open throughout the time, albeit a new non-denominational state university was also located in the city later.

Conflicting Soviet and pre-war Polish influences led to the adoption of a number of educational measures, many of which to do with teacher preparation proving particularly short-lived. By May 1948 the system had envisaged a seven, then an eight year long primary or general (*powszechna*) school education, which later became the basic school attended by all and renamed *szkoła podstawowa*. This was followed by three or four years of secondary schooling with different specialisms classes. Teacher preparation had to adjust to the changing priorities.

The urgent attention paid to teacher preparation was obviously due to teacher shortages. The prominence accorded to this sector, however, was greater in Poland than in other countries because of the continuing interest in the recommendations of the National Education Commission with its concept of a centralized and secular system run by an independent administration compared with Soviet sponsored policies concerning the duration and character of compulsory schooling and the structure of teacher education.

Since restarting the pre-war pedagogical lycées and pedagogia would have required more time, a variety of interim preparatory courses, such as the two year courses of the lycée were allowed to function, including, until 1952, the pre-war higher teacher education courses which prepared teachers for the senior classes of the general or basic school. After the closure of the pedagogia tuition offered by the pedagogical lycées was extended to four years following basic school education.

The perceived lowering of standards (the total length of schooling having been reduced to eleven years) prompted the government to reintroduce higher pedagogical schools of three years' duration, longer if part-time, for secondary school leavers who wished to teach in the senior forms of basic schooling.

The debate about the pedagogical content of the education on offer, a conflict of views between upholders of the traditional system and the innovators led to the May 1954 government decision to have teacher preparation for the basic school carried out in two types of institution only: the four (later five) year Pedagogical Lycées and the two year Teacher Studies courses. With the addition of the eighth year of general or basic education in 1961, Teacher Studies, acknowledged in the September 1961 Ordinance, gained in importance. This in turn prompted extending, in 1968, the course of study to three years in the by then renamed Higher Teacher Education Schools which meanwhile had shed their pronounced Soviet character (Draus and Terlecki, 2005).

The higher teacher education schools were either independent institutions or they were associated with a Higher Pedagogical School or an appropriate University Department. In 1967/68 they started admitting Teacher Studies leavers to four year tertiary courses, in this way also contributing to increasing the number of graduates to staff secondary schools.

The first higher pedagogical schools go back to 1946. Alumni, after studying the required subject teaching methods and pedagogy for three years in Higher Teacher Education or in Pedagogical Schools, were deemed qualified to teach two school subjects in the junior as well as in the senior classes of the basic school. The professional curriculum included Marxism, psychology and pedagogy, philosophy and politics as well as the theory and practice of child education, subject teaching methods, an extra personal education subject, and a period of teaching practice (Wojtyński, n.d.).

Initially, all the above institutions specialized in the education of basic school teachers. In view of the shortage of secondary school teachers, about 1949 some of them were restructured to cater for the preparation of secondary school staff. Whereas originally it was possible for alumni to proceed to study for a university degree course on leaving the teacher training school, after

extending the course of study in 1954 to four years to enable the preparation of secondary schoolteachers, the higher pedagogical schools were in 1970 accorded university status, with some of them becoming education departments in existing universities.

It was in that year that the Higher Pedagogical Schools became two phase institutions, the first phase being a professional Higher Teacher Education School, the second a two year university level advanced education period leading to the award of a master's degree. With the adoption of the Bologna system more than twenty years later in a democratic Poland such a two phase, two grade qualification would again become available.

The popularity of the extended Higher Pedagogical Schools courses can count as proof of the communist government's education sector achievements. The relatively lower academic standard of the Higher Pedagogical Schools, when compared with that of the Universities, was compensated by the acknowledged superior professional preparation delivered in the former. Success must also be noted in respect of reviving the pre-school and vocational education sectors neglected in the Second Republic

Further to reforms of the admission and student preparation policies in the 'fifties, it has been claimed, as one of the communist government's successes that the objective of an entirely higher tertiary education trained teaching force was within reach. The two different versions of the 1972 Teacher's Charter (*Karta praw i obowiązków nauczyciela*), however, prove otherwise. While the first version dated 27 April 1972 insisted on 'higher education training' for all teachers, the proposal was never implemented, the 26 January 1982 version of the *Karta nauczyciela* having dropped this requirement. .

To be sure, while 47.8 percent of basic school teachers in 1984 were tertiary level graduates, the rest still received only a secondary school preparation.

There was also criticism of the fact that neither version of the Charter gave an unequivocal statement of teachers' roles and the specific duties for which they must be trained. The second version, especially, delivered a general statement of the aims of teacher preparation which failed to distinguish between the priorities of the personal development of teachers and raising the level of their academic standards. These problems are still being addressed.

Educational Priorities in a Democratic Poland

The coalition government of June 1989 headed by Premier Tomasz Mazowiecki was the first non-communist administration in eastern and central Europe, the demise of communism in Poland predating the fall of the Berlin Wall by several months.

On the education front (*Edukacja narodowym priorytetem 1989*, see: Kupisiewicz, op.cit. below) the government started out with a set of three priorities: demonopolization, which meant the reintroduction of private schooling, decentralization involving local authorities and agencies in education decision making, and the adaptation of education to the demands of the free market including global cooperation, and structural and curricular change leading to a revision of vocational education. The priorities represent commitment to a 'western' democratic socio-political values system, such as the vocational education sector promoted under Communism having to give way to a general education system.

The proposed reforms beginning in 1990 and those of 7 September 1991 did not meet with immediate approval. Teachers were not prepared for them, prompting the Committee of Experts, a research body going back to 1973, to encourage a more positive attitude to and trust in government initiatives. The disappearance of previous culture disseminating and popularizing organizations, whatever their merit, was noted with particular concern. On the other hand, the firm commitment to further increase the size of the higher secondary (the future *liceums*) and tertiary education sectors was welcomed.

As on previous occasions, improving teacher preparation by requiring all future teachers to be higher education trained, at least in a post-secondary course of study in a 'teacher college' of three years duration, became an important feature of the reforms. The post-matura *kolegium pomaturalne*, which succeeded the previous 'teacher studies' lasting two years, was a continuation of the communist administration's efforts to secure an all-graduate profession. This policy was backed by firm proposals to increase the expenditure on higher education from 1 percent (in 1988) to a future 3 percent of GNP.

The two complementary objectives of education, learners' personal-social and their intellectual development, the entire period of compulsory schooling still consisting of eight general (basic) and three post-basic years, make up the new developments. Criticism made in November 1991 of the system was that it did not have much of a practical, vocational usefulness (Kupisiewicz, 1994).

As it were, changes made in 1993 under the Suchocka government meant a thoroughly revised school curriculum and teacher education programme including a comprehensive apparatus of pedagogical advisory and support services.

After the 1998 reform (MEN, *Reforma/ Koncepcja*, 1998) schooling in Poland envisaged the still existing two years of preschool, six years of basic (*podstawowa*) school, three years of secondary *gimnazjum* followed by three years of the advanced secondary *liceum*. It also included further education centres, assistance by professional advisory agencies, libraries and parent-

teacher organizations. Much of this is traditional and pre-war, the principle of educational equality, however, built into all levels of the system goes back to communist post-Second World War initiatives.

The revised vocational sector following the compulsory *gimnazjum* can take the form of an exclusively vocational preparation achieved while working or of study and work in a combined vocational *liceum* and post-*liceum* institution. Graduation from the latter entitles leavers to proceed to higher education. There is a parallel system of special education.

Later reforms again included an all university graduate teaching force, with teachers entitled to in-service education and encouraged to further study in order to improve their chances of professional advancement. A controversial measure stipulating that a teacher's first employment should be for a fixed trial period was passed in 1998.

Most of the final revision of the structure of the education system goes back to January 1999, with later additions such as lowering the previous school admission age of 7 to age 6, which became year zero, and the introduction in 2005 of a new upper secondary school (*liceum*) leaving certificate examination, the *matura*, with its compulsory first and foreign language and mathematics and science components. Polish language and culture, mathematics and science, European and world culture, a foreign language and heritage, environmental as well as civic, health and IT education have been approved as integral parts of the curriculum. .

The discussions of 1997- 2004 further accentuated the collaboration of schoolteachers and parents in the education of their children. It was also agreed that for the reform to properly function many decisions would have to be made at individual school level, with implications for the status of schools and further education establishments and the role of staff within the decentralized system. Minor reforms are still happening.

Poland Today: the Third Republic

Educational Aims and Structures

Education in Poland, traditionally a national concern, headed by the Ministry of Education (*MEN: Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej*) is sub-headed by local authority administrations, the sixteen provincial (voivodship) *kuratoria*, several major cities counting as provinces, responsible for overall policy. Most of the details, on the other hand, are decided by individual, state and private institutions.

The three layered structure of the education system, including teacher training, is geared to achieve the twin objectives of (a) citizens' social - personal and intellectual development, their prioritization subject to change in accordance with national and international experiential and research findings in the areas of schooling, and (b) – citizen education and the world – employment and the market (MEN, *Reforma/ Projekt*, 1998). To ensure the delivery of a creative population in the reality of the twenty-first century, educators have been arguing for an 'education for the future' rather than an 'account of the past' which requires a specific set of outward and forward looking active and communicative competences (Banach, 2004).

With Poland a member of the European Union, attention is increasingly being paid to international initiatives, particularly EU recommendations involving multiculturalism and the insistence on lifelong learning. For financial and organizational reasons these have not been practised as assiduously in Poland as in some other countries, although most measures and their dissemination have met with a ready response (Ćwikliński, 2005).

European Union emphasis on intercultural education, taking account of the increasingly multicultural composition of countries and its impact on relations with others, has in Poland reached the stage of preparation and dissemination of school programmes leading to the study of subjects such as European Studies (Korczyński, 2004). The University of Białystok, situated in the ethnically mixed area of north-eastern Poland, was one of the first universities in Europe to establish a chair of intercultural education.

The *kurator*, acting on behalf of the minister of education, is responsible for delivering the state maintained and *kuratorium* supervised education service in his or her voivodship. This implies the general structure of education, outlines of the curriculum and the supply of teachers. Private education must conform to nationwide agreed criteria.

With local power over aspects of admission policy, the opening or closing of schools and detailed curricular decisions, a long path has been trodden from the days of central control. The way the system is currently being administered individual schools or several schools collaborating can work on changes. This may include teaching programme details, such as minority language tuition. While language policy is enshrined in a nation-wide curriculum there is room for change and adjustment. Parents are actively involved.

As well as making syllabus changes, government policies envisage individual schools selecting their own teaching materials to suit local priorities. This decentralization policy has strengthened the status of teachers who are free to

adopt their own individual teaching styles and enjoy the generally accepted autonomy of their interpretation of teaching materials.

Universities and other establishments not falling under the *kurator's* direct jurisdiction were granted their own version of autonomy in 1990. .

Teacher Status: Preparation and Employment

Schoolteachers are employed by the individual school or the *kuratorium*. Their contract stipulates eighteen hours of teaching a week, their initial pay being some 1200 zloties a month. Accession to the profession, by way of a temporary probationary contract stage before official nomination (appointment) to the permanent post of teacher, is governed by the ranking status of the teacher's professional study and relevant experience.

The candidate applies for, or is invited to apply for a vacant post by the headteacher of a school. Less frequent is the way of applying for posts via the *kuratorium*. The system of advancement to senior posts, closely linked to the supervisory and progress monitoring role of the employing headteacher, has been revised to envisage, after serving as a contractual teacher, the three positions of nominated, qualified and distinguished teacher-professor, the positions being awarded according to criteria decreed in January 1998. The general effect of this practice has been to keep teachers working in the same area or province.

All posts are filled by candidates competing and being hired by headteachers with little or no participation of a teacher council or similar agency in the hiring process. The headteachers' own appointment is subject to a similar selection process, which may involve studying for two or more extra years for a diploma. The strong role of the headteacher is traditional in Poland. As against that, the system of parental councils and school subject advisory boards is less well established than in most western European countries.

There is no general system of school or teacher inspections. If inspections are made they are the concern of the institution rather than individual personnel, and the results are kept confidential. Teacher colleges, however, are inspected regularly every four years.

The educational changes have led to an increase in the volume of initial training and in-service retraining of teaching staff much of it the result of the introduction of a number of new teacher and pedagogue positions, such as teacher mentors.

Passing the *matura*, the upper secondary school (*liceum*) leaving examination, is required for admission to a higher, tertiary education course of

study, four copies of the certificate being given to school leavers to enable them to choose, to begin with, one out of four study places for which they may apply. The grades obtained are the only admission criterion. The same procedure applies in the case of tertiary education graduates who are also given four copies of their degree certificate or diploma which they can use when applying for further or higher degree courses or a position as teacher. Many graduates make their own additional copies to give themselves more chances when applying, since the original graduation documents are kept by the school or college to which application was made.

Whereas the post-1989 governments are credited with most of the innovatory ideas and efforts to implement them, there is, in fact, a good deal of continuity with the activities begun before 1989, particularly in the area of teacher preparation (Wojnar and Suchodolski, 1983). Importantly, the post - 1944 and pre-1989 principle of free education for all, not available between the wars, has been retained in the Third Republic. This does not include the financing of private establishments.

However, whereas daytime education, including all higher education, is free, students studying part-time while working are charged varying rates of tuition fees. Private institutions have a large share in the provision of non-university higher education.

The different standard of the two sets of institutions catering for the preparation of basic as opposed to secondary school teachers criticized by Wincenty Okoń (Okoń, 1991) ended in the early 'nineties with the opening of the first teacher colleges (*kolegium nauczycielskie*) to join the universities and other existing advanced level pedagogical institutions, the non degree awarding lycées, pedagogia and teacher courses having already been abolished. .

Creating, in 1989, a graduate profession, with all teachers trained in higher education institutions, albeit, to begin with, in the case of basic school teachers as far as the three years of first grade tertiary study only, marks the achievement, nearly three centuries later, of one of the principal reforms envisaged by the National Commission for Education, and promoted by intermediate initiatives such as those of the 1970 pedagogical measures referred to earlier.

There are two strands of teacher education in Poland, the so- called 'education of the child' general (mainly basic school) upbringing model and that of furthering the child's cognitive faculties, the latter somewhat condescendingly assumed to be the more 'academic' path of teacher preparation. In school, when filling vacancies, the insistence on specialist qualifications in one or the other area can create problems with teacher availability, whether the post is

an 'educational' one, concerned with the pupils' upbringing, or with extending their subject knowledge. Teachers not explicitly qualified in one or the other cannot be expected to take over, as would be the case in many countries, from a colleague whose specialism is different or not specified. This strict specialization, while also found in other faculties, is typical for Polish tertiary level teacher preparation, with teacher education courses advertised as offering one and/or the other specialism entitling the graduate to compete for a specified range of career posts.

Currently, there exist four paths to achieving higher education teacher qualification, after the choice of career may have been suggested to and agreed by prospective candidates while still in an education profile *liceum* class.

The Universities have the longest experience of teacher preparation and educate most teachers, either in dedicated pedagogy/psychology departments, usually for those opting for the 'upbringing' career, or by way of extra pedagogy classes for students of other disciplines who wish to teach a curriculum subject usually in secondary schools. The courses are of five years' duration leading directly to a master's degree, involving completion of the first grade licence (*licensja*), and the second grade, master's (*magisterium*) degree study, entitling the graduate to work in all types of school.

There are also exclusively second grade three year course options with graduates of other first grade teacher education courses proceeding to a master's degree and two year courses, also second grade, for teacher college graduates holding a licence (*licensja*) obtained after three years of first grade study. The Jagiellonian University in Cracow boasts a ninety years old distinguished Pedagogical College offering this option.

In the universities studying the bulk of the pedagogical study component of teacher education courses may follow the academic subject discipline part. This depends on the teaching career specialism chosen, with simultaneous courses also widely available. Education is most likely to be taught in the education, pedagogy and psychology faculties, with students who wish to specialize in the 'upbringing' of pupils, much of it taught in the junior years, going straight to the pedagogy/psychology departments. Future subject teachers would spend more time in their chosen academic subject discipline faculty.

All Higher Pedagogical School students receive a psycho-pedagogical as well as a subject teaching qualification. Even so, many such schools concentrate, imitating the more fashionable university studies, on subject specialist disciplines rather than the caring and upbringing side of education, the

availability of upbringing posts in the lower classes of the basic school a factor influencing choice.

Like those of the university, tertiary level pedagogical school courses lead to a master's degree, i.e. first and second grade study, their different pattern being the academic subject degree work following the pedagogical component. Before 1989 fifty percent of course time could be spent on studying a specialist academic subject at an advanced level.

Special education, the third path, can be studied in the Higher Special Education School in Warsaw offering licence and master's degree courses and in several institutions elsewhere concentrating on particular disabilities.

The fourth route, the Teacher Colleges, unknown in the pre-1989 period, evolved from higher education schools in the 'nineties. They offer a three year course leading to a licence as a first grade tertiary education study. In this respect they closely follow EU regulations and the Bologna agreement to which Poland has subscribed. Not all colleges offer specific teacher education courses, those that do, have been listed by some as a separate, fifth type of teacher preparation institution. There are also specialist language, agricultural, business, art and music, technical and media technology and sport teacher education colleges. They all have the same rights and status. Explicit general teacher education colleges, many of them private, make up about half of the total number.

Teacher Colleges usually offer the first stage of professional qualification mainly for those intending to teach in pre-schools, basic schools and educational support institutions as well as those going to teach in foreign language schools. They offer both education and subject specific courses, graduates being qualified to teach two subjects.

Not all colleges have the institutional right to award the licence, let alone the master's degree, however some colleges working on behalf of a sponsoring institution which does have that right can do so. This right known as *akredytacja* (Fish, 2000) is awarded subject to appropriately qualified staff being available.

The option of a separate, second grade study, enabled by the Bologna agreement, for which all those completing the first stage can apply is very popular in Poland.

Unlike the previously mentioned institutions which provide second (masters') or third (doctorates) grades of study, teacher and other first grade awarding colleges are under the supervision of the *kuratorium*.

With the various study opportunities in place, the position as of now is that all teachers must have completed at least three years of tertiary study and been

awarded the licence. Studying for qualifications achieved in different tertiary education colleges and different study grade levels is claimed to allow more flexibility in keeping up with new professional demands, a change of discipline being possible between obtaining the licence and starting on the *magisterium*. The available specialisms can cater for more or less exclusively subject academic or pedagogical demands.

Though the advertised educational and professional objectives of the different institutions are similar, all delivering a one phase teacher preparation, subject education and pedagogical training usually under one roof, the colleges are often seen as lower category institutions when compared with universities in the multi-level higher education system envisaged (Janowski, 1992). With many teacher colleges offering only the licence., universities can run the three years licence course as an extra prior to second and third grade master and doctor courses.

The applicant is confronted by the advantages and disadvantages of more or less academic, more or less practically professional oriented courses. The higher pedagogical schools with their five year more practically oriented courses had traditionally attracted the professionally committed would be teachers. However, in the context of the claimed superiority of an academic preparation, universities began to attract subject study students, with colleges also increasingly delivering the more prestigious academic rather than a pedagogical education.

The similarity of the courses makes it difficult to compare the respective advantages of the different institutions. The licence may be seen as a more practical professional preparation for teaching but may require further academic study in a university for subject specialists, the university believed to encourage independent thinking. The length of teaching practice is not significantly different in the two types of institution.

This started to change after 1998 due to the increasing demand for further professional study facilities, with the universities adding a bigger educational component to undergraduate subject study and by highlighting the academic and theoretical component of teacher preparation suspected as being more in line with other university disciplines.

In the light of the above, practising teachers are prompted and often paid a grant to make use of the facilities on offer as part of their in-service, lifelong education.

The Qualified Teacher

Candidates make their own choice from among the courses available in state and private institutions.

While there is only one non-state university in the country, there are many private pedagogical colleges and academies, the private ones being financially better endowed.

Collaboration between institutions is fostered, not least because of the *akredytacja* system of sponsoring graduate courses taught in local teacher colleges by nationally established tertiary level institutions

A route for assessing the professional standard of the teacher is the so-called Professional Usefulness and Adaptability test currently being tried out in Poland, intended to measure university or college graduates' performance. This examines the personal and professional qualities of teachers and the level of the lessons delivered as well as their attitudes and behaviour in relevant contexts, account being taken of factors such as the general tendency for pedagogical school graduates to work in the lower forms of basic schools, with university graduates choosing to teach in the secondary *gimnazjums* and upper secondary *liceums*. The number and type of subjects studied, both at school and higher education levels is important in assessing the teacher's professional usefulness.

None of this has been objectively tested. There does not function in Poland an independent advanced level teacher further study institution with the authority to carry out such tests. In its absence the assessment of teachers' education and preparation is carried out in independent pedagogical advisory establishments making comparison difficult. The staff in these institutions are almost exclusively experienced practising teachers with little input from agencies outside the school.

Many students attend teacher education courses without immediately pursuing a teaching career after graduation. While a tertiary qualification used to open the wide gates to a professional career as such, this is no longer so. Considering the implications of the Bologna agreement, a tertiary level qualification is more likely, to begin with, to lead to a first specific professional career only.

With its wide extension and diversification of qualifications the Bologna process has been interpreted as a consequence of globalization in turn affecting rapidly changing employment opportunities (Chwilot, 2008).

It will make the detailed statements of specific career opportunities open to graduates after studying a particular course listed in the prospectus of the awarding institution more relevant.

Given the great diversity of the socio-political situation in Poland, the critical account of her education system attempted in this paper inevitably reflects its own variety in terms of both planned and implemented projects. Interesting and challenging as these have been, it must be hoped that the present political reality will allow a Polish system to develop further in the context of an independent Poland, a member of a union of other like-minded nations, all of which having much to learn from each other.

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Teacher Education in Lithuania: Recent Trends and Developments

Rimantas Zelvys²⁹

Abstract

The paper reviews recent trends and developments in education of teachers in Lithuania. The tradition of formal education in Lithuania is more than 600 years old; however, the first seminary for training local teachers was established in Vilnius in 1775. Since then the history of teacher education in Lithuania had a long and complicated history. The new period in the history of teacher training started in 1990 after regaining the independence of Lithuania. Among recent developments the most problematic areas are the demographic situation, the study levels and the contents of studies. During the last decade the number of students and educational institutions dramatically decreased, therefore one can predict further decrease in teacher numbers in all segments of education with the exception of higher education. The change of the demographic situation evoked long lasting and heated discussions on how many teachers we will need in the future. After Lithuania switched to the three-level (Bachelor, Masters, Doctoral) model of higher education studies in 1993 and introduced the non-university sector of higher education in 2000, there is a continuous discussion going on what level of studies is most convenient for training teachers. Research on the contents of studies also show a number of problem areas and challenges for the currently existing teachers training system in Lithuania. All these problem areas need solutions, which are not found until now. The upcoming teacher training reform should inevitably address all these issues by finding the adequate number of graduates of teaching professions, establishing clear criteria for choosing the appropriate levels of studies, and modernizing the contents of teacher education.

Introduction

The tradition of formal education in Lithuania is more than 600 years old. However, for almost four centuries teachers coming to work in Lithuanian schools were foreigners who received their formal education abroad. The first seminary for teacher training in the country was established in 1775 in

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Vilnius. Since then teacher training institutions in Lithuania had a long and complicated history, firstly operating under the Russian rule, then during the period of Lithuania's independence and at last after being incorporated into the Soviet Union. The new period in the history of teacher training began after regaining the independence in 1990. Teacher education in contemporary Lithuania is facing a number of developments, and perhaps the most problematic areas are the following:

- Demographic situation
- Study levels
- Contents of studies

Demographic situation

During the last decade the number of students and institutions on all levels, except higher education, was constantly decreasing. The number of students in general secondary schools decreased by 27 percent: from 604 thousands in 2000 to 441 thousands in 2009.

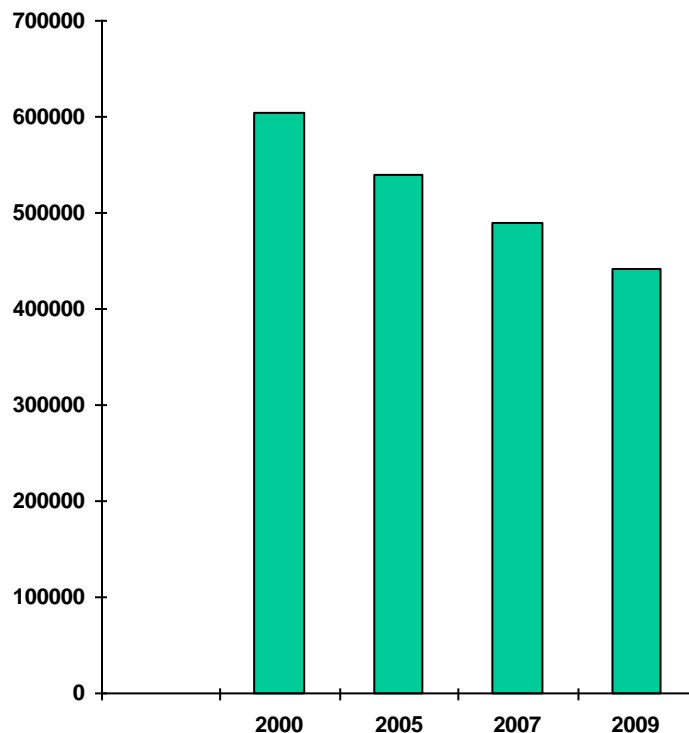


Table 1. The number of students in general secondary schools

The number of teachers in general secondary schools decreased by 23 percent: from 52 thousands in 2000 to 40 thousands in 2009.

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The number of general secondary schools decreased even more dramatically: from 2354 in 2000 to 1364 in 2009, which makes a difference of 42 percent. This happened mainly do to the governmental policy of consolidation of schools.

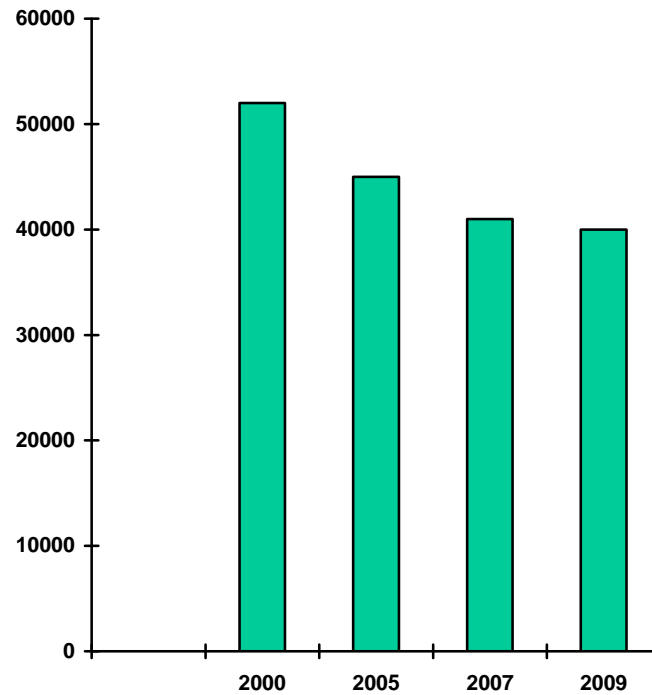


Table 2. The number of teachers in general secondary schools

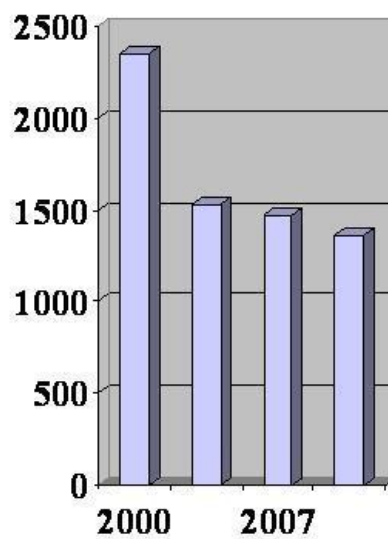


Table 3. The number of general secondary schools

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There was a slight increase of students in vocational schools – from 47 thousands in 2000 to 48 thousands in 2009. Again, this change was achieved as a result of governmental steps undertaken in 2007 and aimed at providing more-state funded places when the number of students dropped down to 44 thousands.

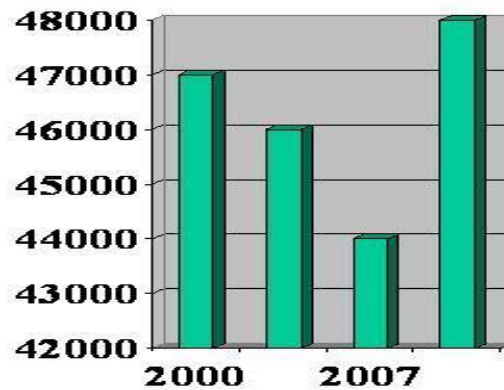


Table 4. The number of students in vocational schools

Despite of increase of student numbers, the number of teachers in vocational schools was continuously decreasing and dropped from 4900 in 2000 to 3900 in 2009. The number of vocational schools, contrary to general schools, decreased insignificantly – from 84 in 2000 to 78 in 2009.

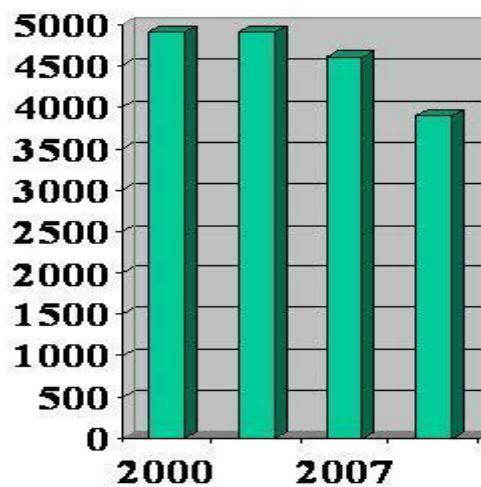


Table 5. The number of teachers in vocational schools

Teacher Education in Modern Era

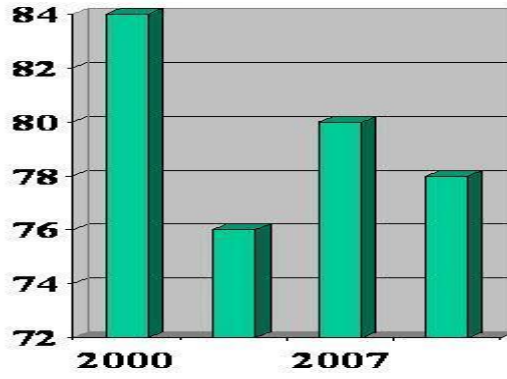


Table 6. The number of vocational schools

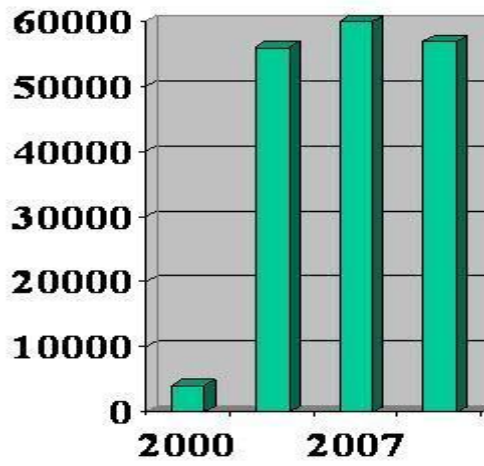


Table 7. The number of students in colleges

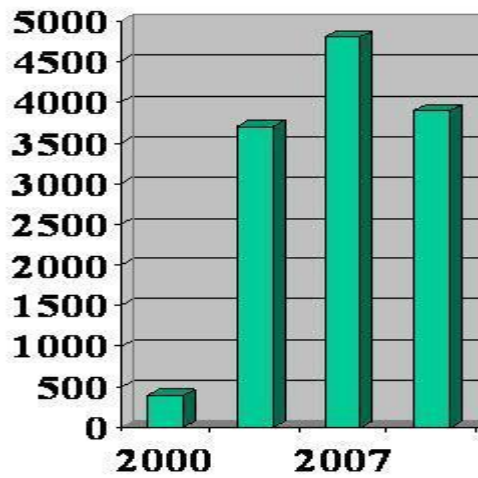


Table 8. The number of teachers in colleges

Teacher Education in Modern Era

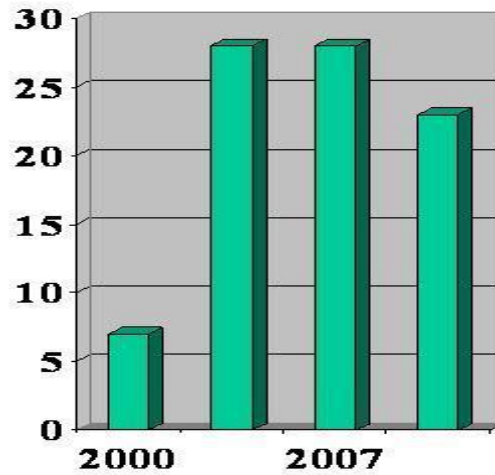


Table 9. The number of colleges

The number of students in colleges increased dramatically since 2000, as in 2000 the first colleges were established to form the non-university sector in higher education. From four thousands in 2000 it reached 60 thousands in 2007 and then slightly decreased to 57 thousands in 2009. The number of teachers increased from just 400 in 2000 to 4,8 thousands in 2007 and then dropped to 3,9 thousands in 2009. The number of colleges due to the process of consolidation decreased from 28 in 2007 to 23 in 2009.

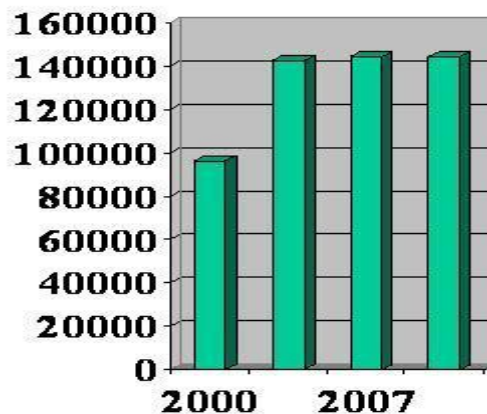


Table 10. The number of students in universities

Teacher Education in Modern Era

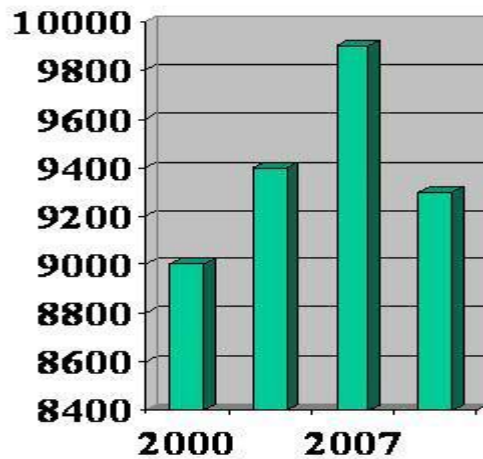


Table 11. The number of teachers in universities

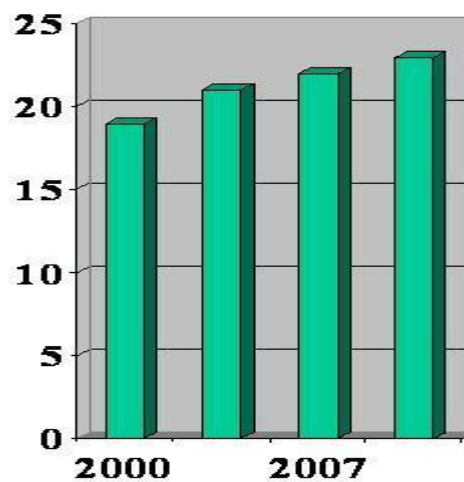


Table 12. The number of universities

The number of students in universities grew from 96 thousands in 2000 to 142 thousands in 2005 and then remained relatively stable. The number of teachers in universities practically remained unchanged – from 9 thousands in 2000 to 9,3 thousands in 2009, though in the middle of decade there was an increase of about one thousand reached the peak of 9,9 thousands in 2007. The number of universities grew from 19 in 2000 to 23 in 2009.

This statistical data show the general trend of decrease in teacher numbers in all segments of education with the exception of higher education. These transformations happened do to the rapid decrease of the birth rate in 90-ies of the 20th century. The higher education will experience the consequences of

the fall of the birth rate in the forthcoming years. The change of the demographic situation evoked long lasting and heated discussions on how many teachers we will need in the future. The opinions vary greatly – from extremely radical ones, offering to stop the admission of students to teacher training programs for a year or two, to more moderate ones, proposing to reduce gradually the number of state-funded places in teacher training institutions. In particular, the Ministry of Education and Science this year substantially reduced the number of state-funded places. On the other hand, there are still shortages of some kinds of teachers, especially in the countryside. A certain number of students eventually choose their professional career outside the education sector, therefore the possible solution of the problem of reducing the teacher training force due to demographic situation still remains unclear.

Study levels

After Lithuania switched to the three-level (Bachelor, Masters, Doctoral) model of higher education studies in 1993 and introduced the non-university sector of higher education in 2000, there is a continuous discussion going on what level of studies is most convenient for training teachers. One set of opinions is that college training should be sufficient for all categories of teachers with the exception of, perhaps, upper secondary teachers. Another set of opinions is that university training for all teachers should be obligatory, and Masters degree should be obligatory to upper secondary teachers, school principals and vice-principals.

The proponents of non-university training emphasize the economical aspects of the problem, as training in colleges lasts three years, and in universities – four years and is more expensive. The opponents claim that educators need to have sufficient general education, proposed by universities, while colleges provide a narrower subject specialization.

The project of teacher training reform, prepared in 1999 and updated in 2004, differentiated levels of education in the following way: college training is sufficient for pre-school and primary teachers, while university training is obligatory for subject teachers in basic schools and Masters degree for upper secondary teachers. However, the idea was not implemented due to the fierce opposition both from university and non-university sectors. Universities didn't want to give up pre-school and primary training, while colleges were reluctant to stop training subject teachers for basic school. The discussion remains open and even gains momentum as the government plans to return back to the teacher training reform in the nearest future.

Contents of studies

Research on the contents of studies show a number of problem areas and challenges for the currently existing teachers training system in Lithuania. Research and analytical reports on teachers training can be divided into several main groups:

Analytical studies dedicated to the theoretical analysis of the teachers training study programs reveal that one of the main shortcomings of the currently existing model is that there is too much emphasis on theoretical knowledge while practical skills are underestimated (Pukelis, 1998; Subotkeviciene, 2008). General humanitarian and social studies together with theoretical pedagogical and psychological courses take almost half of the whole study time. On the other hand, the period of the teaching practice is too short and the need of the final "on-the-job" qualifying phase is evident. Researchers point out that the academic nature of professional training of teachers most clearly manifests itself in universities; however, the problem to a large extent is also existing in teachers training colleges as they also have to follow the Regulations on Teachers Training and provide the necessary amount of theoretical courses. Researchers point out that current Regulations are too prescriptive and detailed and doesn't allow the teachers training institutions to adapt to the rapidly changing educational environment (Kiveris, 2007).

Results of the opinion surveys of the novice teachers and students of the teacher education programs reflect in many ways a similar standpoint. While responding to the questions of the surveys respondents usually acknowledge that psychological and methodological training of teachers is unsatisfactory; that the transfer of knowledge prevails over the development of practical skills. They also think that the duration of pedagogical practice is too short and the time spent practicing at schools should be extended (Juceviciene et al., 2007). The newly employed teachers also stress the need for mentorship during the initial phases of their professional activities (Monkeviciene, 2008).

In their analytical reports international experts point out that teachers in Lithuania are not sufficiently prepared for adapting to change in a dynamic contemporary world. In particular, after the first mission in 1995 the OECD experts noted in their report that slow reforms in pre-service teacher education appear to have a dampening effect on the changes in curriculum and in teacher preparation for changes at the general secondary level. They underlined the need of training for teachers in to assume responsibility for curricular changes and learning new teaching methods. Authors of the OECD survey concluded: "There is a need for training of school leaders (headmasters and headmistresses) for new, more democratic and open school management – working with parents and social partners, creating a

more open and democratic leading environment, engaging teachers in curricular change and implementing new teaching methods" (OECD, 1996). The report of the second mission of the OECD also noted the prevailing problems in the field of teacher education. The experts advised the Ministry to insist that pre-service programs for trainee teachers should reflect the priorities of the reform. Pedagogical faculties may need to be reminded that their right to train teachers can be withdrawn if the Ministry is dissatisfied with the results. The experts thought it was worth considering whether pre-school and primary teachers could be more effectively trained at sub-university level – in colleges rather than in universities. They also suggested to increase the amount of time, which trainees spend in teaching practice in schools and to improve the balance between academic and practical pre-service work. The experts also suggested to think about the possibility of a one-year internship (OECD, 2002).

International experts also expressed their critical outlooks when speaking about teachers training for vocational education, For example, OECD experts stated that pre- and in-service teacher training for vocational education teachers was a neglected area in Lithuania. Only a small number of teachers in schools participating in international projects had received retraining in new teaching methodologies and in how to use new equipment and technology. They concluded that the most urgent needs were to provide VET teachers with pedagogical competences and to enlarge their narrow technical qualifications (OECD, 2002).

The research of the needs for specialists in Lithuanian schools indicates that the extent of teacher training in the country does not always go in line with the rapidly changing situation in the labor market (Mokslo ir studiju departamentas prie Sveikatos ir mokslų ministerijos, 2002). The demand for teachers is closely linked with general economical situation in Lithuania. In the periods of rapid economical growth and decreasing unemployment schools experience a shortage of teachers as part of the teaching force move to other sectors in search for better-paid and more prospective jobs. In periods of economic recession possibilities of finding jobs in other sectors diminish and a value of relatively stable and safe teachers position increases. In other words, periods of teacher shortage follow the periods of teacher surplus and teachers training institutions seem to be not flexible enough to respond to these changes in a labor market. They are often criticized for their inability to adapt to the situation and for the training of specialists with poor opportunities of employment. Perhaps the central problem is provide the contents of study in such a way and develop such competences which would enable graduates to adapt flexibly to the rapidly changing requirements of the labor market.

Conclusions

Among recent trends in developments in the field of teacher education in Lithuania perhaps the most important ones to be mentioned are the decreasing population of children of the school age, followed by the decreasing number of schools and the teaching staff; the problem of the levels of studies on which the would-be teachers should be trained; and the slow transformation of the contents of studies. All these problem areas need effective solutions, which are not found until now. The upcoming teacher training reform should inevitably address all these issues by finding the adequate number of graduates of teaching professions, establishing clear criteria for choosing the appropriate levels of studies, and modernizing the contents of teacher education.

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Teacher Education in South Africa in international perspective**C. C. Wolhuter³⁰****Introduction**

South African education and teacher education are currently both the scene of reform and are widely looked onto to play a pivotal role in creating a new society. Many of these reforms and much of the assignment of education with respect to societal reconstruction are global trends; concentrated intensely in a short-timespan in South Africa. What comes to mind here is Cowers (1996, pp. 163-165; 2000, p. 328; 2002, p. 422) and others' (e.g. Sweeting, 2007, p. 9; Alexander, 2001, p. 507; Kazamias, 2001, pp. 439-469) concept of transitiologies – places of simultaneous political, social, economic and educational reconstruction – educational-societal interrelationships are becoming clear in an instant clear (as by a ray of lightning in the dark) like they are never otherwise.

This paper outlines teacher education reform currently taking place in South Africa. First the contextual background and the broader spate of educational reform in South Africa are sketched. That is followed by a description of the historical evolution of teacher education in South Africa, and the various aspects of current teacher education and teacher education reforms in the country: site, objectives, roles of teachers, content, method, theory-practice balance, duration, control, teacher-education educators, access to teacher education, indigenization and in-service teacher education. These reforms are then measured against the set of early twenty-first century societal trends as they manifest themselves in South Africa.

In conclusion the potential value of Comparative Educational studies, comparing South African teacher education with trends and practices abroad, are delineated.

South African societal and educational context

In 1994 a new socio-political dispensation in South Africa commenced. Not only did a new Constitution (based on the liberal Western European model) come into effect, and a new political party took over the baton of government; an entire societal reconstruction project began, in which education was both the subject of change, and was given an instrumental role in creating the new, desired society.

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The key principles of the new education policy were:

- democratisation
- desegregation
- decentralisation
- multiculturalism

(Wolhuter, 1991).

A change was also made from content-based education to outcomes-based education. A National Qualifications Framework was constructed.

Furthermore, the entire education system should play its part to effect and ambitious set of societal goals:

- economic: the eradication of poverty and the promotion of the country's economic productivity
- political: the establishment of a political culture and value system characterized by democracy, equality, peace and justice
- social: building a society free of racial, gender and other forms of unfair discrimination (Wolhuter, 2010, pp. 6-7).

As many of the above principles and goals were the diametrical opposite from the pre-1994 educational system, they implied significant change.

Teacher Education: Past to present

A young history of formal education. From importing teachers to an all graduate teaching force

South Africa has a short, if controversial, history of formal education. Formal schooling dates but from the mid-seventeenth century, a few years after the Dutch East Indian Company founded a refreshment station at the Cape in 1652. Teachers were not educated locally, but were wholesale imported from the Netherlands. When the Cape changed hands in 1806 to become a British possession, this importation continued and was supplemented by the importation of teachers from England and Scotland. By the late nineteenth century the first normal schools appeared, followed soon after by teacher training colleges.

During the early twentieth century the normal schools were phased out. Teacher training colleges were established, in line with the policies of the day of social segregation, separate teacher training colleges were established for

Whites, Blacks, Coloureds (i.e. South African of mixed racial descent) and Indians. Universities too educated especially secondary school teachers.

By the end of the twentieth century, there was an oversupply of teacher training colleges, and in view of this oversupply, and in line with world-trends, government decided to either close colleges down (and this was the fate of the majority of the teacher training colleges) or to incorporate them into the Faculties of Education of geographically the nearest university.

To complete this cycle, some universities now also has a school-based system of teacher education, where students are employed at school as teacher assistants while receiving their theoretical training per distance education made from universities.

Objectives

In times of the normal school, the objective of teacher education was to produce a teacher on the role-model of the mentor teacher. When teacher education shifted to teacher training colleges, the objectives of teacher education changed to character building. As universities became more prominent in teacher education, the objective of teacher education, once again, changed accordingly. Founded on the British model, South African universities offered an elastic liberal education. Partly as a reaction against this model, with its characteristic of standing also of from socio-economic realities, post-1994 government introduced a system of outcomes-based (competency-based) education. In 1998 (revised in 2000) the Minister of Education declared Norms and Standards for teacher education. These Norms and Standards declared that teachers should be trained for the following seven roles: learning facilitator; interpreter and designer of learning programmes and material; leader, administrator and manager; life-long learner and researcher; community, civil and pastoral role; assessor; and learning area/subject/phase specialist (Brunton, C. & Associates, 2003, A44-A59).

Content

University courses pre-1994 reflected the liberal descent of institutions. On the continental model teacher education programmes were structured around the sub-disciplines of Education, such as Philosophy of Education, History of Education, Educational Psychology and Sociology of Education. Post-1994 these made way for modules modeled on the template of the seven roles for teachers outlined above, and in line with the shift to outcomes-based

education. Concern has been expressed about a decline in quality of teacher education which might result from these changes.

Method

The methods of teacher education moved along with times too. In the normal schools, the example of the mentor-teacher(s), observation and imitation must have ranked as prime methods. In the teacher training colleges, and later at universities, the lecture, and the textbook have shifted to the fore. Later use was made of technology, not only in micro-teaching (vide), but also in distance education. The University of South Africa, which opened its doors in 1946, did groundbreaking work in distance education in the world, and became the single biggest teacher education institution in the country. Context and the technology of the time prescribed the use of correspondence ("snailmail") in the early years; but these were later supplemented by audio-visual material, e-mail and the web.

Theory-practice

While in the normal schools training had taken place right in practice, when teacher education relocated to teacher training colleges, emphasis shifted to the theoretical. This was even more so as universities played a bigger role in teacher education, bearing in mind the model of the British university with its tradition of liberal education, from which the South African university has historically emanated. Indeed, one of the criticisms which were leveled against the Education sciences at universities in pre-1994 South Africa, was that it was practiced as a self-contained field of study, cut off from the social and economic realities of South African society.

With practice teaching typically amounting to eight weeks per year in teacher education programmes, the emphasis is still very much on theory.

Duration

In the normal schools, student teachers did their teacher training as part of their senior secondary school education. Teacher training colleges' teacher education programmes, originally were as short as one year,, later extended to two, three and eventually four years. Currently all university based teacher education programmes are four years of duration. While this compares well with developing countries, it falls behind the norm of developed countries, where teacher education programmes are in the region of five years.

Control

In the normal schools, control of teacher education was probably very much in the hands of the teacher-mentor. With the shift towards teacher-training colleges, control too relocated to bureaucratic structures of provincial education departments. Having enjoyed historically a large measure of autonomy, at universities teacher education programmes were virtually totally controlled by academics. Then as part of the post-1994 changes the national ministry of Education assumed unprecedented say in teacher education programmes – the declared Norms and Standards of Teacher Education (referred to above) as well as the National Qualifications Framework, and the attended requirement for universities to get their programmes accredited, gave central government, the ministry of Education in particular, decisive control – a move rightfully criticized by eminent scholar and university principal Jonathan Jansen (2009, p. 145): “*Never before in the history of universities in South Africa has any government ever usurped such authority; it would have been seriously contested even under apartheid*”.

Teacher educators

Teacher educators are a virtually unresearched aspect of teacher education in South Africa. Worldwide academics attached to Faculties of Education are looked down to as second rate academics – cf. for example David F. Lorrabee’s (1998) argumentative article entitled *Educational researchers: living with a lesser form of knowledge*. In his Comparative Education study of education in the USA, King (1965) observed that academics from other schools, were of the opinion that their counterparts in Schools of Education “knew nothing” and had no expertise. South Africa is no exception to this worldwide trend. Kannemeyer (1990), reflecting on his own experience, registered similar sentiments with how other academics viewed the status of Educationists in South Africa. Recently done research (Van der Walt *et al.*, 2010) found that academics attached to Faculties (Schools of Education in South Africa) do not only perform poorer than their counterparts in other, but also feel less in control of their professional environments.

Supply/Demand

Several analyses and reports have pointed to a serious shortage of teachers in the near future. Steyn (2006), assuming an annual attrition rate of 5, and a within teacher education course attrition of 10% per year (not unrealistically high), calculated that there should be 28 000 students to break even with the attrition rate – at the time of the calculation there were 25 637 student

teachers in South Africa. Based on a report on teacher supply in South Africa by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and a report by the Education, Training and Development Practices SETA (Sector Education and Training Authority), Govender (1008, p. 1) predicted a shortage of up to 84 000 teachers by the year 2015.

Access

In a country where access to education is strongly correlated with geographical proximity to teacher education institutions, the closure of the teacher training college had a demonstrably negative effect on access to teacher education. Worse, the decline in access disproportionately affected Black and female students (cf. Paterson & Arends, 2008).

Multiculturalism

For two decades, South African Education has been characterized by desegregation. However, desegregation is very much a one-way process, of children from affluent Black families moving from the historically Black schools to the better endowed historically White schools. Even in this one way flow, there has not been a corresponding flow of teachers. In research done in the province of Kwa-Zulu-Natal for example (Wolhuter, 2005) found that a sample of historically White schools had an average of 23.68% (in the case of secondary schools) and 34.65% (in the case of primary schools) school children component. Of the 21 secondary school in the sample, however, 13 had no Black teachers. 232 of the 43 primary schools had no Black teachers. Apart from English and Afrikaans, teacher education programmes are not available in any of the other official languages. The persistent decline in numbers of single medium Afrikaans schools and numbers of students studying African languages at university level, do not paint a very promising picture of multiculturalism in South African Education.

Internationalization and regionalisation

As part of the global phenomenon of the "brain drain" from developing countries, many South African teachers, especially immediately upon graduation, leave the country to go and teach especially in the United Kingdom, the Middle East and the Far East (cf. Bertram et al, 2006:4). As part of this phenomenon, there is a stream of teachers from impoverished neighbouring countries, notably Zimbabwe, to South Africa (cf. Gwaradzimba & Shumba, 2010) in search of better living conditions and a higher standard

of living. Thus of a planned, intentional internationalization or regionalization (such as in the European Union) of teacher education, there is no trace.

Indiginisation

In most of the above surveyed aspects of South African teacher education, international patterns – the North America-Western European vanguard, have been followed blindly. Teacher education displays the same lack of indigenization (i.e. evolving home grown system consonant with the national context) than education in general (cf. the lack of development of the indigenous language, outlined above).

INSET (Inservice education and training)

Especially in times of lifelong learning, change and of major reform of South African education, both the Minority of Education and the South African Council of Educators (that is the professional body of South African teachers, have called for and have envisioned a policy and system of continuing professional development for teachers. Currently INSET takes place on a rather uncoordinated, ad-hoc basis.

Contextual trends

Demographic

The mid-2009 estimated total population of South Africa was 49.52 million. The population growth rate, though declining, still stands at 1.07% per annum. About one-third of the population is aged 14 years and younger, and around 7.5% are older than 60. The population composition is as follows: 79% Black (i.e. of African descent), 10% White (of European descent), 9% "Coloureds" (of mixed racial descent) and 2% Indian (of Indian descent).

Economic

South Africa has a mean per capita gross national income of US\$ 5390, which places it in the category of the upper middle-income countries (World Bank, 2008, p. 16). South Africa has a well-diversified economy: nearly 31% of the Gross Domestic Product is derived from secondary industry.

Two serious problems are the low levels of productivity and the high levels of unemployment. In terms of global competitive standards, South Africa has been ranked 42nd out of 42 countries (IMD International, 1998).

The unemployment rate is 36.2% (Steyn, 2008, p. 48). South Africa has a wafer-thin tax base i. a. mere 5.3 million tax payers, and a staggering 13 million people (or 26% of the population) receiving social grants from government (Van Zyl, 2009, p. 1).

Social

Social inequalities are rife. The Gini-index of 57.8 is the fourth highest in the world. What makes the inequality more problematic is that, although diminishing, the contours of the socio-economic stratification run largely coterminous with that of the racial divide with Whites concentrated in the affluent echelons, Blacks in the bottom strata and Coloureds and Indians somewhere in-between. For example, in Gauteng, South Africa's most populous and most affluent province, average annual incomes per households are R25 300 in the case of Whites, R240 114 in the case of Indians, R130 101 in the case of Coloureds, and R90 280 in the case of Blacks (Thys, 2008:3) (R7 = US\$ 1) – a highly inflammable mixture.

Language

The Constitution of South Africa states that the country has 11 official languages. These are (in brackets after each language appears the percentage of the population who speaks that language as their first language): isiZulu (23.8%), isiXhosa (17.6%), Afrikaans (13.3%), Sepedi (9.4%), English (8.2%), Setswana (8.2%), Sesotho (7.9%), Xitsonga (4.4%), siSwati (2.6%), Tshivenda (2.3%) and isiNdebele (1.6%). Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous African languages, the Constitution expects government to implement positive measures to elevate the status and to advance the use of these languages (Steyn, 2008, p. 45). This also pertains to the field of education, where after grade 4, only Afrikaans and English had been developed and are used as language of learning and teaching in schools. Developing and empowering the indigenous African languages as languages of learning and teaching right up to tertiary level, a desire frequently expressed by political and educational leaders, will have to be a long-term and arduous project – possible only if there is a very strong political and public will (*cf.* Meier, 2002, p. 158).

Technological development

The digital divide, in fact technological development in general, mirrors the socio-economic stratification. On the one hand, the upper-socio-economic

strata of the population are, in as far as technological development is concerned, upon a par with the developed countries. On the other hand, the lower socio-economic layers of the population lack the technology of the twenty-first century. As the demographic centre of gravity falls within the latter, this is also where the mean figures lie: 59% of households have television; 8.5 per 100 people have personal computers, and 10% per 100 people are Internet users (World Bank, 2008, p. 310).

Political system

At the basis of the post-1994 political dispensation is a Constitution, based on the liberal democratic Western European model and a Bill of Human rights widely hailed as one of the most progressive in the world. In the elections which took place on 27-28 April 1994 the African National Congress gained 62.5% of the vote and took over the baton of government. Their share rose to 69.7% of the vote in the 2004 elections, but dropped again to 65.9% of the vote, during the latest elections, held on 22 April 2009. Other main parties are: Democratic Alliance (16.66%), Congress of the People (7.42%), Inkatha Freedom Party (4.55%), Freedom front Plus (0.81%), and African Christian Democratic Party (0.81%).

Religion/Philosophy

According to population census returns 76% of South Africans proclaim to be Christians. Here too the social divide is visible. Afrikaans-speaking Whites belong mainly to the Calvinist Church in the Netherlands. The biggest denomination of these is the Dutch Reformed Church. English-speaking Whites belong to churches such as the Anglican Church. English-speaking Whites belong to churches such as the Anglican Church, the Roman Catholic Church and the Methodist Church. While all these churches have Black members, Blacks are concentrated in the Africanist churches, such as the Zion Church of Christ. Many Blacks of all denominations practice a kind of syncretic religion, such as the worship of ancestors. Eighty percent of South Africans of Indian descents are Hindus, and 8% are Muslim. On a secular plane the modern Western, liberal, individualistic and materialistic philosophy, with its attendant value system has taken note in the country among all population groups, existing side by side with the more traditional, religious and political groupings.

Conclusion

While fundamental reform of teacher education has taken place in South Africa recently, there is clearly still dissonance between teacher education and contextual realities/imperatives, for example:

- the quality of teacher education, in a competitive, globalised world, is not above suspicion
- with especially distance education programmes clamoring to the most advanced technology, and on the other hand the technological divide cutting right through South Africa, and the quest for equality; it is an open question whether the optimal technological mix is employed in South African education
- the practical part of teacher education, and the entire link between teacher education and practice are still very much underdeveloped
- the ever stronger prescriptiveness and dominance of government in teacher education is a ominous development
- the position of teacher educators, the “wayward children” in the academic family in South Africa, needs to be improved
- a serious shortage of teachers is booming, and this issue should be addressed; as should the issue of equity in access to teacher education
- teacher education does not take account of the cultural, linguistic, political, and religious and philosophical diversity in South Africa.

In order to guide the way to address the issues, comparative education research on teacher education would be of great value.

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Part C: Teacher Education, a general overview

The fading paradox in teacher education and training policies in Europe

Irene Psifidou³¹

Abstract

This paper discusses developments in teacher education and training Europe-wide, presents the main challenges the teacher profession is facing and illustrates policy examples from selected European countries addressing these issues.

The European strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth - Europe 2020 - asserts that the route to lasting economic recovery and social cohesion is knowledge and innovation (European Commission, 2010a). It argues for giving priority to investment in education and training even as budgets are consolidated following the economic crisis. In this new strategy for the development of European Union, teachers are acknowledged as key mediators for achieving structural change and innovation in education. The policy paradox however is that despite this acknowledgement, in many European countries, teachers are often the forgotten agents in education reforms.

This paradox in national policy-making raises greater concerns today when teachers' professional development has to be seen against important socioeconomic and pedagogical developments. The shift towards new active and learner-centred methods, the rapid developments in the application of new technologies in education, the changing skills needs in the labour market, and the demand for an increasingly diverse and properly trained workforce, require highly qualified teachers with manifold qualifications.

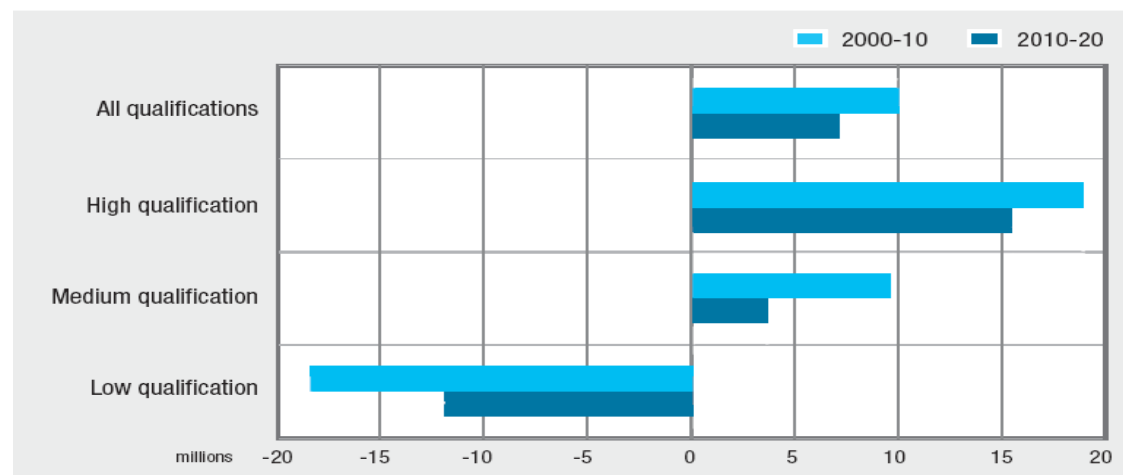
The paper discusses these and other drivers of change affecting the role of teachers and presents how national policies and priorities on teacher education and training are being shaped. While an in depth discussion of these policies falls beyond the scope of this paper, it gives a general overview of the current state of play of the teaching profession in Europe, hoping to stimulate for further debate and research in this field.

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The changing face of Europe

Europe is in a process of change with decisive influences on the way educational systems and policies are being shaped. The teaching profession cannot stay intact to this new reality of ageing workers, global competition, new demands in the labour market and effects of the international financial crisis.

The European labour market is coping with skill shortages for highly qualified professions. As a recent study on forecasting skill needs shows (Cedefop, 2010a), from the 80 million job opportunities that will be created by 2020, more than one third of them will be for highly-qualified people and one in two jobs for medium-level qualified, meaning for higher education and vocational education and training graduates (see graphic 1).



Graphic 1. Past and projected qualification trends for those in employment, EU-27+

Source: Cedefop, 2010a, p.62

These research findings illustrate the increasing demand for a high qualified workforce and alert young people to the need to acquire a wider range of competences to be prepared for the constantly emerging changes throughout their lives (Cedefop, 2010a). Projections show that many will work in jobs that do not exist yet and many others will change jobs up to seven times during their careers. Thus, apart from the job specific skills, learners are required to acquire other generic skills and key competences such as adaptability, creativity and the ability to continue to learn (European Commission, 2006).

The education landscape in Europe is also changing considerably to bridge the (potential) gap between those learning outcomes relevant to the labour

market and the personal development of learners. Many educational institutions in Europe have become larger, decentralised and autonomous and have developed partnerships with new and multiple stakeholders. But at the same time, these institutions are subjected to centralised actions and policies which deeply influence their operation.

In the correlation between the quality of education and training provision and the competence level and skills of the European work force, research findings prove that teachers are an important variable to secure this quality (Abbott, 1988; Hattie, 2003; Barber and Mourshed, 2007). European policy-makers endorse these research findings acknowledging the important role of teachers. In their response to the Commission's Communication "Improving the Quality of Teacher Education" (European Commission, 2007), Ministers of Education agreed that:

"High quality teaching is a prerequisite for high-quality education and training, which are in turn powerful determinants of Europe's long-term competitiveness and capacity to create more jobs and growth in line with the Lisbon goals ..." (European Council, 2007).

Ministers in 2009 recognised that:

"The knowledge, skills and commitment of teachers, as well as the quality of school leadership, are the most important factors in achieving high quality educational outcomes. Good teaching and the ability to inspire all pupils to achieve their very best can have a lasting positive impact on young people's futures. For this reason, it is essential not only to ensure that those recruited to teaching and school leadership posts are of the highest calibre and well-suited to the tasks they have to fulfil, but also to provide the highest standard of initial education and continuing professional development for teaching staff at all levels. This in turn will contribute to enhancing both the status and attractiveness of the profession" (European Council, 2009).

Despite this widespread acknowledgement though, if one follows the education and training policies formulated in the past few years in Europe, sees that there is a significant gap between this recognition on overall policy and strategy level and the efforts, attention and resources allocated to teachers on local and institutional level. However, policies and practices differ between countries –and even within countries between regions - and reaching such a generalised conclusion would underestimate the important efforts undertaken in this field. A more careful observation actually shows a marked difference between countries in how they respond and act in this time of change, and how they develop teacher education and training policy. These various responses may be based among other factors on differences in educational traditions and history, as well as national legislation and

regulation on education, level of funding, and depth of involvement of stakeholders, including teachers themselves.

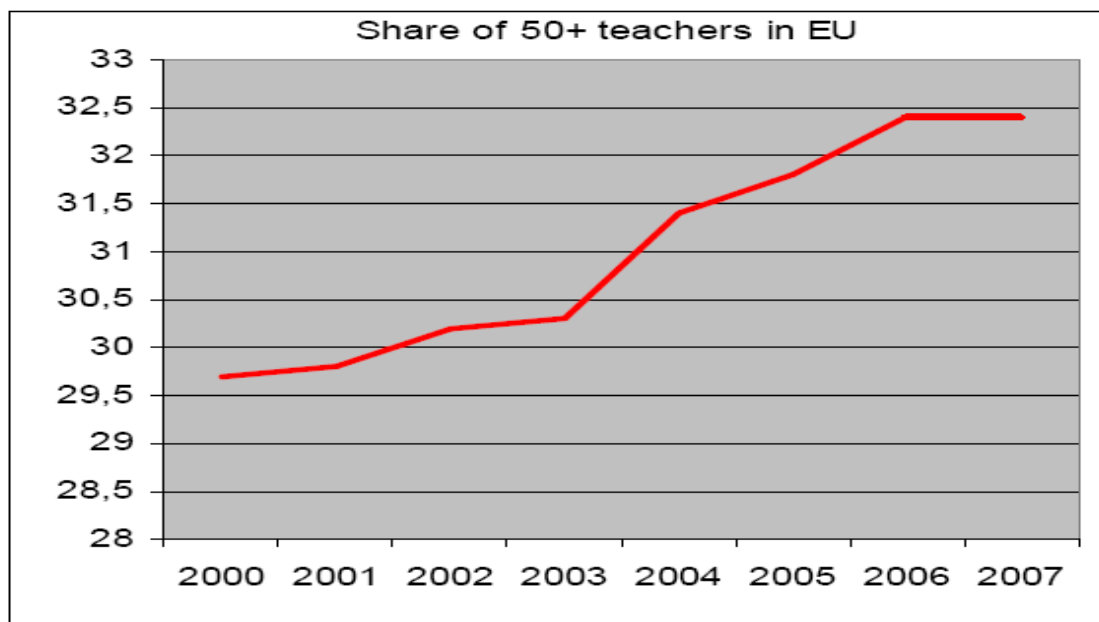
An analysis of national policies taking into consideration these and other factors falls beyond the scope of this paper which aims to identify and present common trends on how national policies address some of the main challenges education and training professionals face today in Europe.

The teaching profession in Europe: characteristics and challenges

The teaching profession in Europe faces many challenges and characteristics often common to other professions. The shortage of qualified teachers (e.g. in Belgium-Flanders, Germany, Poland, Slovakia, Sweden and the UK) combined with inadequate instruments for selecting suitable candidates (e.g. in the Czech Republic) are serious problems affecting most European countries. Head teachers in the EU report a lack of appropriate teaching staff, hindering quality instruction: 14% of all pupils are taught in schools with poorly qualified teachers (OECD, 2006). Luxembourg, Belgium and Estonia are among those most affected by such a situation (European Commission, 2009).

Gender imbalance constitutes another characteristic of the teaching profession with women accounting for almost 70% of teachers in the EU. Women represent more than 60% in all Member States, except Luxembourg. On average (EU-27), there are very clear differences between the levels of schooling: the higher the educational level is, the smaller the female dominance is in this profession. In primary education (ISCED level 1), more than 80% of teachers are female, at lower secondary education (ISCED 2) the percentage is lower representing 66%, and it falls to 60% in upper secondary education (ISCED 3) (European Commission, 2009).

The teaching force in Europe is ageing. Today 32.7% of all teachers teaching in secondary education are 50 years and older (see graphic 2). There are big differences though among Member States; this percentage rises to more than 50% in Germany and Italy while most of the other Member States have less than 40% in this age group. The share of teachers under 30 years old in the same educational level is considerably low, with less than 3% in Germany and Italy in 2007, and more than 20% in Luxembourg, Romania and Malta (European Commission, 2009).



Graphic 2. Share of teachers (ISCED 1-3) 50 years and older, 2000-20

Source: European Commission, 2009, p. 48.

The low percentage of young teachers in schools today, apart from representing the global phenomenon of the aging population in Europe, also reflects a well known reality: the teaching profession is still not very attractive to young people. In most of the newer Member States, low pay and inefficient resource management are major concerns, especially for young teachers and for attracting specialists to become teachers (e.g. in Estonia). In Bulgaria, wages increased since 2007 by 22,5%, despite this increase, teachers' salaries are still among the lowest wage rates in the public sector³² and among the lowest in the European Union, together with Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovakia (Psifidou, 2010a). This, combined with a lack of career-building prospects and relevant performance-based funding systems makes it even less attractive (e.g. in Romania). Nevertheless, there are indications in some countries that the economic crisis has encouraged some to enter into lower paid but more stable jobs including teaching positions (Cedefop, 2010c).

These and other factors have also increased the drop-out rate of beginning teachers which nowadays is substantial and can be as high as 10% in some countries - like the Netherlands - (OECD, 2005) leading to an inefficient use of the resources invested in educating students to become teachers.

³² As of 28 August 2008, the minimal teacher wage for a starting teacher is 450 BGN (approximately 225 Euro) and the average teacher salary is 560 BGN (approximately 280 Euro) instead of 370 BGN that used to be before (Psifidou, 2010a).

To respond to these common challenges, national policy-makers develop strategies and visions to address national needs and expectations, and at the same time, to endorse European initiatives and reflections.

The changing role of teachers: drivers of change

Within this unfavourable context, teachers³³ live in a constant interplay of competing policy priorities³⁴ and diverse needs of learners. They are confronted with increasing demands and multiple roles which have profound implications on their working conditions (Cedefop, 2010b; Psifidou, 2008). Changes in their work activities involving team work, guiding and counselling, co-designing curricula, assessing learning outcomes, linking school with local community, getting familiar with technological progress and new work processes have established a profound need for their continuous professional development.

A recent study (Cedefop, 2010b) has identified and discussed different factors affecting the role of teachers and the new competences required to display. One of these factors is associated with curriculum reforms affecting pedagogy and didactics, and the other, with a new quality assurance culture emerging in schools. These two factors are particularly relevant and influential in the majority of the European countries.

New curricula, pedagogy and didactics

The pressure to modernise education and training and to respond to the diverse needs of learners and the labour market is changing curricula and didactics. Recent reforms show that core curricula designed at national level have been complemented by school-based curricula adapted to local needs. Courses have been broken down into modules to provide greater flexibility. The understanding, function and role of curriculum have also evolved. Curricula now guide a wider variety of education parameters -such as teaching and assessment methods and tools, learning materials and the design of learning environments- providing a framework for the teaching and learning process (Psifidou, 2007).

³³ Information provided at this paper about teachers concerns those working both in general as well as in vocational education and training.

³⁴ To give an example, in Bulgaria, from the democratisation of its regime in 1989 and until 2007, the government has changed thirteen times altering each time the education priorities and strategies, interrupting reforms and leading to a complex and controversial political framework for developing the national educational system (Psifidou, 2007).

Teacher Education in Modern Era

The recent trend is moving away from learning objectives set for teachers, to designing curricula based on learning outcomes defined for learners. Curricula become broader including key competences and implicate new requirements for their successful delivery. While approaches and names differ across countries, these new curricula are often mentioned as competence-based or learning outcome-oriented curricula. Their commonality is valuing what a learner knows, understands and is able to do and the end of a learning process rather than how many hours has spent in an educational institution and which subjects has studied (Box 1).

Learning outcomes are statements of what an individual learner knows, is able to do and understand following completion of a learning process.

In some countries, for example Germany and the Netherlands, the term competence is used instead of learning outcomes. Some distinctive features of learning outcome-based compared to traditional curricula are:

- the focus on learning that combines knowledge and skills with personal and socio-cultural competences;
- knowledge is set in a context and is interdisciplinary;
- focus on the labour market and employment requirements (traditional curricula sticks to the educational context and the body of knowledge to be transmitted);
- learning is encouraged in a wide range of locations and by different methods.

Box 1: Learning outcome-based versus traditional curriculum

Source: Cedefop, 2010b

Definitions of learning outcomes in curricula differ between and within countries and even between institutions. For example, some define learning outcomes as the overarching goals of education and training. Others define them as the results of a study programme or teaching unit. To establish a common language and understanding of learning outcomes, member states often describe learning outcomes in terms of knowledge, skills and competence; same terminology used in European tools such as the European Qualifications Framework (Box2).

Knowledge

The outcome of the assimilation of information through learning. Knowledge is the body of facts, principles, theories and practices that is related to a field of work or study.

Skills

The ability to apply knowledge and use know-how to complete tasks and solve problems (...) skills are described as cognitive (involving the use of logical, intuitive and creative thinking) or practical (involving manual dexterity and the use of methods, materials, tools and instruments).

Competence

The proven ability to use knowledge, skills and personal, social and/or methodological abilities, in work or study situations and in professional and personal development.

Box 2: Definition of learning outcomes as a set of knowledge, skills and competences

Source: Annex 1, European Parliament and European Council, 2008.

Many education specialists associate outcome-oriented approaches to curricula with inclusive teaching and learning (Moreno, 2006), and present them as important tools in the hands of teachers to develop autonomous, active and critical citizens (Opertti and Duncombe, 2008). Indeed, evidence in Malta, Lithuania, the Netherlands and Slovenia suggest that learning outcome-based curricula can increase learner motivation (encouraging people to go on to further studies and reducing drop-out rates) and improve labour market integration (Psifidou, 2011). Any discourse around their success though highlights the importance to be accompanied by effective teaching and assessment methods (European Commission, 2010b) and to be delivered in appropriately designed learning environments (OECD, 2009).

Learning outcomes approaches reflect a constructivist view on the learning process and endorse research findings on how the brain works (Cedefop, 2010b; OECD, 2007). The essence of this paradigm is that the basis for obtaining new knowledge should be each learner's individual competences and experiences. In practice, this means that each learner must get individual attention, personalised work tasks and the opportunity to create and steer his own learning process. Learning by doing is also a part of this pedagogy.

This new learning culture challenges the core of the traditional view of teaching with the teacher possessing and transferring the knowledge to the learners usually in the form of lectures. It requires new forms of teaching, such as independent learning and integrated learning, project work, group work, peer learning and action learning. These teaching practices are slowly making their way in European education institutions but there are still few observations and studies on how these pedagogies manifest in the actual learning environment (Psifidou, 2010c). Kokkos (2011) presents how the aesthetic experience within a transformative learning framework is an effective method in adult education to develop critical thinking and explains how this is being used in teacher training in Greece. The same sources show though, that traditional teaching still prevails in many schools, even if the constructivist ideas have been accepted for a long time, and this is often due to the lack of appropriate school leadership and well trained teachers.

Learning outcome-based curricula are more effectively taught in learning environments sensitive to individual differences. These differences may concern a learner's background, prior knowledge and abilities. Teachers should be able to design appropriate learning environments to make learning a social and often collaborative experience; and this is not always easy for teachers to do when are not sufficiently trained.

Finally, teachers also have to evaluate whether the expected learning outcomes, as defined in the curricula, have been achieved by learners. New curricula incorporate generic skills and key competences, such as critical and creative thinking. Measuring these competences and attitudes is complex. It has required a rethink of traditional assessment tools in many European countries that are using or developing learning outcome-based curricula. Slovenia and Spain, for example, have developed special tools to assess soft skills. Finland has well established self-assessment for learners creating a more positive assessment culture both for teachers and learners. Most Member States use formative assessment to provide learners with substantial, regular and meaningful feedback and to inform teachers of the progress being made and if any changes to the learning process are needed.

All these developments require systematic upskilling for teachers in new pedagogy and assessment methods and close collaboration between them, if it is learners to be benefited.

New quality assurance mechanisms

The last years, the focus and significance of quality assurance in education has undergone an extensive transformation in conjunction with the demand for greater accountability and transparency in teaching and training provision. There are many reasons for this change, among them a more insistent demand for control of public funding of education. Another important reason is the demand for a more competitive labour market, prompting quality reforms in higher education as well as in vocational education and training. In many countries, the first results from PISA³⁵ in 2001 created a shock comparable to the Sputnik shock in 1957³⁶. Several member states discovered that in comparison with other countries, their educational systems did not produce the expected learning results. A common reaction to the PISA findings was the resolution that in order to build and maintain quality learning environments, one needs to check learners' results regularly. When discussing remedies to better the situation, member states pointed to the need to better inspect teachers and ensure teaching quality by the way of quality assurance systems.

Paired with the resolutions adopted after the publication of the PISA results, there is a current trend of teaching activities and learning outcomes to be transparent and possible to check for external actors. The introduction of management by objectives in the public sector of many countries intensifies this trend.

Many European countries to date have introduced and implemented national quality assurance mechanisms in their educational systems based on different models (Cedefop, 2009). The impact of these trends on teachers has been extensive. Bearing in mind the crucial importance of teaching and training in quality development, a consequence of the focus on quality in education is an increasing demand for professionalization of the practitioners in this area. To this end, several countries have introduced new qualification requirements as well as systemic teacher training.

The new commitment to quality and the extensive new ways of checking the performance of learners required for practitioners to spend more time on administrative tasks (planning, coordination and meetings) than before. This created a need for displaying administrative skills like time management and organisational skills.

³⁵ OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). Every three years, it assesses how far students near the end of compulsory education have acquired some of the knowledge and skills essential for full participation in society.

³⁶ The Sputnik shock was the reaction of the Western world to the Soviet Union's technological advances which made the country capable of successfully launching the first satellite into earth's orbit.

The outlined trends and developments on new pedagogies and quality assurance mechanisms and requirements have changed teachers' professional role. The teaching and training vocations have become more complex and expanded to include new work tasks and responsibilities.

Studies (Cedefop, 2010b; OECD, 2005; Psifidou, 2007) show that constant reforms, fast developments and increasing demands may negatively affect the well-being and professional identity of many educators. Teachers are concerned with the increased bureaucratisation in their profession which distracts them from their primary role: to spend time with the learners. Others resist changes as they do not possess the skills or attitudes necessary to handle new demands. Many teachers lose their motivation and question their professional identity when their main role is diluted and partly replaced by administrative chores, and when educating is substituted by facilitating learning.

National responses to European challenges

I have presented selected external and internal factors to the education system that affect and change the role of teachers to a more complex, multifaceted and constantly evolving one. This changing role of teachers generates new needs for the acquisition of appropriate knowledge, skills and competences.

Different European Policy documents have put teacher policy more explicitly on the European agenda to address these needs. The European Commission in its Communication "Improving the Quality of Teacher Education" (European Commission, 2007) based on the Common European Principles for Teacher Competences and Qualifications³⁷ invites Member States to make the teaching profession a more attractive career choice, to improve the quality of teacher education and to pay attention to initial education, early career support (induction) and further professional development of teachers. Following the Council conclusions on improving the quality of teacher education, Ministers in 2008 invited the Member States to focus cooperation (inter alia) for improving the attractiveness of the teaching profession and reviewing teacher recruitment, placement, retention and mobility policies, to maximise their impact on the quality of school education (European Council, 2008).

The Council in November 2009 agreed, amongst other priorities, that:

³⁷ Common European Principles for Teachers Competences and Qualifications http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/2010/doc/principles_en.pdf [cited 7/02/2011]

'In view of the increasing demands placed upon them and the growing complexity of their roles, teachers need access to effective personal and professional support throughout their careers, and particularly during the time they first enter the profession' (European Council, 2009). Most recently, Ministers of Education have adopted the Education and Training 2020 Work Programme, which includes shared objectives on teacher policy for implementing Commission's Europe 2020 strategy (European Commission, 2010a).

The national responses given to this European call are multiple and embedded in national contexts as already said, however, one may identify common approaches.

To ensure high-qualified teachers entering in schools, there is a trend to upgrade entry qualifications to the teaching profession translated into an increasing number of teachers who hold a master degree (e.g. in Bulgaria the 83% of teachers has a higher education degree, Psifidou, 2010a). In some countries like Cyprus, Malta and Austria, teacher training colleges and pedagogical institutes are upgraded to higher education level (Cedefop, 2010c).

To increase competitiveness, quality and responsiveness of teachers' education and training, its provision has been decentralised in some countries like Italy and Finland. In these and other countries, regional actors are involved in the design of training programmes for teachers. In France, each training organisation is autonomous, although national collective agreements define skills-prescribing documents for private training organisations.

Many countries are reforming the initial education for teachers to an outcome-oriented approach in the form of declared knowledge, skills and competences (e.g. in the Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Latvia, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Slovakia and the UK). More and more countries are developing minimum standards, competences frameworks, or professional profiles comprising professional, didactical and other core competences (Cedefop, 2010c).

Another major development in many countries is the introduction of induction programmes - the linking pin between initial education and in-service teacher training. In Greece, Spain, Italy and Cyprus, teachers have to follow compulsory training during their probationary period the length of which varies widely. Compulsory training for new entrants also exists in France, Liechtenstein and Turkey. In Ireland and Scotland, the induction programme began in 2002, in Norway in 2003, in Estonia in 2004. However, still a few countries only offer coherent system-wide induction programmes. Many of them offer, on demand, some separate support measures for new teachers

that can help them to overcome difficulties they may experience as newcomers and reduce the likelihood of leaving the profession early. In 2006, around 20 countries offered new teachers formal assistance other than in the form of a systematic induction programme (European Commission, 2010c).

For the reasons we have exposed above, continuing professional development (CPD) for teachers progressively becomes a priority area in many European countries (European Commission and OECD, 2010). Efforts to make it more coordinated and consistent part of a holistic teachers' qualification framework and lifelong learning programmes are evident in Denmark, Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Austria and Romania (Cedefop, 2010c). In most of them CPD is considered imperative for implementing education reforms (e.g. in Cyprus). A huge variety of measures and forms – state programmes, training networks, new institutions, projects under European Social Fund (ESF), placements abroad, etc. support continuing professional development in these and other countries (Cedefop, 2011).

Moreover, education providers are legally obliged to ensure systematically continuing professional development activities for teaching personnel in some countries like Sweden and Finland. In Hungary, legislation prescribes compulsory participation in continuing professional development every seven years. In the Czech Republic, Slovakia and the UK continuing professional development has been made statutory (Cedefop, 2010c). In many countries though, this is not mandatory and remains less imbedded in the career path.

While the continuous professional development of teachers attracts attention in national policy agendas, important barriers remain though to be lifted for teachers to participate and benefit from it in the majority of European countries. These impediments are often associated with lack of funds and incentives, as well as non-adequate training opportunities, often but not exclusively, more pronounced in low-income countries like Bulgaria (Psifidou, 2010a).

More and more teachers participate in European mobility programmes under the Lifelong Learning Programme (LLP) of the European Commission for stays abroad and exchanges that can provide valuable experience, motivation and continuing professional development (Maiworm, F et al., 2010). Beyond these programmes, some countries, most notably Germany, but also Romania and France, have developed international agreements on the swapping of teachers from a selection of other countries (Cedefop, 2011). Personal gains, like personal development and career development are important push-factors for teachers participating in these programmes. However, mobility is still hindered by numerous examples of poorly developed cooperative structures in important areas regarding taxes, pension and social security,

even within the European Union. The recognition in their home country of those competence and skills achieved abroad is another important concern for teachers (European Commission, 2006).

Concluding remarks

In research findings, teachers are identified as the most important actors influencing the quality of education in schools. Yet in Europe there are concerns that teachers are ill-prepared, overly underpaid, inefficiently trained, and inadequately supported in terms of education and training, access to teaching materials, and basic conditions for teaching, learning and research. Undoubtedly, if education quality is to be ensured, it is important for those responsible to develop policies that support the professional development of teachers. Teachers' professional development is a lifelong process that starts at initial teacher education and ends at retirement. Generally this lifelong process is divided in specific stages.

The first stage concerns the preparation of teachers during initial teacher education, where those who want to become a teacher master the basic knowledge and skills. The second stage is the first independent steps as teachers, the first years of confrontation with the reality to be a teacher in school. This phase is generally called the induction phase. The third phase is the phase of the continuing professional development of those teachers that have overcome the initial challenges of becoming a teacher.

All teachers will go through those phases. However the quality of their development will depend strongly on the support that is given to them in each of those phases. In recent years, much attention has been given to the quality of teacher education programmes and to conditions for effective programmes for continuous professional development. Less attention has been given though to the design of effective initial education and induction programmes that may give teachers solid pedagogical bases and support them in their transition into working life in schools. This is of particular concern in a context of shortages of teaching skills and, in some countries, of large numbers of young teachers leaving the profession.

Evidence shows that the link between these different stages of professional development of teachers is still loose in many European countries. Teachers do not have access to coherent and system-wide support measures during their professional career. This often leads to a "praxis shock" for beginner teachers and demotivates practitioners that have been in the teaching profession for a long time (Stokking, K. et al., 2003; OECD, 2005).

This paper illustrated those efforts being made at national level to address these issues and to improve the quality of teacher education and training ensuring that all practising teachers take part in continuous professional development. One may not argue that progress made so far is remarkable. I began this paper by explaining the existing policy paradox on teacher policy. On one hand, policy-makers acknowledge the key role teachers play in shaping the frames of mind and preparing the competence equipment of future workers and citizens in Europe, on the other hand, the support given to them to perform this demanding role is not always enough or appropriate. Current developments show that this policy paradox slowly fades and teacher policy gains attention in every national education reform targeted to improve quality. These good practices should continue systematically to support teachers to develop an attitude of lifelong learning, to see their education as a career-long continuum, rather than a one-off action.

If the knowledge, skills, attitudes and competences of each of Europe's six million teachers are of great importance, then joint efforts are needed from both teachers and policy-makers to make teaching a reflective profession. This requires engaging professionals in research and innovation, and often, getting teachers to unlearn in order to learn.

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Teacher Education to Meet Twenty-First Century Society**C.C. Wolhuter³⁸****Abstract**

Based upon a survey of contributions (written by teacher education experts in some 90 countries) in the recently published *International Handbook on Teacher Education Worldwide* (eds Karras, K. G. & Wolhuter, C.C., 2010, Atrapos, Athens), this paper surveys recent trends in teacher education worldwide. The second part of the paper outlines global societal trends of the twenty-first century. The paper concludes by suggesting Comparative Educational research as the best way to guide the teacher education reforms to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century; and point out the value of the *International Handbook on Teacher Education Worldwide* in this regard.

Introduction

In a competitive global world and at a time of nascent knowledge society (that is a society where the axial principle of the economy is the production of knowledge) education assumes an importance bigger than ever before. As no education system can be better than its teacher corps, the same could be said of teachers and, ipso facto, of teacher education. It is therefore not inexplicable that teacher education *reform* is on the agenda in virtually every country in the world. Facing to a large extent similar challenges, the countries can learn much from each other, benefit from other countries' experience with teacher education reform.

The problem with cross-national educational transfer today, as it has always been, is that policy makers tend to invoke (real or fabricated) foreign practices in an attempt to lend credibility to pre conceived ideas (*cf.* De Wet & Wolhuter, 2007; Steiner-Khamsi, 2010); instead of working around the other way. Rectifying this, in the field of teacher education, a first step would be to explicate the global panorama of teacher education reform.

The first part of this paper surveys the various issues in teacher education world-wide, which the author identified in his work as co-editor of the volume *International Handbook on Teacher Education World Wide* (eds K.G. Karras & C.C. Wolhuter, 2010, Athropos Press: Athens). The second part turns to salient worldwide societal trends at the beginning of the twentieth century.

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In conclusion, the promise of Comparative Education research, in guiding and facilitating these reform processes are then suggested.

Teacher Education: Past to present

Non-existent to graduate programmes and scholarly field in own right

While formal school education has a history of some 5 000 years, teachers education emerged at most about 200 years ago, Teacher Education as a field of scholarly inquiry even later. In the first schools of Mesopotamia, scribes doubled-up as teachers.

Site of teacher education

Teacher education commenced in the nineteenth century in *normal schools* – secondary schools in which a few senior levels were added on. Students enrolling for these courses received both their upper secondary education and their primary school teacher education.

In time teacher education colleges came into being, training both primary and secondary school teachers. Later universities gradually took over the education of secondary school teachers, leaving primary school education for teacher training colleges. Still later primary school teacher education too shifted to universities: universities themselves instituted primary school teacher education programmes or/and colleges were incorporated into universities. Today at some institutions in the USA, and in the European Union, in line with the uniformisation of the European higher education system (as set out in the Bologna Declaration, the Lisbon Goals, the Prague Declaration of 2001, the Berlin Communiqué of 2003, the Bergen Declaration of 2005 and the London Declaration of 2007), teacher education has been elevated to the level of a Masters degree. Even a developing country such as Malaysia has followed suit this example. So in the global panorama there exists the spectrum: from a masters degree as minimum teacher qualification in the most developed countries, to an all graduate teaching force (universities the only site of teacher education) to countries where universities educate secondary school teachers and teacher training colleges educate primary school teachers; to many developing countries where the bulk of the teaching corps (primary as well as secondary school teachers) are educated at teacher education colleges; while in a few developing countries the normal school lingers on.

At the same time a movement in the opposite direction – to practice – could be detected; in one way closing the circle, in another representing a dialectical synthesis, where universities ensure that student teachers get a high quality theoretical education; and an immersion in practice ensures a thorough practical experience and preparation. In Hungary, for example, practical work takes up 60% of the time of teacher preparation programmes (Holik, 2010), while in Germany teacher education consists of a theoretical part followed by a practical component, ending in an examination, in schools. School-based or cite-based training is a growing phenomenon (*cf.* Wolhuter, 2009, p. 149; Shen, 2002, p. 566; Hayes, 2002, Lockheed *et al.*, 1991). While student-teachers are employed at schools as assistant-teachers they receive their theoretical education by means distance education and /or a combination of evening-classes, weekend classes, vocational classes, and residential education blocks. This mode of teacher education was frequently spurred by an acute shortage of teachers, and as such it has had a successful track record in Tanzania and Zimbabwe (*cf.* Nyerer, 1985; Dzvimbo, 1992; Bray *et al.*, 1995, p. 163-165). For the same reason (teacher shortage) it is mooted in the Netherlands (De Mynck & Ruit, 2010). Other reasons include making teacher education affordable to students who would otherwise not be in a position to enroll for teacher education (Van der Walt *et al.*, 2011).

Objectives

The goals of teacher education vary from place to place and from time to time. In some instances goals are specified laying emphasis upon the individual, i.e. the student teacher in training. An example is the normal school. In a second set of instances the focus is on the education system: either the preservation of the existing education system (e.g. the conventional teacher training college) or using teacher education as instrument to create a new education system (e.g. post-1990 South Africa). In a third set of cases the stress falls upon society; again, either the preservation of the existing (e.g. teacher education in colonial Africa) or the use of teacher education, to create a new envisioned society (e.g. teacher education in post-1990 Cuba).

Roles for which teachers are prepared

The roles for which teachers are prepared have also changed during the course of history. Pre-1990 university teacher education gave student teachers a liberal education – i.e. a teacher equipped to take his/her own decisions – one of the hallmarks of a professional person – rather than a

person whose working day consists of carrying-out the dictates of superiors of a hierarchy. Post-1990 teacher education saw the degeneration of teacher education from a professional person, to a labourer forced to fit into the straight jacket of narrowly defined and prescribed roles. For example, the USA state of Florida specified no less than 23 competences which teacher education programmes should train teachers for (Florida Department of Education, 2006). Kahn (2010), surveying teacher education in Belgium, strikingly points out this contradiction between the ostensibly hailed professional status of teachers and this prescriptiveness.

Content

The two broad categories of (theoretical) content included in teacher education programmes are that of academic knowledge and that of professional knowledge. Professional knowledge was historically organised and presented in terms of the part-disciplines of Education, i.e. Philosophy of Education, History of Education, Educational Psychology, Sociology of Education and Comparative Education. With the shift in the roles for which teachers are prepared, course content for changed – especially the professional component but increasingly the academic component too – from a thorough grounding into the sub-disciplines of Education, to training the student-teacher for a checklist of techniques, which he/she will need as a teacher; much skin to the training of trades people or technicians (*cf.* Altbach, 1991, p. 492; Schweisfurth, 1999, p. 84).

Method

The methods employed for teacher education have moved along with changes in the site of teacher education, and with technological development. At the times of the normal schools, observation and imitation must surely have been two of the most salient methods. With the institutionalization of teacher education into teacher training colleges and universities, the lecture, the textbook and the tutorial came to the fore. As technology developed, and with the rise of distance education, the video, the radio, the television, mobile phone, e-mail and the Internet came to play their parts.

Technology is probably one factor behind the shift back to the school as site of teacher education.

Theory – practice

Teacher education consists of a theoretical and a practical component. Originally, at the normal schools the practical component was very prominent. That was less so when teacher education relocated to teacher training colleges. Finally at the university, at first, the theoretical moved to the foreground.

The prominence of the theoretical has been dimmed in the recent past by a number of factors, and much greater value is attached to the practical. In Germany, for example, student teachers qualify only once they have completed a year practical work and a practical examination, after they had completed their theoretical course at university. The rise of school-based teacher education (outlined above) is one manifestation of this return to the practical.

Duration

The duration of teacher education shows an increasing line through history. In the normal schools student teachers for primary school typically received their teacher preparation as part of their senior secondary school education. At least in the developing countries, teacher training colleges originally took in graduates from junior secondary schools and gave them a one year training course to qualify as primary school teachers. This was later extended. Senior secondary school teachers were given a three years (later extended to four years) teacher education programme. When teacher education shifted to universities, the programmes were at first four years. The Bologna process means teacher education in the European Union includes a master's degree (as it also does in some states in the USA, e.g. Ohio), i.e. 5 years of duration.

Control

In the first normal schools the teacher-educator probably had a strong influence. Teacher training colleges fell heavily under the power of education Departments/ministries. At universities in turn, teacher education were structured by the academic profession. An ominous trend of the current age is that of government, increasingly prescribing teacher education programmes, part of an international trend of ever more governmental curtailment of university autonomy and academic freedom (*cf. Higgs, et al., 2010*). Amiss in this whole picture are two things. Firstly, the organised teacher profession never has had a decisive say in teacher education – strange for a profession. Secondly, the absence of allocating a say to students – also strange in an age of the democratisation of universities.

Research has shown that students can give valuable input in curricularisation (*cf.* O'Sullivan *et al.*, 2010).

Teacher education educators

There is a long-standing and wide-spread phenomenon that academics from other fields look down towards academics attached to Schools/Faculties of education as being quasi-academics or being inferior (*cf.* Gardiner, 2008; Van der Walt, *et al.*, 2010). Education Faculties/academics too, compared to their counterparts in other areas, get a raw deal when it comes to resource allocation, be it buildings, library allocations, research funding, etc. *cf.* Higgs *et al.*, 2010).

Given the empirically proved importance of the teacher education educator in the inspiration and formation of the teacher (*cf.* Van der Walt *et al.*, 2011), the teacher education educator is an extremely marginalised part of research on teacher education.

Access

In a very small number of countries, the demand for places in teacher education programmes exceeds the supply of available places, and teacher education seems to be a highly sought-after field of study. Singapore is an example – only 20 percent of applications to teacher education are admitted to teacher programmes (Steiner-Khamsi, 2010, p. 330). On the other hand the International Handbook of Teacher Education (Karras & Wolhuter, eds., 2010), is replete with case-studies where teacher education is not even the second choice, but the last resort of prospective teachers who failed to secure admission to other fields such as Medicine or Law. Should there be selectivity regarding access to teacher education programmes? And if so, how/on what grounds – bearing in mind that a substantial body of research could find a relationship between personality type and teacher performance (*cf.* Arends, *et al.*, 1998).

Supply/Demand

In some countries an oversupply of teachers exist, in others there is a shortage. Lithuania, for example, has an oversupply of teachers. South Africa, on the other hand, is facing a shortage. There is also signs of a flow of teachers from developing to developed countries (or from the worst of the developing countries to ones performing better-off politically and economically) – part of the global “brain drain” of the South. It seems as if

globally the balance is in favour of the demand scale-pan, several studies, such as the extensive OECD study (OECD, 2003) predict serious global-wide shortage of teachers in the foreseeable future.

Multiculturalism

The reality of increasingly multicultural society's worldwide necessitates the inclusion of multicultural and intercultural education in teacher education programmes. This entails not only a knowledge of other cultures and their cultural heritage, but is also a matter of attitude: of creating intercultural sensitivity. There is also the issue of making teacher education accessible to members of the entire spectrum of cultural groups.

Internationalisation and regionalisation

Globalisation, the ICT revolution and an increasingly mobile population create the imperative for an even stronger international dimension in teacher education programmes. This entails the formation of a cosmopolitan identity and global citizenship with its attendant characteristics such as care, creativity and critical mindedness (cf. Schneller & Wolhuter, eds, 2011). Related to the imperative of internationalisation, is that of regionalisation, especially where the economic, political, social, cultural and educational forces of regional integration are the strongest, e.g. in the European Union (cf. Jobst, 2010).

Indigenisation

At the other end there is also an imperative for the indigenisation of teacher education, i.e. to get teacher education programmes consonant with national context and to preserve the best elements of national history and national tradition, e.g. in Taiwan, to preserve the Confucian tradition (cf. Chiang, 2010). The need for indigenisation is especially strong in cases where teacher education programmes were wholesale imported from other countries, as in ex-colonial settings, such as Sub-Saharan Africa or Papua-New Guinea (cf. Zeegers, 2010).

In-service Education and Training

In line with the present philosophy of lifelong learning, globally impressive policies regarding the continual professional development of teachers are being formulated. However, there exist the large gap between rhetoric and

reality, as these policies on policies on in-service education and training just cannot get off the ground.

These above outlined trends regarding teacher education reform worldwide should be judged against the rising societal trends, shaping the early twenty-first century world. Next these trends will be outlined.

Societal trends of the Early Twenty-first century

Demography

Population explosion:

Paul Kennedy's futuroscope of the twenty-first century, *Preparing for the Twenty-first Century* (1993), argues that the two fundamental forces that will drive the world in the twenty-first century will be demography and technology. The earth faces a population explosion. The global population of 6.4 billion in 2004, is still growing rapidly – 76 million per year (United Nations Population Trend, 2004). This means that each day the global population grows by 200 000, or every second by two. Most of the population growth takes place in the developing countries; those countries with the fewest resources to meet the anticipated growth.

A changing age-pyramid: an ageing (developed countries) and maturing (developing countries) population profile:

At the end of the twentieth century the average age of the population of the various world-regions were as follows: Europe 37.1 years, North America: 35.1 years; Oceania 30.7 years; Asia: 25.6 years; Latin America: 23.9 years and Africa 18.3 years. As the populations of all countries undergo demographic transition, the average population will rise everywhere. The estimated average age of the global population of 2050 will be 40 years.

The developing countries will experience the biggest surge in the proportion of the mature section of the population (15-65 years of age) while the developed countries will see a big rise in the 65 years + group.

Third World urbanisation

Around 2007, half the world's population was urban (in 1978 it was still 37%). For the first time in human history, the majority of people were living in cities. The urban population is projected to grow by 1.8% per year between 2000 and 2030 – almost twice as fast as the global population growth – and the developing world's urban population by 2.3%. By 2030 all regions in the

world will have urban majorities (Africa will reach a 54% urban population (United Nations Populations Find, 2004).

One of the most significant of all post-Second World War demographic phenomena, and one that promises to loom even larger in the future, is the rapid growth of cities in the developing world. Even by the end of the twentieth century there were an estimated 20 mega cities with populations of 11 million or more, of which 17 were located in the developing world.

Mobility

There were 175 million international migrants in the world in 2000 – one in every 35 persons – up from 79 million in 1960. One vector in this global population is the population explosion and abject poverty in the Third World which result in a continuous drift of (legal and illegal) migrants from the developing countries of the south to the developed regions of the north (Latin America to the USA; Africa to Europe and from the east to the more affluent countries of the east (Turkey, Middle Eastern and Eastern European countries to Western Europe). A significant problem for the countries abandoned by emigrants is the “brain drain” – the phenomenon of skilled, educated citizens abandoning their native land for better opportunities elsewhere. The anticipated advance in the pace of migration will increase the cultural diversity in areas that receive these immigrants.

Geographical

The ecological crisis

The population growth and increased industrial activity are accompanied by increasing amounts of waste products. The 400 million automobiles worldwide annually discharge 550 million tons of carbon dioxide into the air. This, together with other sources of carbon dioxide emission in the air (coal-burning by industries, and in the developing countries wood-burning for fuel), is responsible for the “greenhouse effect”: the gradual warming of the atmosphere with ominous potential consequences. Besides air pollution, some countries are faced with serious pollution of their freshwater resources, while the oceans are also becoming increasingly polluted. Massive deforestation is currently taking place, especially in the tropical forests of Africa, Latin America and Asia. There is also the problem of soil erosion – global soil loss annually in excess of new soil formation is estimated 24-26 billion tons (Ehrlich & Ehrlich, 1990, p. 28).

Science and technology:**Science and technological progress**

The expanding frontiers of science and the exponential increase in technological innovations will significantly affect the future, if twentieth century experience is anything upon which to construct a conjecture. In his book, *The Third Wave* futurologist Alvin Toffler (1980) contends that the three milestones in human history are the agricultural revolution of 10 000 years ago, the industrial revolution 300 years ago (the second wave) and the creation of a high-technology based society (the third wave) currently taking place. Particularly significant areas of technological and scientific progress are agricultural development and transformation, biotechnology, the communication, information and knowledge revolution, and automation (robotics revolution)

Communication, information and knowledge revolution**(*vide*: Toffler, 1990, Castells, 2000)**

Information refers to data that have been fitted into categories and classification schemes and their patterns. Knowledge refers to information that has been further refined into more general statements. J.D. Davidson and W. Rees-Mogg (1992) views the three main events in human history as the agricultural revolution (of C. 8000BC), the gunpowder revolution (of the fifteenth century) and the present information revolution. In the early 1970s Daniel Bell declared that the industrial era was over and that a new social order was emerging, where knowledge and information were replacing industrial production on the axial principle of social organization. At present, the stock of knowledge doubles every 2.7 years. Knowledge and information are becoming available to everyone and are rapidly becoming demonopolised, thanks due to the Internet, the personal computer, the mass-media and the mobile phone.

Socio-economic forces**The social revolution**

The pervasiveness of the primary school grouping in society, the nuclear family, has been declining. The nuclear family has become only one of many options in terms of lifestyles, others include i.a. sole households (where a single person lives), single parents and cohabitation. Similarly, the secondary social grouping in society, the work place, is bound to decline in importance too, with the decline in the number of people who have a "job for life" and

the rise of contract working ,the informal environment sector, and self-employment. Tertiary social groupings (i.e. functional interest-groups), on the other hand, are likely to become more prominent as a result of the emancipation and the empowerment of such grouping by the communication and information revolutions, the rise of multicultural societies, and the trends of democratisation and individualisation.

Economic internationalism

The world economy is steadily becoming more integrated and richer. After 1945, a system was established by the major trading nations to restrict protectionist tendencies. This system, together with the technological progress and the information and communication revolution, has given rise to multinational corporations, whose economic interests and activities transcend national boundaries. Parallel to the development of big multinational industries, is the development of an enormous international electronic finance market which operates 24 hours per day. The surge in global capital flows is connected with the revolution in global communications – computers, computer software, satellites and high speed electronic transfers. Across the world, millions of investors, companies and banks are speculating, and many of them automatically follow computer generated indicators.

Economic liberalisation and privatisation

(*vide*: Davidson & Rees-Mogg, 1992, for the welfare state bound to collapse):

Currently, a global process is taking place, and although it began in the West, it has spread to the East and to many countries of the South. The role of the state in the economy is being reduced, and market forces are given the right of way. The welfare state (that has been built up and expanded during the past few centuries, but especially during the decades up to the 1970s, *vide*: Redwood, 1993, pp. 41-44) became unsustainable as governments became trapped in popular entitlement programmes (health services, public transport services, etc.) they could not pay for. By the early 1980s it was clear that the welfare state was over-extending itself. The down-sizing of the state, privatisation of public corporations and giving market forces freedom of reigns, was precipitated by conservative governments in Western Europe and North America, the collapse of socialism in the East, and IMF-World Bank loan agreements in the government in the South.

Political forces

The demise of the omnipotent nation-state:

The aforementioned information and communications revolutions, the globalisation of the economy, the downsizing of the state out of economic necessity, and Third World governments subsiding to IMF and World Bank directives all contribute to the tearing down of the power of the state. One of the hallmarks of the first three quarters of the twentieth century was the centralized nation-state as powerful, autonomous, independent identity. At the same time, Third World countries face the imperative for improving the efficiency of the state by means of building capacity to effectively perform these core functions that are assigned to the states, cf. Fukuyama, 2004. With the nation-state losing its power base the locus of control has shifted into two opposite directions to supra-national and to sub-national structures.

Supra-nationalism (regionalisation) and internationalisation (globalisation):

With the borders of nation-state becoming too small and too porous against the onslaught of modern technology, communications and the forces of transnational economic integration, supra-national political and economic groupings are becoming more and more prominent and meaningful. The prime example of this trend is the EU. Other cases are OPEC (Oil Producing Exporting Countries), NAFTA (North Atlantic Free Trade Association) and SADC (Southern African Development Community). With nation-states becoming anachronistic, people may increasingly turn from national governments to transnational and international agencies to achieve their goals. Examples of international agencies are the UN (United Nations) and its agencies, e.g. UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), and GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services).

Decentralisation and localisation:

The information and communications revolutions, as well as the concomitant hold of the nation-state on its citizens, enable intra-national (sub-national regional, provincial and local) groupings and minorities to assert themselves. Obvious examples are the breaking-up of the USSR and Yugoslavia in recent decades. As mass-society begins to de-massify (cf. the emergence of multiculturalism and minority-interest groups, discussed above), a whole line of liberation, self-assertion and self-determination movements is sprouting forth in the political sphere, including ethnic groups, minority groups, neighbourhoods, boroughs (towns and cities), alternative lifestyle groups, as

well as single issue groups, such as “right of life” groups, feminists and “non-nuclear world” groups, which are forcefully asserting themselves.

Individualisation:

Customer-tailored manufacturing, individual access to or variety of information and the breakdown of state controls are all conducive to individualisation (raising the importance of the individual). During the 1970s, 80s and 90s, the explosion of CDs, walkmans, videos and the Internet, followed by the mobile phone, iPod and blackberry in the 2000s, added to a growing self-centredness, because each individual, could make his/her own choices without consulting with others (Watson, 1996, p. 11).

Democratisation:

The empowerment of the individual, the loss of control by the state, and the current wave of economic liberalisation have also ignited a process of democratisation that is presently sweeping conspicuously not only in the West, but also through the countries of the erstwhile Eastern Block as well as the South. People at grassroots level demand participation in decision-making in all forms of political and social life, including the school, the workplace and local government. Knowledge which is available to everyone is fuelling the movement towards democratisation.

Dalin and Rust (1996, p. 57) mention that the most obvious symbol of the new age is the obsolescence of the notion of simple majority rule, which blurs variety, openness and diversity. An updated operation of democratic governance, in tandem with the new, diverse societal structure and in line with the new technology (which guarantees choices) will have to be engineered. Ideological politics is also now being replaced by interest politics, as democracy moves into a new phase, where the emphasis will be on each individuals power over his/her own life.

Religious and Philosophical Determinants

The values revolution:

The increasing individualism, rise of minority interest groups and prolific mass-media of contemporary society are sparking a diversity of value systems that are replacing the traditional homogenous societies that were previously characterized by specific value systems.

However, Dalin and Rust (1996, p. 65) caution that there will have to be some limits to and reconciliation between the plurality of value systems, in order to ensure peaceful co-existence. In this regard, Fukuyama (1999) writes about "social capital": a set of informal values or norms among members of a group that permits cooperation among them (Fukuyama, 1999, p. 16).

Conclusion. The Way Ahead

The societal forces shaping a new world, as outlined in the pages above, place twenty-first century education and teacher education in particular for a tall order. As it is an unprecedented world, no blueprint exists for the drafting of teacher education programmes. The best counsel the author could offer is for the Comparative Education scholarly community to rise to the occasion: to explicate the implications of these societal trends for teacher education, and to put under the spotlight how countries are dealing with these challenges in their teacher education programmes – thus circulating the experiences of individual countries regarding teacher education for the benefit of all. If the *International Handbook of Teacher Education Worldwide* will promote – by putting on the table a compendium of the teacher education experience of some 90 countries – this project; it would be worthy publication.

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