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The *MJES* is a biannual refereed international journal with a regional focus. It features educational research carried out in Mediterranean countries, as well as educational studies related to the diaspora of Mediterranean people world-wide. The journal offers a forum for theoretical debate, historical and comparative studies, research and project reports, thus facilitating dialogue in a region which has strong and varied educational traditions. There is a strong international dimension to this dialogue, given the profile of the Mediterranean in the configuration of the new world order, and the presence of Mediterranean peoples in Europe, North America and elsewhere. The *MJES* is of interest to scholars, researchers and practitioners in the following fields: comparative education, foundation disciplines in education, education policy analysis, Mediterranean studies, cultural and post-colonial studies, Southern European and area studies, intercultural education, peace education, and migrant studies.

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IMPACT OF CENTRALISED INSTRUCTIONAL SUPERVISION ON TEACHERS: A CASE STUDY OF A PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOL IN TURKEY

AYSE BAS COLLINS

Abstract – This paper presents the results of a case study focusing on the implementation of centralised instructional supervisory practices at a private secondary school. It explores the perception of administrators, department heads, and teachers regarding the strengths, weaknesses and impact of this system on teaching and learning, teacher development, and school improvement. The results show that the present centralised inspection system has deficiencies due to its judgemental and subjective nature and its lack of adequate inspectors, both in terms of quantity and quality. Overall the system is seen as an administrative assessment and does not provide formative support to the teachers. This paper points out the need for change of the existing system, where new forms of central inspection which fall outside government intervention are adopted or, alternatively, more importance is given to school-based forms of supervision.

Introduction

The concept of 'supervision' is defined as the art of accomplishing work through the efforts and abilities of other people (Bishop, 1976). The 'large shadow army of school personnel known by the collective title of supervisors,' as Oliva (1989) terms them, play a major role in the direction education takes within a school system. They can be a positive force, giving guidance and/or direction, or they can allow the system to run itself with no clear course and no measurement of achievement.

The 'instructional supervisory role' can be assumed by one or several different individuals. They may be professionals from outside the school or the school principal or a department head or even a senior instructor. Supervisors are generally expected to demonstrate methods, provide suggestions for improvement, issue specific instructions, evaluate the results, and individual teacher's performance. In unison with teachers, the supervisor is expected to evaluate programmes and course content, ensuring that they meet achievement levels required. In this sense, the supervisor's critique should lead to an improvement in the curriculum, and in teaching and learning generally. Such, indeed, should be the effect of what Nealey and Evans (1980) refer to as the 'democratic nature of modern supervision.'

Historically, school supervisors fulfilled this role by giving directions, checking compliance with prescribed teaching techniques, and evaluating instructional effectiveness. Even as early as the 1920's certain tasks were listed as being pertinent to supervisors (Burton, 1922). Many of these tasks formed the basis for guidelines to good supervisory assessment that are still practiced today. They consisted of improvement of the teaching act (classroom visits, individual and group conferences, directed teaching, demonstration teaching, and development of standards for self-improvement), the improvement of teachers in service (teachers' meetings, professional readings, bibliographies and reviews, bulletins, self-analysis and criticism), and the selection and organisation of subject-matter (setting up objectives, studies of subject-matter and learning activities, experimental testing of materials, constant revision of courses, the selection and evaluation of supplementary instructional materials). The list ended with testing and measuring (the use of standardised and local tests for classification, diagnosis, guidance), and the rating of teachers (the development and use of rating cards, of check-lists, stimulation of self-rating).

The literature presents various models for instructional supervision. One such classification offers four supervision approaches: scientific (Barr *et al.*, 1961; Carroll, 1963; Dewey, 1929; Gagne, 1967), clinical (Cogan, 1973; Garman, 1982), artistic (Eisner, 1982), and eclectic (Sergiovanni, 1982). On her part, Oliva (1989) groups supervision into three categories: scientific management, *laissez-faire* and approaches influenced by group dynamics. Poster (1991) offered another classification: developmental, *laissez-faire*, managerial, and judgmental. Furthermore, different authors give similar definitions to their suggested models, such as: evaluation for professional development (Duke and Stiggings, 1990), evaluation for career awards and merit pay (Bacharach *et al.*, 1990), evaluation for tenure and dismissal (Bridges, 1990), and evaluation for school improvement (Iwanicki, 1990). These classifications all have similarities. They depend on whether the organisation is strictly structured with bureaucratic levels, or non-structured, fostering a creative atmosphere where individual dynamics are cultivated. The structured approaches tend to generate a realm of uniformity, with little creativity afforded the individual teacher. The less structured approaches enhance the development of an ethos of risk taking and initiative.

Different countries have adopted different types of school systems, with centralisation and decentralisation being two categories that are very useful as 'ideal types' defining the main orientations. Those governments that have chosen a more or less centralised system opt for a major role in determining the direction of their schools, in both policy and administrative decisions. Those choosing an approach marked by decentralisation place the decision-making authority at the school site.

We find examples of both systems in various European and Mediterranean countries, with each country adopting elements of each in order to address particular needs. Thus, the education systems of France, Belgium, the UK, Egypt, Italy, Ireland, Luxembourg, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and Tunisia, to mention a few, are more or less centralised in nature. In contrast, Finland, Greece, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland and Norway tend to be rather more decentralised - at least in some aspects.

Though traditionally centralised, France has adopted aspects of each system in recent years. For a long time, France could be considered as a classic illustration of centralised-instructional supervision. It was said that the minister of education could tell, on any given day, exactly where each teacher was in any textbook throughout the entire country (Oliva, 1989). Such a system requires a highly structured form of instruction and a highly centralised system of supervision. Today, France is divided into 33 academies, educational jurisdictions headed by a Rector, which oversee both primary and secondary education. Secondary principals are the immediate subordinates of their Rectors, and the rectorate also employs subject matter specialists as inspectors to evaluate the teaching of secondary teachers. The governance of primary education involves an even smaller educational jurisdiction, the district. Each district is headed by a district inspector who is subordinate to a head primary school inspector who works with the academy. The inspector is in charge of 250-300 primary teachers and is assisted in his or her work by two teaching advisers, a special education supervisor, and an office secretary (Auduc and Bayard-Pierlot, 1995). Although the intellectual/academic side of French education is in the hands of the Ministry and its subordinate divisions, the material side is provided for by local governments.

The UK also experienced a need to move away from its tradition of centralised educational supervision. During the 1970's it became evident that 'the demand for accountability in education shifted from broad issues of finance and program management to specific concerns regarding the quality of classroom teaching and teachers' (Darling-Hammond *et al.*, 1983). UK educators thought that a form of system decentralisation might provide greater accountability. Though the revised system, with its pros and cons, offered more freedom to the individual school district, it was met with resistance by teaching staff. After failing to acquire consensus among the educational corps, the UK returned to centralisation. However, in 1991 the UK established an independent inspection body (Office for Standards in Education-OFSTED) in order to evaluate all secondary school teachers. This office is directly responsible to the Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, not to the Ministry of Education.

Decisions regarding centralisation and decentralisation are largely political in nature, and educators are generally impotent when faced with the dictat of

government. However, while one might disagree with the form of supervision imposed, it is nevertheless clear that some form of teacher evaluation is necessary. What one has to be alert to is the extent to which the effort to improve teaching performance gives rise to systems of supervision that are rather more summative than formative in nature (Knapp, 1982). One has also to be aware of the fact that developmental supervision is derived from an educational philosophy of 'progressivism,' which sees learning as the result of actively placing ideas and knowledge to work in the real world, the individual as the end, subject matter as the means, and society as the result.

How centralised instructional supervision works in Turkey

Turkey's educational system is broadly based on the early French system, and influenced by the centralist tradition outlined above. The Ministry of Education (MOE) centrally determines procedures and processes, including school policies and regulations, curriculum standards and teacher supervision. The MOE's stated belief is that each child has unique educational, social and emotional needs that require quality instruction from all staff members. Therefore, the MOE Inspectors, being professional employees in the Ministry, have the responsibility to ensure that the needs of the students are met. The MOE meets this responsibility through teacher evaluation in all primary and secondary schools, both state and private. Private schools do not rely on the central system for monetary support. However, their licensing is dependent on compliance with the standards of the central system.

In the Turkish education system, supervision focuses primarily on controlling and directing schools. There are differences between definition, function and content of the term 'supervision' used in Western countries. Within the Turkish centralised system, there are two groups of inspectors, Elementary School Inspectors responsible for the first to fifth grades within individual provinces, and Secondary Inspectors responsible for the sixth to eleventh grades nationwide. These inspectors are afforded high status. They have the authority to visit any school at any time during the year according to a ratified MOE programme. The Board of Ministry Inspectors is made up of one chairman and a number of inspectors, all of whom are appointees of the MOE. The chairman of the Board is responsible for carrying out the dictates of the Board to the Undersecretary and MOE (Ministry of Education Board of Inspectors Regulations, 1988).

Inspectors are appointed from practicing teachers who meet the required qualities. Until 1993, teachers with 5 years teaching and 3 years administrative experience and appropriate leadership qualities were selected as inspectors without the need for sitting exams and/or undergoing special training. However,

due to political abuse of the system and the inadequacy of inspectors, drastic action was undertaken. In 1993, therefore, these qualities, requirements and selection procedures were modified based on new standards. Candidates are now required to have ten-year teaching experience. Alternatively, they are expected to have five years experience of teaching together with at least three years of experience in educational administration. In addition to this, candidates have to demonstrate leadership quality in both their subject matter and in administration. Although there was no age limit in the previous selection criteria, now candidates must not be over 40 years old. Those who meet these requirements are permitted to sit a written exam. The exam has five components: (1) writing a composition on educational issues, (2) a test on general issues such as Turkish Republic Constitution, or laws related to government officers, (3) answering questions related to special issues on education, (4) knowledge on subject matter and teaching techniques, and (5) foreign language competence (English, or German, or French). Candidates must receive a score of 70 for the first four components and 50 for the foreign language portion. Those who pass are called for an oral exam. During the oral exam, a panel considers the candidates' background, as well as their studies and their communication skills. The minimum score for the oral exam is 70. Those who pass both the written and oral exams are appointed as assistant inspectors and work under the guidance of head inspectors during one year. After the completion of that year they sit a proficiency exam to be recognised as an inspector. They are also required to attend various in-service training programmes throughout their career (Ministry of Education Board of Inspectors Regulation, 1993).

Ministry inspectors are stationed in the three largest cities, Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir. They travel all over Turkey in teams of four or five (sometimes more) during major inspection tours. There are no prescribed region or province for any of these teams. Any inspector may be assigned to any region in Turkey during the school year.

Inspection is carried out in two areas: school administration and classroom teaching. During the administrative inspection, the principal, assistant heads, and other school staff are assessed regarding the school administration process. The scope of this administrative inspection is limited to the school and its context. As for the classroom teaching inspection, inspectors carry out 'classroom observations' during which teachers' instructional skills, their plans, and the effects of the teacher upon classroom activities are evaluated. Evaluation is to also include the degree to which the teachers apply their annual study plans, their ability to prepare written exams and their out-of class activities.

Schools are advised in advance of an up-coming inspection by the MOE, and are also informed about which goals are to be met. Prior to the actual visit, the

school administration prepares the 'State Civil Servant's Personnel Reports' for each teacher. The report consists of two parts: background information and teaching/administration performance. The school administration fills out the background information for the staff including teachers, assistant heads and department heads. When the inspectors arrive at the school, they collect these forms from the principal. After the teacher evaluation, inspectors fill out the second part on performance, addressing issues such as responsibility and enthusiasm towards the job, knowledge of the subject matter, clarity in oral and written work, efforts in self-improvement, ability to engage in team work, objectivity, discipline and relationship with peers and superiors. The point total is 100. Failure to achieve 59 points warrants a negative assessment report. The principal is not permitted to see these forms after they are filled out. The forms are then transmitted to the MOE inspection department, where all teacher evaluation reports are maintained.

Before the class visit, inspectors are supposed to meet the teachers in order to become acquainted, and to inform them about what they intend to observe in their class. Generally, they then proceed to the classroom with the teacher and sit among students – generally at the back of the class – in order to better observe the delivery of the lesson. Inspectors are expected to refrain from interfering the teacher during instruction time. After the lesson is over, the inspector prepares a written report on the basis of the observation, and evaluates the teacher's overall performance, noting whether this was very good, good, average or poor. Teachers do not have access to this report.

Several evaluative studies of the Turkish Education Inspection System have been carried out. Most of these are based on quantitative surveys and designed to reach generalisable results regarding the effectiveness of the current ministry inspection system. Although the MOE expends a great deal of effort to improve and strengthen the inspection system through selection of inspectors and training, these studies have shown that the centralised system is flawed and requires a great deal of reform if it is to become effective and efficient. Yavuz (1995) concluded that contemporary educational principles are not applied during centralised inspection. His study showed that centralised supervisory activities are not similar to 'clinical supervision'. Similarly, in his study Kamal (1994) found that the opinions of inspectors, principals and teachers differed significantly from each other in regard to the guidance that should be provided during supervision. Karsli (1990, 1994) investigated the perception of teachers and principals on classroom supervision carried out by Ministry Inspectors. His studies concluded that (a) the number of classroom supervision and the time spent in class supervision was not sufficient, and (b) classroom observation criteria were ambiguous.

Private schools in Turkey have recognised the problems with the centralised inspection system. Accountability in fee-paying schools is a crucial issue, given the demand on the part of stakeholders for high teacher performance. Private schools, faced as they are with competition for students, and responding as they have to to the concern for effectiveness and efficiency in the teaching and learning process, have found themselves under pressure to guarantee adequate supervision. Thus, besides the Ministerial inspection system, private schools have established their own 'school-based supervision system' to maintain and improve the quality of teaching in their establishments. This involves principals and/or department heads in new responsibilities, including those of teacher supervision. In some private schools the principal observes teachers or is assisted by one of the heads of the departments. In other schools, department heads take direct charge of supervision. In still others, coordinators in different discipline areas assume the responsibility.

Although, as mentioned earlier, there are several quantitative studies showing the deficiencies with the centralised Ministry inspection system, there is a dearth of in-depth qualitative data. In an attempt to address this lacuna, the following research questions were raised and addressed in the present study:

1. What is the structure of centralised instructional supervision system?
2. How is this system perceived by the administrators, department heads, and teachers in terms of its weaknesses and strengths?
3. What impact does this system have on the teaching and learning process, teacher improvement and overall school development?

Case study

The present case study was conducted at a private secondary school under the control of the MOE. The medium of instruction at this school is English, and the institution has an Administrative Board consisting of the school owner, who is also the General Manager, and members of an Educational Committee, which forms the top of the administrative hierarchy. Two Assistant General Managers, one responsible for the educational issues and the other for the administrative functions at the school, together with the principal are responsible to the Administrative Board. There are 106 (78 full-time and 28 part-time) teachers at the school employed through yearly contracts. The recruitment, selection and training stages are organised by a body consisting of the general manager, the principal, department heads and a group of experienced teachers.

According to the data received from the administration, most students in the school come from families whose first priority is a quality education and who are

able to bear a heavy financial burden to insure their children obtain that education. The school currently provides education to 1239 students in 1998-1999 academic year. Accepted class size is approximately 25 students. Students are admitted to the school based on the results of nationwide private school examinations.

Research method

Qualitative case study methods and procedures were used to explore the perceptions of MOE centralised instructional supervision. In general, case study methods are the preferred strategy when 'how,' or 'why' questions are uppermost in the researcher's mind, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context. A qualitative case study sets out to describe that unit in depth, in detail, in context and holistically (Patton, 1987).

The participants of this study were the members of the administrative board (2), the principal, assistant heads (3 out of 6), department heads (all 6), and teachers (15 out of 78 full-time teachers). Teachers and assistant heads were chosen by stratified random sampling. The strata for the teachers included subject area, overall teaching experience, teaching experience in the school, gender and level being taught. One lowest, one middle and one highest level assistant head were selected for the purpose of representative sampling.

Three qualitative data collection techniques were used; namely interview, critical incident and the review of related documents. Interview schedules were designed for each subject group, i.e. members of the administrative board, the principal, assistant heads, department heads and teachers. The principal and the sampled teachers were also asked to write what they considered to be successful and unsuccessful supervisory experiences, using a critical incident form developed by the researcher.

The school documents reviewed included announcements, school leaflets, training programmes and administrative documents. These documents were analysed in order to generate supplementary data beyond that provided by the interviews and critical incidents.

The data collected through interviews and critical incidents were subjected to content analysis to determine patterns of perceptions and to examine the MOE inspection process. As Bogdan and Biklen (1992) point out, data analysis is the systematic process of searching and arranging the interview transcripts, field-notes and other material that is accumulated by the researcher with a view to increasing the understanding of the data. The process enables the researcher to present what has been discovered to others. In this process, analysis involves

working with data, organising them, breaking them into manageable units, synthesising them, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and, ultimately, deciding what relevant facts are to be presented. Thus, the data in this study were labelled using descriptive codes, thereby, simplifying the complexity into manageable units. The patterns were then identified on the basis of these labels, with the data being tabulated into broader categories. The major topics and themes helped to identify the concepts and the central ideas. During the write-up period, the results of the data analysis derived from the interviews and the critical incidents were integrated with the information obtained from the written documents. This permitted the researcher to draw a coherent picture of the perception of the MOE inspection process.

Results

Structure of the Ministry of Education inspection

At irregular intervals Ministry inspectors evaluate administrative issues and teachers' performance. On the basis of such evaluations, the inspectors determine the extent of the school's conformity to state-specified curriculum guidelines. The data reveal that during the administrative inspection the inspectors check curricular policies, general organisation and staff deployment, composition and organisation of the governing body, links with parents and outside bodies (such as MOE, Teacher Organisations, Educational Department of Universities and other schools), the pattern of staff and parents meetings, school activities and routines (including calendar of events, assessment and recording systems, departmental reports, examination results, student-related paperwork such as, 'dismissal papers'), staff evaluation and development arrangements and teacher induction and probation, and, lastly, school financial and management systems.

There is no specific frequency regarding the inspection of teacher performance. The school involved in this case-study had its last ministry inspection two years ago. Some teachers say they have had ministry inspection every two to three years, some every five years. Some teachers even mention that they have not been inspected in the last seven years. The discrepancy is due to variance between different groups of inspectors for different subject matter. If, for instance, Mathematics and Science Departments are inspected one year, English or Art Departments are more likely to be inspected the following year.

The data reveal that during a planned visit, inspectors tend to spend one or two weeks at the school. The inspection starts with an initial visit to the principal. After this meeting, the inspector sometimes has one meeting with the whole department.

The inspector may then conduct individual meetings with every teacher in that department. During the general meeting, s/he talks about the two areas of inspection: inspection of required paper work and class performance observation. The research data indicates that teachers mention that the inspectors require every teacher to have a file consisting of the pertinent papers, i.e. dictates of Ministerial Regulations Journal, yearly departmental syllabus, daily plan, grade notebook, example of exam papers, and graded papers. Teachers are also informed of the number of class visits. The intended schedule is to conduct two visits for those teachers who have less than five years' experience, and one visit for those teachers with more than five years' experience. During each visit one lesson is observed. Inspectors insist that the lesson observed should not consist of either class exercises or oral examination - inspectors generally like to observe class participation, but require teacher direction and control of that participation. After this general meeting the inspector meets individual teachers to decide the best time for the class visit. However, some inspectors fail to follow this procedure and begin their class visits immediately.

The data also indicate that different inspectors conduct the observation using different methods. Their strategy depends on whether they are subject-specific inspectors or not, as well as on their attitude towards the inspection. If the inspector is not a subject-specific one, s/he tends to focus on the general classroom atmosphere – such as lesson flow, student-teacher interaction and the teacher's ability to use different teaching techniques. The principal, assistant heads, department heads and the teachers generally note that subject-specific inspectors tend to take into account the teacher's knowledge of subject matter besides the quality of teaching. The data reveal that some inspectors interact with the class by asking questions related to the lesson. Some may, however, go beyond their prescribed role and attempt to teach the lesson, thereby, risking belittling the teacher in the eyes of the students.

The attitude of the inspector towards the teacher tends to be determined by the individual's personality. Some inspectors have a friendly and informal talk with the teacher before the inspection process, helping to calm nerves and establish a productive relationship. Others, however, were reported to treat the teacher in a condescending manner. This causes frustration and friction between the inspector and the teacher. To explain the situation one senior teacher stated that some inspectors are polite and they enter the class with the teacher. On the other hand, some do not care and enter the class even after the lesson has begun. They do not seem mindful of the fact that they disrupt the students' and the teacher's concentration.

The data further reveal that after the observation of the lesson, inspectors do not provide teachers with formal written feedback. At best, some inspectors give

informal verbal feedback – many just thank the teacher, leaving the classroom without any comment at all, particularly if they are generally satisfied with what they have observed. However, if the lesson has not gone particularly well, inspectors warn the teachers about the weak points. The data indicates that most teachers consider such points to be typically petty procedural matters. Indeed, teachers typically claim more constructive feedback sessions after the classroom observation. They feel inspectors should discuss both positive and negative aspects of their evaluations. Positive behaviors should be emphasised to encourage teachers and to elicit more commitment and more effective teaching. One teacher explained that it is difficult to discuss anything with inspectors, given that the latter adopt the role of superiors. Inspection is described as a ‘one-way street’ in which the inspector comes, observes, writes the report, but does not give the teacher a chance to participate in any of the evaluation process. A teacher commented that this was very much like a ‘secret agent’ assignment, in that one of the participants, the teacher, is not allowed to know what is going on before and/or after the inspection. However, a few teachers indicated that some inspectors have post-observation meetings with the members of the whole department and discuss the weaknesses, in general, and suggest better ways to handle the lessons.

The inspection yields two outcomes: a departmental grade, and individual teacher performance reports. The MOE’s final report, whether it be a positive or negative assessment, is cumulative of all assessments within the given department. It consists of a grade from zero to five and a written report to the MOE. This grade is announced at the general staff meeting by the principal. Ministry inspectors also fill out ‘State Civil Servant Personnel Reports’ before leaving the school. These reports are maintained in the MOE on each teacher. The principal indicates that the form is a standard government form used for the review of all civil servants, not a custom-made form meant solely for the teaching profession. The review sometimes results in positive consequences for teachers. One department head noted, for instance, that that if any teacher receives a ‘very good’ report, that teacher is rewarded with a ‘thank you’ letter from the MOE. If this occasion is repeated three times, the teacher is rewarded with one additional month’s salary, regardless of whether s/he teaches in a private or public school.

To sum up, the MOE inspection does not, in general, go any further than checking a few required documents and observing some of the teachers once or twice in the classroom setting. There is relatively little input from inspectors as to the teacher’s performance and how any observation data might be used to enhance the teacher’s performance. The results of this study indicate that the ministry inspectors rely on simplified definitions of evaluation, procedures and processes that have remained virtually unchanged on paper or in practice for years.

Effectiveness of the Ministry of Education inspection system

The data generated by the present study indicate that centralised teacher supervision is criticised firstly with regards the quality of inspectors, and secondly in terms of the nature of the process of supervision itself.

When considering prevalent characteristics of inspectors, teachers describe the latter as being 'perfectionist', 'judgmental' and ultimately 'incompetent'. Inspectors are seen to be domineering and judgemental, as if carrying out their observations from an 'ivory tower'. Teachers point out that inspectors, even though they were teachers at one time, have forgotten both the natural classroom setting and the problems related to teaching. They further state that rather than an evaluation, the review turns from the teacher's qualifications to what the inspector has done or can do. Some inspectors tend to dominate the discussions and even interfere with the lesson in progress. In the opinion of the teachers involved in this case-study, the system, as interpreted by the inspectors, encourages high inspector/low teacher involvement. Inspectors end up disturbing the class dynamics, causing irritation to teacher and students alike. One teacher noted that 'inspection is scary not only for teachers, but also for the students as well'.

Teachers find inspectors judgemental in that they gather information from the principal and then review teacher from a prejudiced point of view. To further support their allegation, teachers state that inspectors do not have a constructive attitude. One teacher explained: 'It is inevitable that the teachers are discouraged as a result of this process,' since 'it is unlikely that an inspector would like a lesson; they always, only, find something negative to say.' Further, inspectors are cited as being 'incompetent' in their subject matter and their inspection ability by the teachers, the department heads and the assistant heads. They do not seem to have enough relevant knowledge in the subject matter that they evaluate the teachers in. They have little, if any, fluency in English and the teachers do not understand how they can evaluate something that they cannot even comprehend. Teachers support their claim by stating that some teachers have attended in-service training and are aware of recent improvements in their field, whereas inspectors show little knowledge of the current state of teaching practices and methods. When considering inspection ability, inspectors are criticised for not following universally accepted inspection procedures. One teacher explained: 'To improve something there needs to be an efficient feedback system...however, today's inspectors evaluate judgmentally, and advice the teachers to do this or that, in general, after observation, which is neglected most of the times. The inspectors do not place any effort or importance on improving the method of instruction.'

Regarding the nature of MOE inspection, the process is viewed as summative rather than formative, and biased. It was pointed out that there are not enough

inspectors to perform a comprehensive review of school systems, which could provide formative evaluation. One assistant head, who had worked as a Ministry inspector, explained that when he was in the system, each inspector had 150 teachers to evaluate. He noted that there are only 85 working days in each school term, which is approximately half the number of teachers required to be inspected - and that it was therefore impossible for an inspector to fit in his or her quota of inspections within the number of days available. One teacher emphasised the fact that 'what the inspectors see is not the natural learning setting and the teaching context; they observe each teacher only once or twice during the teachers' tenure in the profession and the evaluation is seen as only synonymous with minimal observation.' Therefore, most of the teachers believe that ministry inspectors are easily deceived. For example, one teacher said that 'if a teacher wants, s/he can present a very different classroom image, which is acceptable to the inspectors. S/he might prepare a very attractive lesson that provides the inspector with what he expects and wants.' One department head shared the same feeling, saying: 'inspectors cannot judge the teacher within this short time frame and that justifies the schools having their own school-based evaluation system.' Another teacher expressed a similar view when he argued that inspection should not be done solely for the sake of fulfilling a required assignment. Each participant should benefit from the activity. The teachers feel that they are judged on certain traits, characteristics, styles or behaviours that are considered important by the MOE. Other issues important to the school and to the teachers are, generally speaking, ignored.

For these and other reasons, the present study clearly indicates that the teachers involved in this case study do not believe in the way the Ministry Inspection is currently carried out. Recently an additional issue has been raised in this regard: despite the fact that inspectors are expected to be impartial in their evaluation, focusing only on teacher performance, there are increasing doubts as to the ability of inspectors to keep their political and religious persuasions aside. Teachers also often noted that the MOE inspection system is far from being objective, with inspectors evaluating the teachers' class performance on the basis of ill-defined criteria. One teacher noted that inspectors give more importance to the papers rather than to the teacher's performance in class. She added that if a teacher does not happen to have one of the required documents - however insignificant - s/he is heavily criticised by the inspector.

In summary, the reliability of the total inspection system by the MOE is questionable. In its present form, the system serves little value other than to administratively say 'we are in compliance with the governmental requirements for inspections.' Those interviewed felt that since inspection is compulsory, the Ministry should take immediate and effective steps to ensure that those inspectors

who represent the MOE are competent and knowledgeable in whatever subject area they evaluate. The primary goal should be to maintain high standards for the sake of the public, the teachers, the students and even the inspectors themselves. Interviewees also expressed the view that inspectors should be familiar with the latest teaching techniques, and should be up-to-date regarding the particular subject being observed. Moreover, it was argued that the MOE should find a way to employ more inspectors so that more time could be devoted to each teacher in order to provide formative support to improve the quality of instruction. There seems to be an agreement that it would be wise to explore opportunities to link the ministry inspection with the school-based evaluation system, since this would considerably reduce the work load for both the ministry inspectors and the principals. Lastly, one of the teachers recommended that the MOE inspection system should not be tied to the government offices, but should be an independent unit under the responsibility of the President.

Impact of the Ministry of Education inspection

Most teachers expressed the view that there is relatively little impact of the inspection process on the teaching and learning context. They resent MOE inspection and they see it as a non-academic exercise, a hindrance to their class time and a waste of their energies. They also consider that the reliance of the school administration on MOE inspection as a basis for supplemental information regarding teacher performance is highly questionable.

In some instances, however, inspection reports filed with the MOE are deemed to have positive results. These forms, though administrative, acknowledge individual teacher performance when this is deserved. This acknowledgment is shown by the issuance of letters of outstanding performance. The school recognises these letters as an achievement on the teachers' part and does give credit for having received such documents during the contract renewal period.

One could also argue that, despite the criticism on the part of teachers, the MOE does play a positive if limited role in the evaluation of teachers, thereby contributing to school development. School administrators prepare extensively and place a great deal of importance on passing the inspection. The exercise enhances the school's ability to ensure accountability to the major stakeholders. However, this inspection tends to only cater for the administrative auditing of the school. As teachers generally pointed out, it has little impact on teacher improvement. The stated role of MOE is to improve and maintain minimal educational levels. However, due to either staffing and/or lack of direction within the MOE, it fails to foster a strategy leading to competent teacher improvement programmes. It serves only to ensure that school administrative documents are in the required order.

Discussion

For the most part, it would seem that MOE inspection provides little, if any, methodological feedback and instruction for improvement to individual teachers. The summative nature of the existing inspection system detracts from any structural formative possibilities to improve instruction (Oliva, 1989). As suggested earlier, this relates directly to both the number and the quality of inspectors available. Currently, the MOE employs only 310 inspectors to evaluate 140,000 secondary school teachers. Of course, this results in difficulties for the inspection system. Given that those visits to schools are multi-faceted, including interviews with principals, assistant heads and teachers, as well as inspections of documentation over and above classroom visits, it is no wonder that follow-up assessments and formative advice receive little priority. The MOE authorities state that they can employ 200 more inspectors. They cannot, however, fill the vacant positions due to the high expectations in the current selection criteria and procedures. The pre-1993 inspectors still make up between 70 to 80% of active inspectors (Ministry of Education Board of Inspectors Regulation, 1993). Moreover, the motivation behind being an inspector for the MOE is questionable, especially when the heavy workload these inspectors are expected to shoulder is taken into account.

To be able to evaluate performance, one needs to observe action in a number of settings and at various intervals. Given the number of inspectors, frequency of teacher inspection might – at best – occur once in three years. This inspection lasts anywhere from 15 to 40 minutes. In such circumstances, it is doubtful whether the MOE inspection can fulfil its summative function, let alone any formative ones. Despite this, reports are generated purporting to reflect the situation in schools and classrooms. Such reports can have little, if any, impact on the quality of teaching and learning.

Turkey has undertaken the long road to integration into the European Union. In doing so it has to face the prospect that to be 'within Europe is to rank on the same statistical indicators of Europe' (Gomes, 1996). The social character of Turkey is one of a 'Mediterranean reality' (Sultana, 1996) which shares a common history and climate with all of the other states bordering on the 'White Sea', as the Mediterranean is called in Turkey. Like most of the other Mediterranean basin states, Turkey has centralised government services. The experience of several other countries with centralised systems is that reform is necessary in order to attain teacher accountability. The classical French system, the spirit of which is reflected in Turkey, tends to nurture a body of civil servants who fail to adopt a progressive attitude. This system perpetuates itself and advances either politics or personal desires. In theory the school system is supposed to be non-political and secular; in reality, however, formal education is used by the political parties

in power to promote not only their own agendas, but also their own people through favouritism. For the issues discussed thus far, it is the opinion of the author that two alternatives for improvement may be viable: one must either alter the system, adopting a practice similar to that currently used in England, or alternatively make a commitment to increasing the importance of school-based supervision where formative issues are central to the process.

Implementation of the first alternative would involve placing an inspection division under an independent agency reporting directly to the office of the President. As in the English system, the inspection would be performed by independent inspector teams contracted by the agency. This would promote professionalism among inspectors, removing them from the civil servant realm. Change is difficult and can only be accomplished by attrition in stages, i.e. as inspectors retire. While phasing out the civil service sector, the new agency would take over a district at a time with the private contractors. It could certainly be argued that such a programme would cost more than that currently in place. That is probable true, but one could also argue that Turkey cannot afford to continue in the same mode if it is to match the education indicators that prevail in Europe. The return on such an investment would manifest itself in two ways: improved teacher assessment, from both a formative and a summative point of view; and improved learning, which is the natural consequence of improved teaching.

The other alternative would involve school administrators (i.e. principals, assistant heads and department heads) more directly and thoroughly in formative supervision. Their proximity to the individual teachers on a day-to-day basis provides them with the opportunity to develop professional relationships with teaching staff, to gauge the personal and professional needs of teachers, to be aware of their strengths and weaknesses, and to build a team spirit where the goal is improvement rather than inspection for its own sake. This alternative favours decentralisation, with government possibly instituting continued education programmes in order to certify school administrators for their new role. One obvious advantage would be that over 9500 more personnel – a calculation based on the number of secondary schools within the current school system – would be available to carry out supervision and assessment.

In general, the MOE must find a balance between monetary constraints and the needs of a burgeoning educational system. There is surely no place for waste – either of energy or of funds. Cost-effectiveness and value-for-money in education is vital if one is to ensure that future generations are provided for with an improved educational service. Failure to develop an adequate teacher supervision system can only lead to stagnation. It is through the constant improvement of teacher effectiveness in classrooms that progress in educational quality for all can be attained.

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THE NEED FOR SPECIALIST TRAINING IN THE EDUCATION OF DEAF CHILDREN IN GREECE: LISTENING TO TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS

MAGDA NIKOLARAIZI

Abstract – *In view of the ongoing discussion concerning teacher training requirements, this study explores the views concerning the role of teacher training of those teachers who are involved in the education of deaf children in Greece. These views were elicited through in-depth, open-ended interviews, and the data generated were analysed using grounded theorising. Teachers indicated that they were being asked to respond to the needs of deaf children without having the relevant background knowledge or the initial or in-service training needed to enable them to be adequately prepared for such a responsibility. They described their job as difficult, explained that they felt insecure and unsupported, and that they doubted whether they could achieve communication with deaf children. Their comments served as a basis for an insight into teachers' perceptions and a broader understanding of their needs. The latter included an emphasis on adequate initial and in-service training, as well as on the constant provision of relevant information and support, all of which would enable the teacher to become a more effective educator of a deaf child.*

Introduction

The two interrelated reforms in special education, integration and recently inclusion, resulted in an increasing number of children with special needs being educated in regular classrooms (Minke, Bear, Deemer and Griffin, 1996; Fuchs and Fuchs, 1994). In view of the ongoing changes in the field of Special Educational Needs (SEN), the role of the SEN teacher is gradually being redefined. An emphasis is being placed on teacher effectiveness (Ainscow, 1993) with the role of the SEN and regular teacher being constantly reconsidered. Recent data in the U.S.A. reported a critical shortage of appropriately qualified special educators, who tend to leave their teaching positions because they feel overwhelmed, unsupported, unprepared and disempowered (Rosenberg, Griffin, Kilgore and Carpenter, 1997). While special teachers have such feelings and leave their jobs, there is a prevailing view that all teachers, and not necessarily SEN teachers, can serve children's

needs if they possess a set of appropriate teaching skills (Dyson, 1994) and if they are prepared to work with a full range of children in programmes designed to serve all students (Swartz, Hidalgo and Hays, 1991-92).

Critics of the inclusion movement (Semmel, Abernathy, Butera and Lesar, 1991; Kauffman, 1989) doubt whether regular teachers are competent and able to respond to the needs of all children in their regular classrooms. Furthermore, regular teachers often perceive themselves as being unprepared and incompetent (Whinnery, Fuchs and Fuchs, 1991) and feel that they do not possess the skills required to teach children with special needs (Semmel *et al.*, 1991; Kauffman, 1989). Even the most effective regular classroom teachers judge that the required instructional and curricular adaptations for children with special needs are often unfeasible in regular classrooms (Scumm and Vaughn, 1991). Under the current circumstances in an average regular classroom with a large number of children and limited time to devote to each child, regular teachers recognise that the needs of all children with and without disabilities cannot be met in the same classroom (Fuchs and Fuchs, 1994; Semmel, Gerbel and MacMillan, 1994).

Serious concerns have been expressed regarding the lack of effective teaching in the area of SEN, which has led to a closer scrutiny of the role of teachers (Hall and Dixon, 1995). This situation is frustrating, because a necessary prerequisite for the provision of effective education for students with SEN is the provision of qualified and effective teachers (Rosenberg, Griffin, Kilgore and Carpenter, 1997). Considering the fact that a growing number of children are educated in regular classrooms, effective teachers need to be located in regular classrooms. Unfortunately, initial teacher education (ITE) does not enable teachers to respond to the diverse needs of students with SEN (Goodlad and Field, 1993; Fullan, 1991). There is always a need for further in-service training (Fish, 1985), which also does not always appear to be effective (Lyon, Vaasen and Toomey, 1989).

These concerns regarding low teacher effectiveness have been quite intense in the area of teaching deaf children. Specifically, Luckner (1991) expressed his worries regarding the fact that several educational programmes failed to respond to the needs of deaf children. While there are several factors that may contribute to this situation, such as issues of communication policy and organisational problems (Allen, 1994), curriculum goals, strategies and materials used (Luckner, 1999), a focus should also be placed on teacher's knowledge and ability to teach deaf children, which further shifts our attention to the role of teacher training or staff development for teachers of deaf children (Luckner, 1999; Allen, 1994).

The education of deaf children requires teaching staff with combined

knowledge in various areas such as audiology, psychology, linguistics, psycholinguistics, modes of communication and the application of such knowledge to the individual needs of the children (Markides, 1986). Regardless of the educational setting where the deaf child is located, much of the responsibility for the child's education is placed on the shoulders of the specialist teacher of the deaf (Lewis, 2000).

The value of this role can be better enhanced, considering that in many countries it is a mandatory requirement for teachers willing to become involved in the education of deaf children to be specially trained. This is the case in the U.K., where teachers are required to attend a full-time one-year or a part-time two-year course in order to be qualified as teachers of deaf children (Training Establishments for Teachers of the Deaf in England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, 1995), and also, in the U.S.A., where specific standards have been developed as a foundation for the development and maintenance of effective teacher training programmes for teachers of deaf children (Joint Standards Committee of the National Council on Education of the Deaf and the Council for Exceptional Children, 1996).

Also, entrants to training courses for teachers of the deaf are usually required to come with teaching experience, following the rationale that if the education of children with special needs is considered as an integral part of the ordinary school, then the special teaching staff need to have a common base of training with mainstream teachers and be familiar with the mainstream context (Hegarty, 1993).

Unfortunately, training for teachers of deaf children has recently been criticised (Rittenhouse and Kenyon-Rittenhouse, 1997) for failing to prepare teachers effectively. This situation poses questions regarding the reasons that cause low effectiveness. An answer may be that training courses do not match teachers' expectations because teachers' needs are not properly assessed. Staff development courses and teachers training programmes often do not consider teachers' beliefs and prior experiences (Rosenberg, Jackson, and Yeh, 1996), teachers are not involved in identifying their needs (Allen, 1994) and time is not dedicated to listening to teachers' experiences and exploring their perceptions regarding the role of training.

The aim of this paper is to add a broader understanding to the issue of staff development and in-service training of teachers of the deaf, by listening to the views of people who are directly involved in this training, namely teachers working with deaf children. The study explored the experiences, perceptions and attitudes of teachers in Greece currently educating deaf children, with regard to teacher education and its implications in the education of deaf children.

The Greek context

The education of deaf children

Greece is a country in the south-eastern part of Europe with a total population of approximately 10.25 million. Out of 2,050,400 children aged 5-19 years (National Statistical Service of Greece, 1994), and based on international data (Parving and Hauch, 1994), it is estimated that there were around 3,076 hard-of-hearing and deaf students in 1991, while 668 hard-of-hearing and deaf children were registered in special schools and special units (Ministry of Education, 1995).

The educational provision for deaf children in Greece ranges from special residential schools, to resource rooms and special units for hard-of-hearing and deaf children, which are mostly located in the major cities of Greece. The special schools for the deaf belong either to the Ministry of Education or to the National Institute for the Deaf (NID), which falls under the responsibility of the Ministry of Health and Welfare and is supervised for its educational function by the Ministry of Education. The NID was founded in Athens in 1937 and in the period from 1956 to 1970 the Institute established residential schools in five more cities, among which the primary school in Thessaloniki that was founded in 1958 (Lampropoulou, 1989).

The special units and resource rooms for hard-of-hearing and deaf children belong to the Ministry of Education. They started to operate in around 1985, when Law 1566/85 introduced the educational trend towards integration. Their establishment regarding the education of deaf children was limited in North Greece, mainly in Thessaloniki, and no other units for deaf children have been established in the other parts of Greece. This is due to the fact that at that period the Association of Parents and Guardians of hard-of-hearing children was founded in Thessaloniki. This association defended the aural approach, supported integration, and opposed the education of deaf children in Special Schools and the use of any mode of communication that included signing. The Association exercised considerable pressure on the State and played a critical role in the establishment of special classes and units in nursery, primary and secondary education:

The philosophy of the educational settings concerning the mode of communication is either Oral/Aural approach or Total Communication (T.C.). In units, the Oral/Aural approach has been adopted as the only mode of communication. In Special Schools for the Deaf, depending on the school communication policy, either the Oral/Aural approach or Total Communication is used. Bilingualism, which has been adopted during the last years as a mode of

communication in schools for the deaf in some countries, such as Sweden and the U.K., is not an official mode of communication in any of the educational settings for deaf children in Greece.

Teacher training

Initial teacher training

Up to 1981, the general training of primary teachers was two years in duration. A new law was then introduced (Law 1262/82) stipulating that Pedagogical Academies (Teachers Training Colleges) would cease to operate. They were replaced by Pedagogical Faculties (University level) and the initial teacher education (ITE) of teachers in primary education was extended from two to four years.

Nowadays, during ITE teachers are required to attend around 3-4 modules in the education of children with SEN, the content of which varies among the Pedagogical Faculties and Departments in the various Universities in Greece. The Pedagogical Department of Primary Education in the University of Patras (South Greece) offers some modules specifically in the education of the deaf, but in the rest of the Pedagogical Faculties students usually attend a generic module in the education of children with SEN, among which 1-2 sessions may be dedicated to the education of the deaf. In addition, since 1998, a new Department of Special Education started to operate in the University of Thessalia, in central part of Greece, which plans to offer several modules in teaching deaf children during the 4th year of studies.

It needs to be clarified that all the above information concerns pre-service teacher training for mainstream teachers in pre-school and primary education. Teacher training requirements for teachers in secondary education are different. They include the attendance of a 4-year course, which is focused on a subject such as language, physics, maths, during which students rarely may have the chance to attend any modules in SEN. In particular, only students that study Psychology or Physical Education have the opportunity to attend some generic modules in SEN, without, however, having specific modules in the education of deaf children.

In-service training for teachers of deaf children

The first legislation on special teacher training was introduced in 1972 (Decree 1222/72), which introduced the additional training of teachers in special education for one year apart from their main training course and later, Law 225/75 established a two year in-service training course in special educational needs. This course is selective and teachers who are interested in attending it have to meet

particular requirements, that is, having past experience in general teaching and succeeding in the relevant exams (Ministry of Education, 1994). This two year in-service training programme operated only in Athens until 1997, after which additional training courses in Thessaloniki (North Greece) and Ioannina (West Greece) started to be offered. These courses are generic, not specifically targeted at any particular disability and although they do offer some modules in the education of the deaf, they do not provide teachers with the opportunity to acquire a deep knowledge and specific understanding of the educational needs of deaf children. Apart from this training course, there is no specific training for teachers of the deaf. The NID used to offer a one year in-service course for its new teachers, but this does not operate any more (Lampropoulou, 1989).

All the above information regarding in-service training concerns primary education teachers. There are no special training courses for secondary school teachers, in either generic SEN education, or specifically in deaf studies. Therefore, teachers who work with deaf children are not trained, and they had and continue to have almost no opportunity to receive any type of in-service training in the education of deaf children.

The study

Research method

In view of the concerns regarding training requirements for teachers working with deaf children, a qualitative study was undertaken in order to explore the views of teachers currently involved in the education of deaf children in Greece with an aim to illustrate how the system of training for teachers of the deaf is organised in Greece, and what the implications of this training are for teachers and children. Qualitative measures are considered as an effective way in research (Luckner, 1999; Rittenhouse and Kenyon-Rittenhouse, 1997; Clark and Peterson, 1986) of listening to people's views, enabling in-depth consideration of people's ideas and attributing a special importance to the individuality of each person's view. A semi-structured in-depth interview was used as a research tool that promotes deeper understanding and insight into people's perceptions (Cohen and Manion, 1997). The interview was guided by an interview guide, involving the following open-ended questions, which were used to encouraged teachers to share their perspectives regarding their role as a teacher educating deaf children:

- What are your experiences regarding your initial training as well as in-service training in the area of deafness?

- What is your opinion regarding the role of teacher training for a teacher of the deaf?
- How would you describe the education of deaf children?
- What are the reasons that urged you to work in the education of deaf children?
- What are your current needs as a teacher of the deaf?

The participants

Participants in this study were teachers selected from north Greece and in particular from the city of Thessaloniki, a city of approximately 1 million inhabitants (the second biggest city in Greece). The city of Thessaloniki was chosen for this study because it was the only city in Greece where the educational staff worked in a range of educational settings for deaf children, while in other cities there were no units or resource settings for hard-of-hearing and deaf children, but only special schools.

Out of the total 50 teachers working with deaf children in primary and secondary settings in Thessaloniki, 25 teachers participated in this research, working across the whole range of educational settings for deaf children in Thessaloniki, special schools and units for the deaf and hard-of-hearing, at pre-school, primary and secondary education. Specifically, 13 teachers worked in primary and pre-school education (6 in special schools and 7 in special classes and units) and 12 teachers worked in secondary education (7 in special schools and 5 in units). Their age ranged from 30 to 48 years, their teaching experience in regular classroom before getting involved in the education of deaf children ranged from none to 18 years, while their teaching experience with deaf children ranged from 1 to 25 years. In this study, all teachers in primary schools were trained as teachers in Pedagogical Academies (which, as noted earlier, no longer operate) while teachers in secondary education graduated from the University. There are no University graduates among teachers in special schools or special units for deaf children in primary schools. Due to the limited employment opportunities for teachers in Greece, teachers who graduated recently from University are likely to be unemployed or work in villages, small towns and mostly in general classrooms. On the contrary, teachers who graduated many years ago and who are more experienced are entitled to work in big cities and in special educational settings.

Analysis

The interviews were audiotaped and transcribed and their analysis was based on the principles of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and techniques that are suggested by Powney and Watts (1987). By reading the transcriptions,

familiarity with the transcript was achieved and meaningful units of analysis, which appeared to be informative for this study, were subsequently identified. The units were gradually related to the research focus and themes, and categories singled out. Specifically, the categories included information on the following topics: initial training, in-service training, the role of the peripatetic teacher for deaf children, and the implications of all these factors in the way that teachers perceived their role towards deaf children.

The presentation of the analysis were made in a manner which enabled the informants to speak for themselves. In particular, it included (a) the participants' comments, which were quoted so that the reader could have direct access to the ideas and perceptions of teachers in the exact way that they were expressed and (b) these comments were enriched and compared with literature findings as well as analysed, interpreted and discussed by the author.

There was no intention to focus on the numerical or proportional frequency of the responses of the participants. The overall goal was to highlight the importance and power of individual responses in defining and evaluating reality, a point that has been underlined by Larcher (1993). In conclusion, the comments quoted illustrate a range of perceptions which were expressed in this study either by a small or a large number of parents and teachers.

Findings

A very interesting issue regarding the participants in this study was the fact that teachers working with deaf children were not trained to work as teachers of the deaf, since there are no training courses for teachers of the deaf in Greece. Furthermore, in their majority teachers had no background knowledge in the education of the deaf before they started to work in educational settings for deaf children. During their ITE, no modules in the education of the deaf were offered. Also, no in-service training courses for teachers of the deaf were available. Only 8 teachers, who were employed by the NID attended a course for a period of around 10 months in the education of the deaf. This course is no longer offered: it used to be offered by the NID many years ago exclusively to newly employed teachers, but it was not recognised by the State as an official qualification of a teacher of the deaf. Until now, there has been no other initiative to establish in-service training courses specifically in the education of deaf children. Therefore, the perceptions of these teachers that attended the NID course regarding the role of teacher training in the education of deaf children are quite unique, since they are the only ones who had the experience of training in Greece and could comment on its the role. Their comments reflected positive experiences, as can be seen from the following representative comment:

'We attended a one-year training course, which included theoretical and practical sessions. We attended various modules and listened to many professionals... in addition we observed teachers of the deaf in their classroom and also did some teaching. In this way, when I became a teacher of the deaf I felt that I was somehow qualified to teach deaf children, although I believe that I need more extended training. I expected that the NID training would be upgraded and continue to be offered to teachers willing to work with deaf children. Instead, this form of training does not operate any more and there is no training course for teachers of the deaf in Greece.'

Considering the short duration of the NID course, and the fact that teacher training in SEN has often been described as insufficient (Wilmore, 1996) it is encouraging that the NID training had this positive impact on this teacher's self-confidence, making her feel at that time qualified to teach deaf children. Naturally, after a period of time, through her experience as a teacher of deaf children, the teacher discovered that training is an on-going process, that NID training, albeit valuable, was not sufficient, and had to be further enriched and extended. This is not surprising, since there is a difference between training and teaching, between feeling confident and qualified just after having attended a training course and feeling effective as a teacher of the deaf in the classroom, by managing to respond to the needs of the deaf child and implement the knowledge and skills acquired during the training (Burden, 1990).

In the same way, the following teacher, as well as all the teachers who attended the NID training course, acknowledged its contribution, underlining, however, that no in-service training can be considered as a panacea for teachers involved in the education of the deaf. There is always a need to keep up with the ongoing changes in the educational world and teachers need to go through a continuing process of learning, which can be realised only through the constant in-service training.

'I attended the one-year training, but there is a need for frequent seminars, for further training to take place so that I will have the opportunity to update my knowledge concerning the latest advances in the education of the deaf, so that I feel that I have new ideas and that I can offer new things to the children as a teacher.'

Apart from the teachers who attended a training course and who commented on the positive role of training, the following teachers, who did not have any training experience, acknowledged the role of training in an indirect way, by

admitting that a teacher working with deaf children needs to have a broad knowledge in the educational needs of the deaf population.

'There are deaf children in our school with multiple disabilities, such as physical and health impairments or a range of learning difficulties. Therefore, teachers need to have a broad knowledge on various subjects, such as psychology, education of the deaf, audiology, language development, speech therapy, so that they can best respond to the needs of the children.'

'The teacher who works with deaf children should be knowledgeable about several issues, since in our school we deal with various children who are so different, and who beside their deafness might have other disabilities and we do not know how to treat them and how to educate them.'

Deaf children are considered to be a heterogeneous group (Maxon, 1990). This diversity requires the teacher of the deaf to have various skills and knowledge bases, in order to respond to the diverse needs of the children. Furthermore, the above teacher was especially concerned about a group of deaf children with special educational needs. During the last years a shift of school population has been observed from special schools to resource rooms or mainstream classes, and an increased number of deaf children with additional needs has been observed in special schools. In some countries such as in the U.S.A. there is a special training course for teachers working with deaf children with additional disabilities (Moores, 1996) while in the UK there is a course for teachers working with deaf-blind children.

Regardless of the level of knowledge and skills that a teacher may possess through initial or in-service training, there is always a need for additional support and knowledge, which can mainly be derived from a special advisor in the education of the deaf, a peripatetic teacher of the deaf (U.K.) or the itinerant teacher (U.S.A.), who informs and supports teachers regarding issues in deafness. The itinerant teacher can be responsible in providing instruction to deaf children, as well as supporting and informing the educational staff. Unfortunately, this service does not operate in Greece. There are only general SEN advisors but not at specific areas of SEN, such as the education of the deaf, while in secondary education there are no SEN advisors at all. In this way teachers remain alone and unsupported, although they are in great need of information as well as emotional support, as indicated through the following comments:

'Well, it is certainly difficult to work with deaf children and after working for many years you feel a bit frustrated, because there

is no feedback from children and very slow progress, which discourages you.'

'It is interesting but also difficult, and you feel psychologically tired. It's not so simple like teaching hearing children. Even if you plan your lesson you can rarely follow it, and many problems come up. It is a difficult job, when we finish the lesson I feel psychologically tired and I don't have the strength to help my child.'

'We need the support of a special advisor, who would guide and inform us concerning deafness, Unfortunately, there is no advisor in special education, there is nobody to guide and counsel us.'

'There is nobody who can support the children or me, somebody who could come frequently to my classroom and advise me, give me some guidelines. I feel that I cannot respond because I do not know how, I need more knowledge, additional training, but there is nothing in Greece.'

'I am not trained, I do not know what is appropriate for children, and in addition there is no trained specialist in the education of the deaf, an advisor that can help and support us. Teachers may be interested in the education of deaf children but if they have no knowledge in the field and if they are not supported, how can they become better teachers for the deaf child? We may try different approaches and methods searching to find out what might be successful, experimenting to see whether any of our ideas may succeed. In this way, we lose precious time, children are not properly educated and we do not feel satisfied.'

The role of the 'special needs' expert, who constitutes a resource and a consultant to specialist colleagues has been well documented (Harrison, 1993; Thomas and Smith, 1985). Furthermore, the empowering role of itinerant teachers, the positive impact that they can have on the education of deaf children and the support and guidance that they can offer is well acknowledged (Yarger and Luckner, 1999). Collaborating with the itinerant teacher helps teachers develop a broad base of knowledge and respond to the diverse needs of students, whilst also enabling them to acquire additional skills, such as learning to collaborate effectively with families (Yarger and Luckner, 1999), an issue that has been discussed by the following teacher:

'Well, it is very interesting to educate deaf children, but it is also quite difficult. In many cases, we are so alone... parents do not help their children, they do not try to communicate, they do not want to learn Sign Language and as you understand communication can not

rely only on lip-reading. Some parents reject Sign Language but fortunately these parents are very few. Some parents accept sign language but they have never attended Sign Language lessons. Especially parents that live away from Thessaloniki do not have the opportunity to attend lessons, do not have access to Sign Language classes. But they do not even make an effort to learn Sign Language through interacting with their children.'

It is encouraging that this teacher acknowledges the well-established important role of the parents of a deaf child as a source of additional and essential support in the education of their child (Luckner, 1991). Unfortunately, the above teacher is disappointed with the level of collaboration between teachers and parents, emphasising the importance of sign language in establishing communication with the deaf child. However, hearing parents of deaf children go through several emotional stages since the diagnosis of their child as deaf (Nikolarazi, 1997; Luterman, 1987), and they need systematic counselling in order to accept the role of Sign Language and its positive role for their child's development. Many parents in Greece do not have access to counselling centres or signing lessons, they cannot easily travel to another city in order to reach a counselling centre, and may never have the chance to participate in a counselling session, learn about Sign Language and attend Sign Language classes. Therefore, it is not easy for them to acquire a positive attitude towards Sign Language or even realise the importance of the early establishment of communication in the education of the deaf child (Long, Stinson, Kelly and Liu, 1999).

Traditionally, there has often been a controversy in the education of the deaf regarding language acquisition and communication, questioning which language and which mode of communication will best prepare deaf individuals to communicate effectively in the society (Morariu and Bruning, 1987). Until now there has been no clear conclusion regarding which mode of communication is most suitable for educating deaf children (Hsing and Lowenbaun, 1997). Among the three most widely used modes of communication in the education of deaf children, the Oral/Aural approach, Total Communication (T.C.) and Bilingualism, T.C. and the Aural Approach are mostly used in the educational settings in Greece.

A simple awareness of the importance of clear and effective communication is not sufficient to enable communication with a deaf child (La Bue, 1996), who is in great need for a communication system that will allow him/her to gain access to knowledge and the curriculum and interact with other people. Effective communication requires teachers not only to be aware of the meaning of the different modes of communication, but also to be able to use them effectively in order to communicate with a deaf child. This is a demanding and complicated task,

and the comments from the participants in this study reveal that even if teachers claim that they adopt a certain mode of communication, this does not mean that effective communication has been established.

'At school, the official mode of communication is Total Communication, meaning that we use speech and Sign Language but we are not sure whether we effectively communicate with children, because there are meanings difficult to be conveyed. In addition, there are many words that don't exist in Sign Language, or there are many words which are represented with the same sign. The difficulties in communication are also caused by the fact that children do not communicate with their parents at home and parents do not support our work.'

'We have problems in communicating with children. There is a lack of communication, teachers do not know well Sign Language and I think that they should have a deeper knowledge about modes of communication.'

'I don't dare to say that I communicate with deaf children and I suspect that children cannot understand everything that I say. When deaf children speak with each other I understand a few things and when we speak with hearing people deaf people can understand a few things. They should be able to see us and lip-read us, to see our hands. When I teach, I sign, talk and write at the same time. I try to exploit all the possible ways that may help a deaf child understand better. The aim is to communicate. How? According to my view, this is Total Communication, which includes everything.'

'There is sometimes no communication, even with the use of signing communication cannot be established. When children come to school at the age of 5 without having established communication with their parents, when there is no communication at home how can we achieve communication at school?'

It is not surprising, that the above teachers expressed their concerns regarding the level of communication between them and the children, since teachers did not hold any qualification in Sign Language. Signing courses in Greece started to be offered a few years ago, and most of the teachers who used T.C. learned to sign by experience. However, it cannot be expected from a teacher to use a mode of communication effectively in the classroom without having at least a thorough understanding and a strong theoretical background concerning the modes of communication, which is always provided as part of a training course for teachers of the deaf. During such a course teachers will become deeply informed and

acquire skills that will facilitate communication with a deaf child. There is a consensus (Long, Stinson, Kelly and Liu, 1999; Latimer, 1983) that teachers with a broad knowledge regarding the modes of communication and high skills in Sign Language are beneficial to deaf students, enabling them to develop to their full potential, feel comfortable, and benefit from learning experiences.

Nevertheless, despite the well documented role of teacher training and the knowledge and skills that a teacher of deaf children should have, 3 teachers working in special units have their doubts regarding the importance of teacher training and the theoretical background:

‘I do not know whether I need a broader knowledge in the area of deafness. Last year, there was a teacher at school, who was supposed to be better trained and have more knowledge than me, but children and parents were not satisfied with her.’

‘I try to be informed, by reading books and contacting professionals. I know that some teachers have attended an in-service training course in SEN, but I doubt whether trained teachers know more than I do.’

Although disappointing, it is not surprising that a small number of teachers questioned the role of training. Teachers had never been asked or required to attend a training course before they became involved in the education of deaf children. They chose to work with deaf children without being aware of the needs of deaf children and the demands this entailed; they just happened to be in such settings by chance. No training qualification was considered as necessary at the beginning, when teachers decided to work with deaf children. They were allowed to work in a teaching position, without much concern about whether they were prepared and whether they had the knowledge and the skills to teach deaf children.

‘I just applied and I happened to be in this school.’

‘I was looking for a job, there was a teaching job in this setting at that time and I decided to work with deaf children.’

‘It was matter of coincidence, purely looking for a job.’

It is unfair, though, to expect teachers who have not been trained to conceive the importance of training or form a positive attitude towards it (Harris and Evans, 1995). Since teachers never attended a training course, they could not be aware of the skills, the knowledge, the amount of help and support that could be withdrawn from such training. Therefore, they easily undermined it. Even in the following case where the teacher acknowledged the importance of training, he did not think highly of its role:

'There is a need for knowledge and training... however I believe that you learn many things in practice through experience... theory is not enough. I have been working for three years in the education of hard-of-hearing children and I still face many difficulties, children always surprise me.'

There are often concerns regarding the fact that teacher training programmes place the emphasis on theoretical knowledge, without enough regard for the way that this knowledge can be integrated in the classroom (Reitz and Kerr, 1991; Burden, 1990). Of course, there is no doubt that no theoretical background and no amount of in-service training will prepare teachers to cope with all the needs of hard-of-hearing and deaf children. A depth of understanding comes with experience, and much is learnt through doing the job, but in-service training acts as a reinforcing and informative tool in combination with teaching experience (Hegarty, 1993). However, the role of experience should not undermine the role of teacher training. Teachers need to be always alert, willing to become informed and be further trained and open-minded to listen to other people's suggestions and experiences, that will enable them to get a wider knowledge and become more efficient in their work (Berry, 1988).

Conclusions and recommendations

Various professionals in deaf education have expressed their concerns regarding the knowledge of teachers of the deaf and their abilities to respond to the needs of hard-of-hearing and deaf children (Luckner, 1999; Rittenhouse and Kenyon-Rittenhouse, 1997; Lytle and Rovins, 1997; Moores, 1996). Teachers' comments revealed that they were asked to become responsible for the education of deaf children without being adequately prepared, or having the background knowledge that would enable them to respond to the children's needs. This was a stressful situation for teachers, who expressed their anxiety and insecurity, felt that they did not have the knowledge and the skills to respond to the diverse needs of deaf population, and emphasised the difficulties that they faced, particularly in establishing communication with deaf children. Furthermore, a small number of teachers were not convinced about the importance of training, which is perfectly understandable, since teachers who have not been trained cannot appreciate the role of training or form a positive attitude towards it (Harris and Evans, 1995). This picture is frustrating for teachers as well as for children. Teachers do not seem to feel that they can handle difficulties in their job, they face many problems in communicating with deaf children and they feel anxious and unsupported, as has

been reported in other studies (Rosenberg, Griffin, Kilgore and Carpenter, 1997). Since teachers feel that they are not effective in their job, children cannot be expected to be adequately educated, considering that effective education requires qualified and effective teachers (Rosenberg, Griffin, Kilgore and Carpenter, 1997).

Teacher training is a factor of paramount importance and teachers' actions in the classroom cannot be seen in isolation from teacher training. Teachers' awareness of the needs of deaf and hard-of-hearing children need to begin from ITE, because mainstream teachers are likely to encounter hard-of-hearing and deaf children in their classroom. However, teachers cannot be expected to become teachers of deaf children just through ITE. There is a need for in-service training, which will help teachers to increase their competencies in communicating with deaf children (Long, Stinson, Kelly and Liu, 1999), update their knowledge and become more efficient in their work (Berry, 1988).

There is a need to set specific standards and principles for the training of teachers of hard-of-hearing and deaf students, which is an established policy in other countries. Also, through the ongoing educational changes in the area of the education of the deaf, the role of the teacher of the deaf is gradually differentiated and new dimensions and responsibilities are added. Nowadays, deaf children are no longer educated only in special units or in special schools. Inclusion (Shildroth and Hotto, 1991) has become an increasingly common practice and a shift of placement from units and special schools to mainstream schools has been observed. As a result, there is an increasingly great need for qualified educators for deaf children not only in special schools and resource rooms, but also in mainstream schools (Beaver, Haytes and Luetke-Stahlman, 1995).

In view of all these developments, there is a need to consider a broader role of the teacher of the deaf, with a special emphasis on the empowering role of itinerant teachers and its positive impact on the education of deaf children (Yarger and Luckner, 1999) as well as the new role of the teacher of the deaf as a member of a trans-disciplinary team of teachers or as a member of a co-teaching team responsible for the education of deaf children (Luckner, 1999). In such settings, co-teaching would include two or more teachers, including a teacher of the deaf, who they would jointly plan, coordinate, teach and evaluate a number of students in a single physical space. Co-teaching is a relatively new policy, but it has a number of benefits offering opportunities for social interaction, giving the chance to hearing children to learn sign language, the sense of shared responsibility for teachers, but it also has its challenges concerning the interpersonal relations and the extra time that is required for teachers to collaborate (Luckner, 1999).

Developing or upgrading a teacher training programme is certainly not an easy process and any recommendations need to take into account several issues such

as organisational problems or available resources, and especially staff concerns. Further research in Greece as well as abroad needs to be done, which will take into consideration teachers' perceptions and identify their needs. Teacher participation is vital in any staff development (Allen, 1994) so that training courses can match teachers' expectations and teachers can be motivated to attend these courses. Finally, apart from teachers' needs, we may also consider the participation of other professionals, as well as parents and deaf children to the planning and the provision of training courses, considering that the establishment of training courses in other countries have taken place and continue to run under the collaboration of several authorities (Joint Standards Committee of the National Council on Education of the Deaf and the Council for Exceptional Children, 1996; Training Establishments for Teachers of the Deaf in England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, 1995).

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ORGANIZATIONAL DEFICIENCIES IN SCHOOL MANAGEMENT: THE CASE OF GREEK PRIMARY SCHOOLS

ANNA SAITI

Abstract – *This paper first provides an overview of some of the key features of schooling in Greece, as well as some of the central reforms that have marked the development of education in the country. It is argued that despite remarkable progress, the formal school system in Greece still faces a major challenge: decentralisation. The details of the structure of the school administrative system are presented, and a critical analysis carried out through the use of the 'Organisation and Methods' (O and M) technique in order to investigate the efficiency of educational services in Greece. Two case studies are presented so as to illustrate the traditional and complicated administrative processes that currently prevail, most of which are of a routine nature and unnecessary. A case is made in favour of reform.*

Introduction: a brief review of Greek school education

Greece has a very long tradition in the field of education, initiated by the famous philosophical schools of the classical period. However, the Greek educational system is relatively new. Indeed, the process of developing the modern Greek educational system began after 1821 when Greece finally succeeded in gaining its independence. More particularly, the Act of 1834 was the first such Act passed after independence and by it, attendance at school was made compulsory for all children.

The Education Act of 1836 introduced three-year primary schools and four-year gymnasia. The main aim of the gymnasium was to prepare students for higher education. Until 1890 no changes were made to the basic structure and provision of the educational system in Greece. The Education Act of 1895, however, divided primary schools into three categories: the ordinary (four classes), the grammar (four classes) and the full-function (six classes). The Act of 1895 also brought some dramatic changes in the field of administration. In this Act provision for the permanent appointment of teachers was specified and the installment of headteachers in primary schools was determined.

The years 1909-1911 are of particular importance in the history of Greek education since a number of Education Acts have were implemented. It was in

1911 that the first major Education Act for the twentieth century was passed (Demaras, 1990). A grasp of this Act is crucial to an understanding of the Greek educational system in the first quarter of the twentieth century. It brought some improvements as far as centralisation was concerned and made some important changes (Evangelopoulos, 1987; Demaras, 1990) - the composition of the regional supervisory committee was limited to three members instead of five as had applied since 1895. A central supervisory committee were in Athens which consisted of five members, its duties being consultative, disciplinary and administrative.

In 1929 attendance at elementary and secondary education was extended to six years and the Hellenic school was abolished. Law 4653 in 1930 brought additional changes in educational policy. According to this new law the country had a general programme for education. Committees were separated according to their administrative and educational duties. Moreover, there was an attempt to bring about decentralisation in secondary education. 'It seems that these Laws of Educational Reforms brought dramatic changes to the spirit of the system that were expressed only in changes of external features' (Demaras, 1990).

In 1964 free education was finally established at all levels. All state education institutions operated with financial support from the government and every citizen had equal educational opportunities, irrespective of family background, racial origin and sex. According to Law 4379/64, compulsory education was extended to nine years and secondary education divided into self-contained (gymnasium) and independent (lyceum) units.

In the middle of the 1970's a new phase in the development of Greek education started. More particularly, from 1975 a number of legislative measures were taken, aiming to match the Greek education system more closely to the ever-growing cultural, scientific and technological demands of the country. The main topics of educational reforms (Laws: No.186/75, 309/76 and 576/77) which concerned the primary level of education were the following:

- the establishment of a Centre of Educational Studies and in-service training known as KEME;
- *demotike*¹ adopted as the official language of education;
- the function of a deputy headteacher established;
- technical and vocational education reorganised and expanded.

Under the socialist government (1981-89) a series of changes were effected, the most significant of which can be summarised as follows :

- the replacement of school inspectors by school counsellors and heads of the Bureau of Primary and Secondary Education (Law 1304/82);

- the establishment of education committees and councils at local and prefectural levels (Law 1566/85);
- the participation of local councillors and administrators in school committees (Law 1566/85);
- the selection and appointment of headteachers and deputy headteachers were put on a new basis.

After 1982, with the abolition of Inspectors, it seems that with the disconnection of the administrative from the scientific, there was less administrative work but this does not necessarily mean that with this particular policy there was an expansion of decentralised information about educational policy to the educational authorities (Zampeta,1994: 218). The only decentralised decision that took place during this particular period was the partial allocation of some financial matters (only for functional expenditure and the expenditure for the maintenance of the school building) to local authorities (through Prefectural Authorities). The local authorities, with schools being the only exception, did not have the administrative power to participate in these decisions (Zampeta,1994).

With the change of government on 10th April 1990 a new effort was launched for educational reform. This lasted until September of 1993 (the party of New Democracy was in power). Among the most significant changes introduced in the administrative system of primary and secondary education were:

- the establishment of new criteria for the selection and appointment of School Counsellors (Law 1966/91), replacing those laid down by Law 1304/82;
- the introduction of a national system of vocational training and instruction;
- regulations concerning the selection, appointment and tenure of the principals of school units and educational districts (Law 2043/92).

Finally in 1994, the permanent appointment of top officials of the Directorates of Education was abolished because permanent tenure led to slackness (Law 2188/94, article 3) while three years later the Education Act of 1997 brought some dramatic changes (Law 2525/97) such as the establishment of new Lyceum, and the abolition of *epetirida*² and so on.

In conclusion, it could be said that educational reforms have been a major goal of public policy in Greece during the last twenty years. Today, thirty years after the passing of a number of educational acts, the main concern of the government continues to be the introduction of new changes for further improvement of the Greek educational system. It is true that the educational system needs changes because it is not static. But it is equally true that frequent changes (without a well defined educational policy) in fact prevent the modernisation of the educational

system. Education seems to be a force that can contribute to general social reform. Educational reform from the point of social welfare is often seen as a necessary process in the development of education.

Statement of the problem

From the above analysis, and taking into account the problems the Greek education system had to overcome, progress has been remarkable. One of the problems, especially during the first years of its composition, was that it was highly centralised. The central government, through the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs (MNERA), held all the functions and exercised total control over educational policy. In other words the system was over-centralised. There is some evidence that educational provision was not expanding rapidly enough and that the rate of illiteracy among the majority of pupils was accelerating, especially in the early years. It is clear that the educational reforms during the post World War II era have brought substantial institutional changes to all levels of education. The main objective of the present system is to fill in the gaps.

With regard to educational administration we can observe that since 1975, Greek governments have tried with various legislative regulations to form an educational hierarchy willing to obey their orders. On the other hand, fundamental problems such as the devolution of power from the MNERA to Prefectural Educational Authorities (PEAs)³ and the institutions of higher education, and the simplification of bureaucratic procedures in the field of educational administration, have never been considered by Greek reformers. One reason for this may be that education in Greece is mainly a public service and its administrative structure and function constitute part of the system of public administration. All educational reforms that took place over the years occurred with changes of government. This is a fact which makes us support the idea that each government follows its educational policy and does not contribute objectively to the effective development of the educational system.

The purpose of this study is to present the existing situation of management in Greek primary schools and to underline the need for reforms in the field of school administration.

Current school administrative scene

At present, the structure of the school administrative system consists of three levels: the national level (MNERA), the prefectural level (PEAs) and the school level.

The functions of the Greek primary schools are affected by their administrative structure and their relationship with the upper levels, especially the MNERA. For this reason, it is necessary to digress briefly on the structure and the extent to which this limits school administrative functions.

Within the framework laid down in the Education Act No 1566/85, the school administration consists of the Headteacher, the Deputy Headteacher and the Teachers' Council.

The Headteacher is mainly responsible for the smooth functioning of the school, the co-ordination of school life, and the observance of laws, circulars and official orders. They are also responsible for the implementation of the Teachers' Council resolutions. Headteachers also take part in the evaluation of school teachers' work and co-operate with the school advisers (Law No 1566/85).

Among the duties of the headteacher, the following are the most important ones, according to circulars No 25124 and 52091/1978:

- to be responsible for the supervision and general direction of the school, of which they are the main representatives;
- to stay at school during working hours and supervise its normal functioning except if they are obliged to be absent for official reasons. In the latter case they are to be substituted for by the deputy head;
- to co-operate harmoniously with all teaching staff since the work of instruction is based upon good co-operation. There can be co-operation if there is respect for teachers, justice in work assignments and real interest in the solution of both official and personal problems;
- to deal with the pupils' problems properly;
- to inform parents and guardians regularly about the pupils' studies and behaviour, and about the school records of achievement.

The Deputy Head substitutes for the headteacher when he or she is absent. If there is more than one deputy in a school the substitute is appointed by the headteacher. The deputy head helps the headteacher in the performance of his or her duties and he or she is responsible for the administrative work in the school. From the managerial point of view the post of deputy head is very important because the teachers who hold this post:

- help headteachers to carry out their difficult work;
- have a rich and varied set of opportunities to learn the job of being a headteacher.

'Deputies and heads should always be in constant communication and deputies should always be willing to take over headship responsibilities' (Mason, 1989:

41). Southworth (1990) suggests that in schools where the deputy head participated in decision-making, higher effectiveness in teacher communication and fewer critical complaints were recorded than in schools where the deputy head was less directly involved. In Greece, however, the institution of deputy head seems to be, to some extent, an isolated position, in the sense that the holders of deputy headship posts are in charge only during the head's absence. Some Greek heads seem not to show confidence and trust in their deputies. The role of the deputy is sometimes seen as a 'threat' to the authority of the headteacher, thus, heads are not always keen to allow deputies to have sufficient training and develop skills (Saitis, 1998).

The Teachers' Council consists of all the teachers, and the headteacher is their president. The Teachers' Council meets after it has been invited to by the president at the beginning of the school year and at the end of each term. It also meets whenever the president (headteacher) feels it to be necessary. The meetings take place within working hours but not during teaching hours.

The Teachers' Council deals with improving the implementation of educational policy and with the better functioning of the school. It is responsible for the fulfilment of the school schedule and its detailed programme, the pupils' health and protection, and the organisation of school life. It estimates school needs and deals with their resolution. It develops possibilities for co-operation between members of the teaching staff and members of the public who are to be given information about the school.

From the above description it is evident that the Education Act of 1985 describes the duties of the administrative structures of schools in only a general way, leaving the special duties of the Teachers' Council imprecise. These duties were left to be defined by a ministerial decision that would oblige headteachers to apply decisions of the Teachers' Council. Although fourteen years have passed since the Education Act, the ministerial decision has still not been made. Thus, today the organisational structure of the school is characterised by legislative imprecision as far as its functions are concerned. The effect of this imprecision is that it sometimes causes opposition and conflict among the teaching staff, which militates against the school fulfilling its objectives. Recent studies (Saitis *et al.*, 1996) suggest that 58% of conflicts which take place in primary schools are the result of legislative imprecision.

In practice, however, the control of MNERA over a school's educational activities, compromises its autonomy of government and administration. It is also evident that many trivial administrative activities absorb too much time from the staff work of MNERA officers.

The main concern of this section is the analysis of administrative activities between the central services of MNERA and the primary schools. These activities

belong to the following categories: financial (e.g. payment of teaching staff); and pupils's affairs (e.g. text books).

Discussions with appropriate employees of the above Ministry and the Prefectural Education Authorities (PEAs) suggest that the procedures in respect of the issues cited need improvement because only in this way will the Greek PEAs and schools escape from 'bureaucratic disease' and become more effective. The schools of elementary and secondary levels of education are public organisations and cost large amounts of money, so their efficiency, as well as that of the PEAs, is at a premium. Although in public services it is almost impossible to define and to measure efficiency, nevertheless a school institution is efficient when it facilitates the accomplishment of such objectives as more and better provision of knowledge to pupils with a minimum of undesirable financial consequences.

Broadly speaking, Greek public administration needs better management because it is inefficient, inflexible and excessively centralised. Indeed, the role of the Greek civil service has been passive rather than active (Spanou, 1996 and Macrydimitris, 1990). The nature of modern society has changed in several respects but civil service attitudes and expressions have not changed accordingly. A modern society needs a contemporary administrative system, to correspond to current public needs. Management in the civil service, therefore, should, according to the likes of Garrett (1980), act as an instrument to:

- formulate policy under political direction;
- establish how to achieve aims;
- make the arrangements necessary for achievement;
- get the parts working together;
- assess how well the operation is doing and identify modifications needed.

The following section is designed to provide some examples and analysis of the relationship between the MNERA and PEAs, and to establish why effective management is needed for the central and the prefectural levels of educational services.

Examination of how the work is organised

In order to investigate the efficiency of educational services in Greece, the technique of 'Organisation and Methods', better known as 'O and M', is utilised in the present study. According to Oliver (1975: 8) the term O and M is defined as 'management service, the object of which is to increase the administrative efficiency of an organisation by improving procedures, methods and systems communications and controls and organisation structure'. Anderson (1980: 1)

defined the term as 'a specialist function which attempts to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of clerical procedures and the control of operations within a business'. The main aim of O and M is by objective investigations to devise the most effective means of shaping and improving the organisation and conduct of business with a view to increasing productivity (Shaw, 1984; Kontis, 1993).

Using the management technique O and M, the primary purpose of the present study is to consider the administration of the Greek educational system in order to see whether this system is effective or in need of reform. The technique does not include some particular aspects of efficiency such as problems relating to staff selection or the training of middle and junior managers in human relationships. The emphasis is upon analysing existing procedures and developing more efficient ones.

Following the technique O and M, the first task to be done is to embark on a critical examination of the system. Satisfactory answers are required to each of the questions included in Table 1.

TABLE 1: The O and M technique – what should be asked during the critical examination of the Greek educational system.

Question	Answer
1. What is done?	Action
2. Where is it done?	Place
3. Why is it done?	Purpose
4. When is it done?	Sequence
5. Who is it done by?	Person
6. How is it done? Or how else could be done?	Means, significance

A satisfactory answer to question six leads to consideration of alternatives which might also be acceptable and finally to a decision as to which, if any, of the alternatives should apply. The analysis of the questions needs complete data and information related to the procedure of administrative work in the MNERA and other agencies. This was obtained: first, by studying the laws, presidential decrees, ministerial decisions, documents and reports relative to the organisation and functions of the two administrative levels; second, by discussions with teaching and administrative staff of the PEAs and the staff of

the MNERA.⁴ The discussions consisted of questions about the existing procedures of administrative activities, descriptions of these activities and calculations of the time needed and the number of employees at each managerial level. Finally, statistical information provided by the National Statistical Service of Greece and the MNERA was analysed. Having all the necessary data and information we move to an examination of how work is organised and carried out in the MNERA and PEAs. More particularly, activities which are carried out in the sector of organisation will be examined.

The concern of this section is a critical examination of some of the administrative aspects which compose the relationship between the MNERA and PEAs. Specifically the examples which follow are designed to show the existing managerial situation in the field of educational administration in the MNERA and PEAs.

Example One: Late pupil enrolment

Suppose that a parent, who lives in a village of the prefecture Aetolias and Akarnanias, wishes to enrol his or her child in the primary school of his or her village, on 20 June. It is known that enrolment of pupils in the primary schools of the country, normally take place from the first until the fifteenth of June (Presidential Decree No 497/81). After that, late enrolment demands the approval of the appropriate Head of the Education Office. More particularly the following procedures are observed:

Stage One: Activities within the school

1. parents' application with all certificates which are relevant;
2. registration / headteacher informed;
3. appropriate teacher draws up a document for the Education Office / Head's signature;
4. typing of documents and sending them to the appropriate Education Office.

Stage Two: Activities within the Education Office

1. registration / Head of Education Office informed;
2. head of relevant department informed;
3. appropriate clerk checks file / draws up a document for approval;
4. Head of Education Office's signature;
5. typing of document of decision / sending it to school.

Stage Three: Activities within the primary school

1. registration / Headteacher informed;
2. appropriate teacher draws up a notification document of Head's decision to parent;
3. headteacher's signature / sends it to parent concerned;
4. appropriate teacher registers the pupil in the school record.

Critical analysis of the above stages

From Stage One to Stage Three, thirteen bureaucratic activities intervene which involve approximately fifteen employees who take a processing time of at least eight days. The calculation of the time spent and the workload is based on personal discussion with headteachers and Heads of the Education Offices of the Prefectures of Aetolias and Akarnanias.⁵ The figures given are approximate and apply to 'normal' conditions.

After that the question arises: is this procedure necessary? If yes, why? If not, how can it be shortened? In the opinion of the researcher such a procedure is not necessary because primary education is compulsory, and all late enrolments are approved by the Heads of Education Offices. This is an expression of the over-strong bureaucracy of the Greek administrative system rather than an effective control on school management. Furthermore this kind of control may be interpreted as an example of the limited authority of the Greek headteacher. Head of Education Office approval ought to be abolished because his or her interference not only restricts school efficiency but also encourages the development of more complicated bureaucratic procedures. In other words, the approval of late enrolments should be done by the appropriate headteacher. In this way the above procedure would be shorter and the headteacher become responsible for his or her own activities. In addition the headteacher knows and understands the problems of the local families better than the Head of the Education Office.

Example Two: Appointing school cleaners

According to Act No 1892 / 90 article 113 and No 1894 / 90 article 5, the cleaning of primary and secondary schools is arranged by contracts. Cleaners are hired for the school year by the Head of each Education Office. The annual expenditure for the cleaning of schools is determined by ministerial decision from the Ministry of Education and Finance. This requires the following activities:

Stage One: Activities within the MNERA

1. each August the Division responsible for the administrative affairs of primary and secondary education draws up a document for the appointing of school cleaners;
2. typing of document / seeing by all departments and Divisions / Minister's signature;
3. returning of document to the relevant clerk;
4. sending the document to Cabinet council.

Stage Two: Activities within the Secretary's Office of Cabinet

1. registration;
2. the appropriate clerk proposes to the council of Ministers the recruitment of cleaners;
3. meeting of the appropriate Cabinet committee / discussion / decision;
4. writing / typing of the minutes / checking of typing;
5. ratification of minutes by the Ministers;
6. appropriate clerk / drawing up a document of approval;
7. seeing by all departments / secretary's signature;
8. typing of document / registration;
9. sending it to the MNERA.

Stage Three: Activities within the MNERA

1. registration;
2. director of the appropriate Division informed / head of appropriate department informed;
3. appropriate clerk / drawing up a document for all Divisions of primary and secondary education of the country;
4. seeing by all departments / Director's signature;
5. typing of document / checking of typing;
6. sending it to all Prefectural Educational Authorities.

Stage Four: Activities within the PEAs

1. registration / head informed;
2. appropriate clerk / drawing up a document for all headteachers of its educational area;
3. typing of document / head's signature;
4. sending it to schools.

Stage Five: Activities within the school

1. registration / headteacher informed;
2. appropriate teacher / drawing up a document announcing school cleaners' vacancies;
3. head's signature / announcement of the vacancy (or vacancies) to the local daily press according to the order of law;
4. the application forms of the candidates along with all the necessary papers for their evaluation are submitted to the Secretariat of the school Committee within fifteen days from the day of announcement in the local daily press;
5. meeting of school committee / discussion / voting / candidate who has gathered the majority of total votes is elected to the vacancy;
6. writing / typing of the minutes / ratification of minutes;
7. appropriate teacher / drawing up a document of proposal to Head of Education Office for the elected candidate;
8. headteacher's signature / register of the school;
9. sending it to appropriate Education Office.

Stage Six: Activities within the Education Office

1. registration / head informed;
2. appropriate clerk / study of file / drawing up a document-contract;
3. head's signature / sending it to appropriate school.

Stage Seven: Activities within the school

1. registration / headteacher informed;
2. appropriate teacher notifies the School Committee and the appointed candidate (school cleaner) about the document.

Critical analysis of the above stages

The procedure outlined above is not necessary because in practical terms: (a) the Cabinet is making a decision about the total number of school cleaners, without investigating the real needs of the Greek schools, (b) the PEAs appoint all the elected candidates and that creates unnecessary bureaucratic procedure, and (c) finally it is against the economic development of the country in the sense that it occupies administrative employees in day to day routine matters. Therefore, it is evident that the Greek administrative system cannot function while exhibiting traditional and complicated administrative procedures (since even the appointment of school cleaners for the educational sector requires Cabinet approval). It is worth emphasizing that there is a demand for organisational

effectiveness and better organisational performance. An alternative way to do it is by decision issued by the appropriate headteacher or the president of the corresponding school committee. In this way the above procedure for appointing school cleaners would be shorter and the school management responsible for its activities.

From the analysis of the above examples we may conclude the following:

- The role of the headteacher is neglected by the state in the sense that a head does not have the necessary authority and managerial training to control internal school organisation and to manage school affairs effectively.
- The Greek primary (and secondary) schools operate without enjoying any type of administrative independence because all school issues demand 'ministerial' or 'prefectural' approval. The school authorities are thus controlled and influenced by the MNERA and PEAs while the relationship between MNERA and schools could be characterised as excessive concern with day-to-day activity and with routine matters.
- The responsibility for the complicated procedures of school affairs lies with the conventional Greek legislator who insists upon traditional methods of working and wider issues in education suffer from the obfuscation of tradition. This results in the absence of a systematic analysis of school issues from both educational and managerial points of view. There is no clear definition of areas of responsibility and authority between the MNERA and PEAs and the latter does not have the power to manage school issues. This legislative dichotomy implies that the Greek PEAs do not function as self administrating organisations.

School administration in the reform process

The above examples are not exceptional within the Greek administrative system. Recent studies suggest that the striking features of the educational administrative system (Saitis, 1996; Makrydimitris, 1996; Kaltsogia-Tournaviti, 1995) are its centralisation, complexity and traditional methods of work. Under these conditions it is questionable if the school institutions can carry out their functions adequately.

Because of negative pressures in the school administrative system, the Greek government should examine systematically the machinery of its various administrative levels to ensure that decision-making processes become more effective.

The first reform must be in the devolution of power from the central administration of MNERA to PEAs and school institutions. Within the field of primary schools the term 'devolution' means that decisions about most school

problems and affairs should be taken by the headteacher or teachers' council or immediate management of the schools. To do this the schools should have their charters to function as self-governing public organisations while supervision by MNERA should be confined to evaluation and control of legal matters. The day to day administrative control of MNERA over the PEAs and school activities is a strong bureaucratic expression rather than a fundamental constitutional supervision because from the above examples it is evident that the MNERA does not approve the legality of school or PEA activities, but simply carries them out. So, by a clearly defined devolution of power, school management can be delegated as an efficient provider of public services in clearly defined ways. Routine, loss of time and bureaucratic activity would be cut down and the physical inability of central administration to deal with detailed problems throughout all the schools would be overcome.

To give the Greek school real power over its own affairs, it is necessary for parliament to pass an Education Act which would include a definition of what exactly the authority of primary schools is, because authority is the basis for accountability. Accountability here means that the school government concerned shall render an account of its actions to the state and if this authority is dissatisfied, it should take the necessary steps to put matters right. The Education Act would also generate an effective control system. A clarification of methods of controlling school activities, through for example inspectors, with the authority to scrutinise all administrative and financial activities at the end of the school year, would be a useful instrument of protection from the abuse of authority in schools.

Furthermore, the plethora of educational laws related to school affairs should be replaced by a new education act introducing simpler administrative procedures and better methods of working. In other words, the codification of school legislation is an essential prerequisite for raising the efficiency of school management by reducing the amount of bureaucratic activities in order that teachers and civil servants will not have to spend time on day-to-day routine matters.

Thirdly, the reform should provide stable and clearly defined criteria for a legal framework concerning the way top executives in education are selected. This framework should be the result of an extensive objective analysis. It should be taken into consideration, however, that the lack of political consensus in educational matters not only means strong reactions when decisions are applied but also explains why the educational laws in Greece are always replaced whenever a new government is in power.

Finally, necessary guidelines should be provided so that efficient teachers obtain the post of headteacher, teachers who would communicate with and

understand the people involved in education and who could motivate staff in order to establish an effective school environment. These guidelines should be the source of inspiration and encouragement to the members of the school organisation; they should also create the appropriate atmosphere for works. They should be the 'value-chain', meaning that the attitude of 'school people' (teachers, headteachers etc.) correlates highly with school efficiency (Ulrich, 1997).

Summary

In this study we have considered the management of Greek primary schools. More particularly we have examined the administrative system relating to Greek educational authorities, at central and prefectural level. Our aim has been to illustrate a current of thought opposed to the modernisation of the educational administrative system in a period in which governments are increasingly faced with the necessity of adapting their systems to new conditions, demands and opportunities.

The Greek primary (and secondary) schools operate without enjoying any type of administrative independence because all school issues demand 'ministerial' or 'prefectural' approval. The school authorities are thus controlled and influenced by the MNERA and PEAs while the relationship between MNERA and schools could be characterised as excessive concern with day to day activity and with routine matters.

The responsibility for the complicated procedures of school affairs lies with the conventional Greek legislator who insists upon traditional methods of working and wider issues in education suffer from the obfuscation of tradition. This results in the absence of a systematic analysis of school issues from both educational and managerial points of view.

In the Greek administrative system the majority of bureaucratic activities are of a routine nature and unnecessary. This implies that more time is spent on 'doing' and less on 'managing'. One can conclude, in general, that the state fails to delegate sufficient authority so as to enable the prefectural authorities to fulfil their responsibilities. A consistent theme for a competitive future is building and operating organisations (e.g. school organisations and so on) that will be more effectively responsive. Responsiveness includes innovation, faster decision making, and effective linking with staff, organisations and pupils.

Notes

¹ *Demotike* is the living language of the Greek people. The spoken language 'demotike' is considerably different from the ancient Greek (*katharevousa*). For further details about *demotike* and *katharevousa* see Papanoutsos (1978) and Pagkakis (1988).

² *Epetirida* is the procedure for recruitment of teachers for primary and secondary education with preference given to seniority.

³ As far as the Greek educational system is concerned, with the term Local Education Authorities we always mean the Prefectural Education Authorities.

⁴ Interviewing Heads of the Education Offices and Directorates of Primary Education was the method chosen for the selection of data for the calculation of the bureaucratic activities, time spent and use of the work force. The interview schedule can be found in the appendix. It must be noted that the Greek public primary schools function as public services and follow the same administrative procedures.

⁵ Interviewing headteachers of primary education was the method chosen for the selection of data for the calculation of the bureaucratic activities, the time spent and the use of the work force.

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THE STATE OF HISTORY TEACHING IN PRIVATE-RUN CONFESSIONAL SCHOOLS IN LEBANON: IMPLICATIONS FOR NATIONAL INTEGRATION

KAMAL ABOUCHEDID
RAMZI NASSER

Abstract - *History curriculum gravitates towards understanding differences among pluralistic societies. However, the Lebanese case has exacted a range of differences promulgated by the number of confessional-run private schools, with little control over their administrative or curricular policies. Since the establishment of the Republic in 1926, public policy gave the private schools their own constitutional prerogative maintaining their own educational programmes, each with a distinctive value system. This paper looks at the policies towards history curriculum by the seven major confessional schools in Lebanon. Through textual analysis of history books, reviews of policies, and interviews with students, educational decision-makers, and history teachers, the paper argues that confessional schools have propagated their own line of discourse for history teaching, without accommodating for a pluralistic discourse of integration.*

Introduction

Since its inception as a potentially viable state by the French Mandate in 1920, Lebanon has been derailed from policies conducive to national integration. Writers on modern Lebanese politics attribute the lack of national integration to the multiplicity of confessional communities, which continue to articulate their distinct identities as separate groups (Phares, 1995; Khashan, 1992). To some extent, the success of the government to moderate inter-group conflict and instill a unified national consciousness among schoolchildren rests upon the role of education as a national unifier.

A potential medium for reinforcing national integration is the history curriculum. The preamble to the 1968 Lebanese curriculum, which is still used by schools to date (2000), recognises that history is one of the most useful courses in strengthening national sentiments and pride in the nation (Legislative Decrees 9099 and 9100, 1968). Given the aims of the Lebanese curriculum and in the light of the country's multi-confessional context, this article focuses on the role of history teaching in the national political socialisation of schoolchildren. First, we review the legislative decrees of history teaching in Lebanon. Second, we analyse

10 history textbooks used by 7 confessional schools in order to examine the extent to which they converge and diverge in their interpretation of political and historical perspectives that characterise Lebanon. Third, we appraise history teaching in these schools by comparing the amount of time and emphasis on subjects conducive to inter-group understanding. In order to further understand the state of history teaching in confessional schools, we describe briefly aspects pertaining to national integration and education in Lebanon.

The rationale of this article is based on three premises. First, history teaching in Lebanon occupies a central position in the process of national integration. Second, the fact that negative inter-group relationships are exacerbated by biases and omissions in history texts (Preiswerk and Perot, 1978), content analysis of history textbooks provides a clearer grasp of the factors that tend to promote inter-group understanding. Third, studies of political socialisation, supplying the process through which members of society learn politically relevant attitudes (Dash and Niemi, 1992), indicate that history is an important medium to transmit basic political values and inculcate a sense of national citizenship (Hicks, 1978). Experience in Lebanon pressures for a history curriculum capable of breaking through the walls of confessional exclusivity and making inroads into national integration. Although this article is concerned with the state of history teaching in Lebanon, its broader aim is not limited to the Lebanese experience, but with wider applicability to education in plural societies.

Lebanon's educational system: a historical prologue

One of the most striking characteristics of Lebanon lies in its division into a large number of communities organised along confessional lines. Contemporary Lebanese historians argue that the origins of all confessional communities in today's Lebanon are traceable to Middle Eastern neighbouring countries. For example, toward the end of the seventh century, the Christian Maronite community fled religious persecution in Syria and sought sanctuary in Lebanon's rugged and impassable mountains (Salibi, 1988; Hitti, 1957). In their newly found homeland, Lebanon, the Maronites immediately acquired the enmity of the conquering Muslim Arabs by supporting the Byzantine troops in their battle to dislodge the Muslims from their recently won Syrian coast. Moreover, the early religious friction between Christian co-religionists in 1054 (Hanf, 1993) led to an increase in the number of Christian sects in Lebanon. The Lebanese mountains also attracted two other confessional communities; Muslim Shiites and Druzes, who fled religious persecution under the wider Muslim Sunnite political establishment (Ben-Dor, 1976). A fourth group, the Armenians, represented the

latest addition into the Lebanese multi-confessional set up. This community settled in Lebanon after the Great Anatolian Genocide which took place in 1909 and 1915 respectively (Zahr al-Din, 1988). At present, Lebanon accommodates 18 officially recognised religious sects.

Political schism between Christian and Muslim communities has sporadically exploded into inter-group brutal encounters. Foreign interests have served to complicate the simmering religious antagonism among Lebanon's vying confessional communities. Phares (1995), for instance, argued that the persistence of the obstreperous inter-religious conflict was nourished by external powers meddling in social and political domestic affairs. These powers, mostly Western European, found it convenient to consolidate their political and economic interests in Lebanon through the establishment of educational institutions (Abouchedid, 1997).

In the 16th century, the onset of the inter-religious war in the Ottoman Empire made it advantageous for Western Europe to intervene in domestic affairs. In 1535 the Ottoman ruler, Sultan Suleiman, the Magnificent, granted the first capitulation to France which laid the basis of the French supremacy over the Levant (McDowall, 1984). This capitulation granted France a wide range of economic and cultural privileges in Mount Lebanon. As the Ottoman Empire continued to weaken, England and other Western European countries obtained similar capitulation (Spagnolo, 1977) and the educational works of missionaries in Mount Lebanon started in earnest since then.

The establishment of private-run confessional schools

The tradition of confessional schools gained momentum after the ending of the inter-sectarian rancorous war, which broke out between Christian and non-Christian communities in Mount Lebanon in 1859. In 1861, the six interested powers, namely Turkey, France, England, Russia, Prussia and Austria signed the *Reglement Organique* establishing Lebanon as a semi-autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire (Zamir, 1985). Under this agreement, the French sponsored the Christian Maronites, the British the Druzes, while the Russians offered guardianship to the Greek Orthodox community. Sunnites were left without a political tutelage due to the Islamic political weakness resulting from the internal territorial divisions and strife in the Ottoman Empire.

The ensuing Western patronage of confessional communities created an atmosphere within which the establishment of private schools, both Jesuit and Protestant (Szyliowicz, 1973), was to flourish. Consequently, both missionaries and confessional communities founded a large number of schools in semi-

autonomous Lebanon. For example, the Syrian Protestant College, which is today's American University of Beirut (AUB), was founded in 1866 by Bliss, Vandyke, and Mr. Dodge of the Protestant missionaries. In addition, the Protestant missionaries founded secondary level boarding schools for boys and girls. From the very beginning, the educational activity of the Protestant missionaries had stimulated the Roman Catholics to emulate their example. The Catholic missionaries established schools and encouraged the Maronites to open their own, such as the famous school, *École de la Sagesse*, founded by the Bishop of Beirut in 1862 (Salibi, 1977).

In reaction to Christian missionaries' work in Mount Lebanon, and in an attempt to ward off the possibility of a perceived Western cultural encroachment on Muslims, the Sunnites established their own schools. In 1878 they founded a charitable society, Al Makassed, which was to become, in time, an active organisation for spreading education among Muslims of both sexes (Archive material). Later in 1897, the Sunnites founded the Uthman School (Hitti, 1957) to provide education for the disadvantaged in the remote areas. Furthermore, the Druze opened the Dawodiā School in 1862, while the Shiites was the only confessional community, which took no central part in the educational movement of the time.

The number of schools established by confessional communities gave Lebanon's present educational system a plural character. State schools were entirely absent. Before World War I, Lebanon had only one state school (Szyliowicz, 1973; Mathew and Akrawi, 1949), which formed the nucleus of the current Lebanese State school system. When the former Ottoman regions (mostly poor Muslims), were annexed to semi-autonomous Lebanon (mostly Christians) by the French Mandate in 1920, foreign and confessional schools grew in number to serve little for the poverty-stricken rural communities.

The superiority of the confessional-controlled private sector of education over the public one (Abouchedid, 1997) made it difficult for the state to employ the schools as an agent of national integration. Despite the lack of state schools at that time, particularly in the annexed territories, the French Mandate accorded more priority to the rights of confessional communities in educational matters than on establishing schools in the poorest regions. Article 8 of the French Mandate – as cited by Khalil (1962, p.96) – guaranteed:

‘The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the instruction of its own members in its own language while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the administration may impose shall not be denied or impaired.’

With the establishment of the Lebanese Republic in 1926, confessional communities gained further constitutional prerogatives, which allowed them to maintain their own schools. Article 10 of the Lebanese Constitution of May 23, 1926, which is the only Article in the Constitution that deals with education, echoed Article 8 of the French Mandate by acknowledging freedom of education to confessional communities. Hence, Christians, Muslims, and Druzes were able to organise their own schools. The perfunctory inspection of private schools by the Ministry of Education allowed private schools to shape and execute their own educational programmes.

Inspection policies

During the French Mandate of Lebanon (1920-1943), all foreign schools were put under the direct authority of the French Commissioner to Lebanon (Decree number 455, February 9, 1920). As for the national private schools owned by organisations, confessional communities, and private holders, both Lebanese administration and the French High Commission supervised them. In practice, however, the French High Commission did not accord the right to the Ministry of Education to either inspect or supervise the private schools which received financial assistance from the French government (Abu Mrad, 1982). This meant that the Ministry of Education could only inspect public schools since the largest number of the private schools received annual subsidies from the French mandatory authorities.

Following independence in 1943, the political objective of the first Lebanese government was to obliterate the educational and cultural imprints of the French Mandate. In tandem with this objective, the government expunged the French supervision and inspection scheme of private schools, both confessional and foreign. Section 18 of Decree 1436 dated March 23, 1950 requested that all private schools be subject to the supervision of the Ministry of Education. However, political disagreements between confessional communities over Lebanon's national identity, manifested in a civil war in 1958 (Gordon, 1980), made it difficult for the Ministry of Education to enforce its post-independence inspection policies of private schools.

On January 16, 1959, one year after the conclusion of the 1958 civil war, the Lebanese government relinquished its supervision and inspection policies that were promulgated shortly after independence. School inspection was no longer the direct responsibility of the Ministry of Education. Section 40 of Decree number 2869 accorded the right to the arbiters of Lebanon's six regions the right to inspect public schools and supervise the private ones. Public schools

succumbed to inspection, while private schools to supervision, since this Decree did not accord the right to arbiters to directly inspect private schools, both confessional and foreign.

Concomitant with the perfunctory inspection of schools, the Ministry of Education has failed to express and maintain a consistent educational policy. Section 13 of Decree number 1436 of March 1950 and is still in effect to date stipulated that '...the curriculum in the private, national, and foreign schools should be the national one'. However, it added '...directors of these schools can choose techniques of teaching and add subject matters not included in the national curriculum as they see fit'. Private schools were thus able to substantially decide on what is taught and how. More interestingly, the fact that section 13 of Decree 1436 required that only approved books by the Minister of Education must be used to teach Lebanese history, textbooks on the history of countries other than Lebanon did not require the consent of the Minister of Education. Lack of consensus on basic political issues among Lebanese (Hiro, 1993) together with freedom of education bestowed to private schools have diminished the role of education as a national unifier. Furthermore, attempts to address Lebanon's plural challenges have been debilitated by the deeply divided ideologies among confessional communities; particularly those concerned with the role of education.

Conflicting views to education

On the eve of the 1975 war, Lebanon's major confessional communities expressed different ideological outlooks concerning the role of education. The Permanent Congress of Superiors General of the Lebanese Monastic Maronite Orders, for instance, released a *communiqué* to the public pronouncing a new liberal educational model in Lebanon that purported to favour cultural pluralism. It stated that Lebanon's educational system should arm the citizen with the possibility to connect history with world cultures (CEMAM Reports, 1975). On the other hand, the working paper of the Supreme Muslim Shiite Council called for a standardised educational system emphasising the national Arab heritage and culture (Assafir Newspaper, March 5, 1975). A similar position was endorsed by the Sunnite Muslim paper, which requested that Arabism in Lebanon must be established once and for all (CEMAM Reports, 1975).

A close examination into the various *communiqués* enunciated by the confessional communities revealed three salient features circumscribing the conflict over the role of education. First, the insistence of Muslim Shiites and Sunnites on the ultra Arabic political character of Lebanon as opposed to the Christian liberal plural model of education, pronounced two opposed ideological

stances: Muslims calling for cultural homogeneity, while Christians championing cultural heterogeneity (Ma'oz, 1978). Second, the various *communiqués* reflected the particularistic tendencies of confessional communities by their insistence on the perpetuation of their distinct educational ethos. Third, confessional communities stripped legitimacy from the government's educational mandate by warding off its role in considering their *communiqués*.

In the light of the review of the state of education in Lebanon, this article compares history teaching in seven confessional schools by evaluating the extent to which it instills a sense of national consciousness and inter-group learning among schoolchildren.

Method

Criteria for selecting schools

Seven private-run confessional schools were selected for the study. As Smith and Tomlinson (1989) observe, there is a great deal of difficulty in matching schools in a sample of this kind. However, such matching is important when comparability is a central objective of the study. In order to compare history teaching in confessional schools, the present study required that all schools in the sample should belong to different confessional orders.

Access to confessional schools in Lebanon involves extensive negotiations, particularly when researchers are explicitly concerned with a touchy and emotionally taxing issue such as national integration. Access to a larger number of schools was limited by the fact that many educators felt that we were digging up something that many Lebanese would prefer to maintain buried. To overcome this limitation, we asked educational decision-makers to identify schools which they felt were seeking to respond to the challenge of history teaching in Lebanon. The researchers approached directors at these schools and obtained permission for access from them. To preserve anonymity we have given each of the schools that participated in the study the name of a tree. These names are used throughout this paper. In terms of confessional affiliation, our school sample fell into two categories: Christian and Muslim.

Four schools (Cedar, Pine, Elm, and Beech) were run by different Christian sects. Cedar School was a Catholic co-educational Diocesan school for children in grades KG through secondary classes. The school belonged to a large chain of ecclesiastical private schools supervised and administered by a Maronite religious board known as the Block of Catholic Schools in Lebanon. It was founded on September 23, 1963 by the Archbishop of the Maronite Diocese with the help of

the Jesuit missionaries in Ohio, US. The school was situated in a predominantly inhabited Maronite area, to the north east of the capital Beirut. According to the registrar office, Cedar School housed 2,183 student during the academic year 1997/98 of whom 12 students were Sunnites, 1,823 Maronites, 347 Greek Orthodox, and 1 Latin. In the secondary classroom of the school, three were 3 Greek Orthodox students, 16 Catholic, and 1 Latin.

The American Protestant missionaries to Syria and Lebanon established Pine School in 1928. However, the date 1835 marked the year of the official foundation of the school. The Board of the National Synod of Syria and Lebanon has governed the school since October 1959. The school is situated in a predominantly inhabited Christian area. At the time of the research (1997) the school housed 1,094 student, of whom 432 were Maronites, 381 were Greek Orthodox, 256 Evangelic and 25 Muslim Sunnite. In the secondary classes there were 41 student of who 36.8% were Greek Orthodox, 65.9% Maronites, 2.4% Sunnite, and 4.9% Evangelic. This meant that the incidence of student mixing in the school was high between Christian co-religionists and limited between Christians and Muslims.

The third Christian school in the sample was Greek Orthodox. Historically, the establishment of the Greek Orthodox schools in Lebanon began in the 19th century for the education of the Greek Orthodox community. At that time, the Catholic and Protestant missionaries' educational activities solicited the Greek Orthodox Christians to join their schools. The Greek Orthodox Patriarch complained to the Pope in the 19th century about the activities of the Catholic missionaries in attempting to convert Greek Orthodox students to Catholicism (Archives cited in Nawar, 1974). Consequently, the establishment of Beech School aimed to circumvent such proselytising. The school was situated in a Christian district in Beirut and served the Greek Orthodox community. During the academic year 1997/98 the school housed 1,450 student of whom 1,410 were Christians and 40 Muslims, i.e. Muslims students constituted 2.76% of students as opposed 97.2% Christians. In the secondary classroom there were 48 student, of whom, 34 (70.8%) were Greek Orthodox and 14 (29.2%) were Maronites. The inclusion of other students from different religions was low.

The establishment of Elm School aimed at raising Armenian children along Armenian national lines. The school was founded in 1960 for intermediate classes. In 1964 secondary classes were added to accommodate for the needs emerging from the additional influx of Armenians from the economically deprived Bekaa plain to the slums of the southern suburbs of Beirut. During the school year 1997/98 Elm School housed 310 students who were all Armenian Orthodox (Register Office). This meant that inter-group socialisation in the school was low since there was an absolute absence of other non-Armenian students and even Armenian ones from other denominations.

In the Muslim school category, the researchers visited Ash, Yew, and Oak schools. Ash School was founded on July 16, 1887 by a group of citizens motivated by philanthropic intentions to provide education to the Sunnites and counter Western models of education (School Prospectus). Its immediate catchment area was mainly middle class Sunnites. According to the registrar office, during the school year 1998/99, Ash School housed 411 Sunnite student, 2 Druzes, and 5 Shiites. In the secondary classrooms there were 54 students of whom 90.7% were Sunnites and 9.3% Shiites.

Yew School was established to serve the largest and poorest confessional community of Lebanon, the Shiites (Theroux, 1987). The Shiite social and political demands for equality have been ignored by Lebanon's political system since the inception of the Lebanese Republic in 1926. The Shiite community attempted to overcome their 'second class' conditions by capitalising on the cultural and social accomplishments of other confessional communities in Lebanon through founding their schools. Eventually, the Shiite community founded the Amelia Charitable Organisation, which has been administering Yew School since its establishment on April 24, 1941. The school served the Shiite community residing in the southern suburbs of Beirut. During the school year 1997/98, 2000 students were enrolled in the school, of whom 28 were Sunnites and the rest were Shiites. In the secondary classes there were 52 students, all Shiite.

Oak School was founded by the Druze Charitable Organization - Irfan - in 1973 to provide social and educational services to the Druze community of Mount Lebanon. In the school year 1997/98, the school housed 723 Druze students, 23 of whom were enrolled in the secondary cycle.

Participants

The present study attempted to survey the perceptions and experiences of educational decision-makers, history teachers and students. We interviewed 14 educational decision-makers of confessional schools, 5 decision-makers from the Center of Educational Research and Development (CERD), 7 history teachers, and 48 student enrolled in secondary cycles. The purpose behind interviewing respondents of such a variety of statuses was to facilitate the collection of as wide a range of views as possible on history teaching in confessional schools.

The sampling process for this research was an admixture of the controlled and the opportunistic techniques. Controlled sampling implies the selection of respondents based on a series of particular characteristics, which are central to the inquiry (Nisbet and Entwistle, 1970). Researchers, therefore, 'hand pick the cases to be included in the sample on the basis of their judgement on their typicality'

(Cohen and Manion 1994: 89). The focus of the present study required that all educational decision-makers of confessional schools were important persons in the policy-making and educational planning processes besides being representatives of their confessional communities. Our selection of educational decision-makers of confessional schools was based on the controlled sampling technique. In addition, suitable respondents conditioned our sampling process of education decision-makers from the Center of Educational Research and Development by availability. Five out of eight educational decision-makers were available for the interview. Those five were members in an educational committee formed by the Ministry of Education in 1997 to design a new history curriculum.

Research on selective perception and selective retention suggests that people see and remember only the evidence in agreement with their perceptions and overlook evidence or forget that which is not (Mouly, 1987). To accept unconditionally what decision-makers and other experts say is a dangerous practice, particularly when dealing with disputatious issues open to conflicting views such as history teaching in Lebanon. Therefore, we interviewed students in order verify and supplement interview data obtained from educational decision-makers and history teachers.

Students' views on history teaching allowed us to understand the state of history teaching from the learners' perspective. The age factor was an important determinant for obtaining interview data. A controlled sample was formed based on age category and educational cycle. Due to their age group (14-18), secondary classroom students are manageable and tend to exhibit a higher degree of cooperation with interviewers than younger students who have a tendency to resort to defensive, monosyllabic behavior (Verma *et al.*, 1994). Their exposure to the Lebanese political culture may allow them to articulate their perceptions more than younger students do. Moreover, they study the history of Lebanon more than students do in other educational cycles. The researchers had no power to oblige students to respond to the interview questions; as such, only those students who volunteered to participate were interviewed, and these represented 48 out of the 236 secondary cycle students. Almost half of the students came from Muslim schools ($n = 22$) and the other half ($n = 26$) from Christian schools.

In addition to students, one history teacher was selected from each school. History teachers have a wide experience and insight, so that their views on the state of history teaching can be of immense benefit to the study.

Interviews

Due to the complex nature of the state of history teaching in Lebanon, individual interviews were chosen as a strategy - this being one of the most

important sources of case study information (Yin, 1994). Interviews lie in a range between structured, which usually seek answers to a large number of relatively simple questions (Powney and Watts, 1987) to the totally unstructured 'in-depth' interviews, which are often associated with psychotherapy. The need in this research to allow respondents to express their views freely, and occasionally in detail - while at the same time maintaining direction and time-management, necessitated the adoption of a semi-structured interview.

Three main perspectives shaped our interviews: (i) the experiences of history teachers; (ii) the perceptions of students; (iii) the views of educational decision-makers of confessional schools and the Center of Educational Research and Development (CERD). The researchers laid out three interview schedules, one for each type of sample in the study. Three sources were brought together to construct the interview items: (i) the opinion of colleagues on the subject; (ii) guidance from school prospectus and policy papers; (iii) the literature pertaining to political and social fragmentation in Lebanon (e.g., Khashan, 1992; Barakat, 1977).

Before collecting our data, pilot runs were tried with 7 interviewees outside the main sample frame to establish the reliability of the interviewing schedules and ensure the clarity of the items and their usefulness in gathering of relevant information. The fact that the protracted 1975-90 war has left its distinctive marks on the quality of inter-group relations in Lebanon led the researchers to avoid questions that could rekindle war-related memories. For example, to a question on the problems of confessional pluralism in Lebanon, an interviewee said: 'It's a shame to ask this question after fourteen years of war'. In order to mitigate the pitfalls of the question, the researchers asked respondents about their views on pluralist experience in other countries and requested them afterwards to relate their views to the Lebanese context. By designing interview items with both care and tact, the researchers were more likely to make the data generated from interviewees meaningful to the study.

One of the questions in the interview aimed to obtain views on how history teachers discuss the issue of national identity in their teaching. The concept of national identity is both complex and highly abstract because it is based on a multiplicity of cultural identities (Beck, 1992). Our interviewing questions sought information on whether history teachers taught elements of hybrid monism (Smolicz, 1981) in which different identities of Lebanese society were welded together in some sort of mix or hybrid containing elements of each. Hence, we asked history teachers to comment on the degree of emphasis in their teaching on the different identities that constitute Lebanon's plural society. At the teaching level, the fact that the number of hours devoted to the teaching of history reflected priority given to the material (Hess and Torney, 1968), we requested history teachers to report on the time they spent on each topic. Furthermore, we asked

history teachers to appraise the quality of the officially prescribed history curriculum and identify the strengths and weaknesses of the texts they used (see Appendix I).

The information received from history teachers was further verified and supplemented by students' understanding of national leaders, outstanding events in Lebanon, and their views on the official history text (see Appendix II). In addition, the researchers were interested in learning about the issues that created sharp dissent in Lebanese educational panorama. The interviewing questions for the educational decision-makers sought to understand their views on the policies of confessional schools, coordination with the Ministry of Education and their views on the proposed history curriculum (see Appendix III). The information obtained from educational decision-makers of confessional schools was compared with those received from educational decision-makers working on the new history curriculum.

Given that there are clear advantages in the use of a variety of research methods alongside each other, we supplemented our interview data with content analysis of history texts. Such triangulation not only generates different types of data, but also helps researchers to create a connected chain of evidence (Yin, 1994) that greatly increases the chances of accuracy (Cohen and Manion, 1994).

Textual analysis

Textual analysis aims to identify prejudice, distortion of facts and bias in written material. In the 1970s, studies conducted by minority group organisations aimed not only to identify distortions and omissions in the written material but also to identify what the missing perspectives were (Hicks, 1981). For example, Preiswerk and Perot (1978) conducted an in-depth study of Western ethnocentrism in history textbooks, illustrating the way in which the Western value system continually attempted to omit reference to all other non-European cultures. Other studies were also made of the treatment of the Middle East, Asia, and Africa in school history textbooks (e.g. Hulmes, 1989). These studies were of central significance to the identification of the racist images that were portrayed in history textbooks and other teaching material.

While textual analysis in Western countries analysed the stories and events advocated by the majority in political rule and identified racial and ethnocentric beliefs, little work has been done on history textbooks and national integration in war-ridden multi-confessional contexts. The present study analysed 10 different history texts, of which the Ministry of Education officially approved 4, while the remaining 6 were used by confessional schools as supplementary teaching material (see Table 1).

TABLE 1. Names of officially approved history books used by the seven schools in the secondary cycles and supplementary material

School name	Approved books	Supplementary material
Cedars (Maronite)	The Pictured History	Cultural History
Beech (Greek Orthodox)	Modern Scientific History	History of Lebanon
Elm (Armenian Orthodox)	The Complete in History	History of Armenia
Ash (Sunnite)	The Pictured History	/
Yew (Shiite)	The Enlightening History	Cultures and Old Civilization
Oak (Druze)	Pictured History	Patriotic Education
Pine (Protestant)	The Complete in History	Global Cultures

The questions we used for textual analysis were adapted from Preiswerk and Perot (1978), with the wording rephrased to suit the Lebanese experience. The researchers read each textbook and constructed matrices in order to compare and contrast the content and the information provided by each text. Our analyses of history textbooks aimed to answer the following questions:

- Do the textbooks emphasise the history of Europe and the Arab World more than the history of Lebanon?
- How do the texts portray national symbols and historical leaders?
- Are there omissions and distortions of facts and events?
- Do the authors have any sympathy to any confessional community?
- Are the textbooks conducive to inter-group understanding?

Results and discussion

The official textbooks used by our confessional school sample followed the course outline and units prescribed by the Ministry of Education in Legislative Decree 9100 dated January 8, 1968. The content of the official textbooks was divided into three units: (i) modern history of Lebanon; (ii) modern history of the Arab World; (iii) history of the modern world. Curiously, the official textbooks used by our school sample devoted disproportional attention to the history units prescribed by the officially approved history curriculum. *The Enlightening History* (304 pages) used by Yew School, for instance, devoted 27.6% of its lessons to Lebanon's history during the First World War, 44.5% on independence of Arab countries and 27.9% on Europe from Vienna Conference in 1815 to the

First World War. On the other hand, the *Complete in History* (283 pages) which was used by Elm and Pine schools, gave 40.9% of its lessons on Lebanon and 59.1% on independence of Arab countries, while the history of Europe was presented in handouts. Moreover, the official history texts used by Cedar, Ash, and Oak devoted 47.2% of the lessons to the history of Lebanon, 30.3% to the independence of Arab countries, and 19.9% to the modern history of Europe. The history text used by Elm School gave an Armenian-oriented presentation of the history of modern Europe by laying a greater emphasis on the Armenian Diaspora in the West than on the history of the Arab World after 1800 and its considerable contributions to Lebanon (pp.89-168).

The manner in which historical events are interpreted and described in history textbooks might deepen the existing divisions among Lebanese. Although all the official textbooks analysed referred to the great famine of Lebanon in 1914, certain contradictions as to the causes of the famine were identified. *The Modern Scientific History* adopted by Pine School argued that the famine was caused by the British siege of the Lebanese coast, the plummeting of the Ottoman currency and greedy merchants who took advantage of the situation (pp. 23-25). On the other hand, *The Enlightening History* used by Yew School, argued that the Ottomans first put an embargo on transferring food and essential commodities to the Lebanese but later on allowed food rationing to the inhabitants of Beirut (p.16). All official textbooks analysed offered conflicting interpretations as to the role of institutions in mitigating the burdens of the famine on people. *The Modern Scientific History*, for instance, argued that the American Embassy and the French fleet played a central role in supplying food ration to the needy (p.25). The book further alluded to the role of the Maronite Patriarchy in catering for the poor (p. 25). On the other hand, *The Enlightening History* used by Yew School maintained that local national, foreign and religious institutions were interested in facing the famine (pp.17-18), without referring to role of the Maronite Patriarchy in this regard.

Besides the contradictions in the official textbooks, another deficiency came through their neglect of pluralism in Lebanon. With the exception of the *Modern Scientific History*, the official textbooks omitted reference to the multi-confessional plural context of Lebanon, which gave rise to a political system of special type. In *The Enlightening History* (p.14), *The Pictured History* (p.18), and *The Complete in History* (p.15), the Maronites were referred to as the 'Inhabitants of the Mountains', while the Sunnites as the inhabitants of the 'Coastal Areas'. In describing the political differences among Lebanese, all textbooks argued that the inhabitants of the coastal areas preferred ties with the Arab government in Syria, while the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon harboured a desire for the independence of Lebanon with special relationships with France, without explaining the reasons

behind these differences. In addition, all textbooks analysed overlooked the historical origins of confessional communities, their relationships, accomplishments, and their contribution to pluralism in today's Lebanon. Furthermore, the textbooks analysed avoided discussions on sensitive topics on which confessional communities might disagree in their interpretation, such as the 1860 war. On its part, the Ministry of Education denied students the opportunity to learn about the post-Second World War years by removing chapters encompassing such important events as the formation of political parties, the administrative reforms, and the 1958 civil war. For the remainder of the official textbooks, students learn nothing about the Israeli/Arab conflict and the problems to be addressed.

Our reviews of the official curriculum showed that the objectives of employing history texts for promoting national integration and a sense of national citizenship had low priority. Legislative Decrees 2150 dated November 6, 1971 which was based on Decree 9099 dated January 8, 1968, in addition to Decree 864 dated March 24, 1971, allocated one hour per week for history in the secondary scientific classes and two hours per week for the literature classes. However, the official curriculum did not specify the time to be spent on each subject and the interpretations to be given. Thus, each school in the sample devoted different timetables to different subjects depending on its educational ethos and policy. For instance, Yew, Ash, Beech and Oak schools, whose policies were favourable to Arabism, allocated two hours per week to the history of the Arab World. Cedar and Pine, on the other hand, allocated one hour per week for all subjects to be covered during the school year while devoting one extra hour per week for supplementary material not required by the official curriculum. Furthermore, Elm School allocated 1 extra hour per week to Armenian history and the Armenian Diaspora. The lack of time allocated by the Ministry of Education to the history curriculum together with the different timetables allocated by the seven schools attested to the low priority given to the socialisation of students along national unitary lines. In order to allow for additional interpretations, most of our school sample used supplementary history texts and learning material not requested by the Ministry of Education.

Our appraisal of supplementary history texts and other material available in five schools revealed that *Global Cultures* used by the Pine School, and cultural studies handouts by Cedar School were useful courses for fostering an understanding of ancient civilisations and their contribution to pluralism in today's Lebanon. Moreover, the *Culture of Old Civilizations* adopted by Yew School offered literature on the development of civilisations in the Fertile Crescent. However, the fact that the text neglected the cultural performance of confessional communities in Lebanon meant that students were denied the

opportunity to learn about the Lebanese plural reality. Other schools used supplementary textbooks, which were ethnocentric in nature. Interview data with a history teacher at Elm School showed that the book used by the school centred on the Armenian Diaspora and the Turkish atrocities committed during the Great Anatolian Genocide. In a similar vein, Oak School adopted a supplementary textbook entitled *Al Tanshia Al Watania* ('Patriotic Socialization') that expressed largely the Druze self-identity and resistance to colonial powers - namely France during its mandate of Syria and Lebanon (pp.34-69). Given the interpretation presented in the history text reflecting the Druze's version of outstanding historical events, a Druze policy-maker said to one of the researchers that the text 'did not suit other sects'.

Although Legislative Decree 1436 accords the right to the Ministry of Education to evaluate and approve history textbooks used by private schools, the procedure has, however, never been enforced. A decision-maker from the Center of Educational Research and Development said to the researchers that the Ministry of Education did not even have any information about the content of the various history textbooks used by private schools. The result, he added, 'has been a lack of uniformity in history teaching among the schools'. Our interview data obtained from history teachers across our school sample identified a number of noticeable conflicting interpretations as to the historical leaders of Lebanon and the creation of Greater Lebanon by the French Mandate in 1920. Regarding the formation of Greater Lebanon, the history teachers at Cedar and Pine tended to be favourable to the French Mandate and inclined to perceive Greater Lebanon as having historical roots laid down by Fakhreddine. On the contrary, history teachers at Oak and Yew considered Greater Lebanon as a scrambled French fabrication detached from the Arab World. In describing the resistance against the Ottomans in Lebanon, the history teacher at Yew School said:

'Though it is not mentioned in the book for certain political reasons, it is common knowledge in history that some Muslims preferred the Ottoman rule to the French one. This is attributed to religious factor. Some groups in Lebanon view the martyrs who faced the Ottomans as traitors others saw them as heroes.'

The Maronite history teacher of Cedar School lamented over the view which considered the martyrs as traitors who colluded against the Ottoman Empire.

Besides the constraint mentioned above, there seemed to be additional factors that prevented the majority of schools from contributing to students' knowledge of each others' histories and cultures. Although there was near-unanimity among history teachers across schools on the potential of history teaching for fostering inter-group knowledge, practical implementation of that potential was hindered by

the overloaded national curriculum and the firm requirements of the national examinations. The history teacher at Ash School, for instance, said to the researchers: 'The history curriculum is demanding and we cannot teach our students everything. We have to be selective at times'. Moreover, the history teachers at Yew and Oak felt that the Ministry of Education together with their schools should play a role in contributing to students' understanding of other histories and cultures than their own. However, the recognition of history teachers to the imperative of inter-group learning, possibly genuine in itself, was also limited by the ideological background of Muslim schools, which dismissed the notion of pluralism in Lebanon. In contrast, proponents of pluralism in Lebanon, mainly Maronites, encouraged inter-group learning in their schools. The Maronite educational decision-maker said to one of the researchers 'encouraging students to learn from each others' religious and historical backgrounds is at the heart of our educational objective'. Cedar's history teacher professed his school's practical commitment to inter-group learning:

'Though we are Maronites we do not teach the history of the Maronites because we are not an isolated community. Although each sect has its own version of history, our school offers cultural studies courses in order to give students an idea of how the confessional amalgam works in Lebanon.'

Other school teachers in the sample were supportive of inter-group learning promoted through the history curriculum, yet they tended to take a rather skeptical view about what their schools would do to transmit historical knowledge that promote inter-group learning among students. The history teacher of Beech School said to the researchers:

'If the communal objectives in the country are not clear, what do you want me to teach my students, whether they were Christians or Muslims? Teaching students about each other's historical roots is a good thing, but we cannot do that since we have to meet the requirements of the national examinations.'

The wealth of material from interviews with history teachers, of which a small amount is reported here, was confirmed by data obtained from students. Students' perceptions of events were undoubtedly affected by the impact of the history curriculum. Interview data showed that students at Yew School expressed little interest in Lebanese historical leaders and seemed to be more interested in the history of their lost homeland, Armenia. Another student in the school lamented what she regarded as the 'bias in the official textbook, which neglected the

Armenian Diaspora'. Interview data showed that the majority of students at Cedar School considered the official textbook biased since it ignored the history of the Maronites. A student said, 'the contribution of the Maronites to build up a citadel of freedom [Lebanon] in the region was overlooked by the book'. To a question about students' understanding of the historical leader Fakhreddine, a Sunnite student at Ash School said to one of the researchers: 'I do not understand why we should study about dead people who did little to solve our problems'. Other students at Cedar and Pine said to one of the researchers that the book used by their schools did not give enough information on Lebanese historical leaders. The variations in students' perceptions to historical leaders and events cannot be attributed only to history curriculum but to other factors that tend to intervene in the socialisation process of students such as the role of the family and political religious leaders. This view was shared by the Shiite educational decision-maker who said to one of the researchers:

'I do not think that we should blame lack of national consciousness among our students on education. I think that the family plays a greater role in their socialisation than schools do.'

In evaluating the official history textbooks, students at Ash School levelled resentment against the overloaded nature of the curriculum, not the textbook's content. Armenian students who complained about memorising dates and events that were presented in the official text shared their views. An Armenian student said: 'Sometimes I have difficulties with history because it is in Arabic but I should memorise it to pass'. Students at Oak and Pine said that they were stressed by the bookish nature of the course. A student at Pine School described the history teaching as 'bookish' and another student added: 'We have to memorise everything, even the silly details'. With the exception of Armenian students, most of students in the sample showed more interest in the history of Lebanon than in other units and subjects in the book. When probed further, a student at Ash School said: 'The history of Lebanon gives us more grades than the other lessons of the book'. This overwhelming motivation for grades was confirmed by a history teacher at Ash School who said, 'Students focus on chapters on Lebanon because they generate 60 percent of history grades in the official examinations'.

Conclusion

Our data have shown that history teaching in Lebanon is not conducive to national integration. First, little uniformity exists in the content and standards of history texts. Second, the Ministry of Education does not enforce its inspection

policies. Third, history teaching expresses loyalty to particularistic confessional groups rather than to the nation as a whole.

With the conclusion of the civil war in 1989, the Ministry of Education proposed a new national curriculum. The National Reconciliation Charter, the Ta'ef agreement signed in 1989, makes a reference to the need to standardising textbooks in history as well as civics. Although the Ministry of Education formed a committee vested with the responsibility for designing a new history curriculum and standardising history texts, educational decision-makers still face difficulties in achieving a consensus as to how Lebanon's history and political system should be interpreted and taught. In fact, the insistence on distinctive social and religious identities among confessional communities continues to prevent history teaching from creating a unified national consciousness among schoolchildren. However, despite the limitations of history teaching, the writing of a history curriculum relevant to Lebanon's political and plural needs is still possible. At present, the Ministry of Education has a unique opportunity to the Center for Educational Research and Development (CERD) to write a history text with a national frame of reference. Many education decision-makers have faith that the efforts made toward the setting of a standardised history textbook will bear fruits along the line. Others say that the educational controversy over the interpretation of Lebanon's political history will continue as far as confessional communities lack a collective political disposition to alter the *status quo*. As a decision-maker said to one of the researchers in response to a question on the future of role of education in Lebanon:

'Once you look at the situation, positive and negative do not exist. My statement is philosophical. We have to be realistic and do our best.'

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APPENDIX I

History Teacher Interview Schedule

School _____

Date _____

Number of years in teaching _____

Name of textbooks used _____

1. Does your school use more than one history textbook? Yes No

If yes, why? _____

2. Who decide on the supplementary textbook? _____

Please comment on the followings:

- Allocations of sessions
- The context of the official history textbook
- Students' attitudes
- The teaching process
- The role of France and the Ottoman Empire in Lebanon
- Independence of Lebanon
- The confessional culture of Lebanon.
- National identity

3. What kind of history textbook and teaching methods you think will help students understand the multicultural and multi-confessional dimensions of Lebanon both historical and modern?

1 Standardized 2 Objective 3 Multicultural 4 Neutral

Please comment: _____

4. Are you satisfied with the content of the book?

Yes No

Please comment: _____

5. How do you get feedback from students?

Questionnaire Informal means

Please comment: _____

6. Further comments: _____

APPENDIX II

Student Interview Schedule

School _____

Sect _____

Gender Male Female

Residential background _____

Last school attended _____

1. In your opinion; what is citizenship? _____

2. What do you like and dislike about history teaching? _____

3. Comment on the followings:

Independence of Lebanon

Fakhereddine

The role of the Ottoman Empire in Lebanon

The role of France in Lebanon

APPENDIX III

Confessional Pluralism and the Curriculum Education Decision-maker Interview Schedule

1. Date _____

2. Name _____

3. Position _____

4. Number of years in policy making _____

5. How do you describe Lebanon's educational system in the context of pluralism before the war and after? 1 Conducive to inter-group education 2 Fragmented

Please comment: _____

6. How do you evaluate the education policy-making process after the Ta'ef Accord?

1 Democratic 2 Confessionally based 3 Sufficient for mutual learning

Please comment: _____

7. Summarize the factors that led to the development of the new educational plan for Lebanon.

8. What factors (historical, political, social, cultural and economic) led to the establishment of your schools in Lebanon? Please comment on each:

9. What are the main sources of funding of your schools in Lebanon?

How do these factors relate to the wider Lebanese cultural and politico-economic contexts?

Very much Just a little

Please comment _____

10. What is the nature of your relationship with the Ministry of Education?

11. Why and how do you participate in the policy making process of the new educational plan?

12. What are the points of departure in the policy making process between your confessional group and others?

1 Cultural 2 Political 3 Financial 4 Others

Please comment: _____

MOTIVATION, SATISFACTION, SUCCESS ATTRIBUTIONS AND CHEATING AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN MOROCCO

NAIMA BENMANSOUR

Abstract – *A self-report questionnaire was administered to 287 high school students to explore their perceived goal orientations, satisfaction with school, success attributions, and cheating behaviours and beliefs. Factor analysis procedures were used to establish the reliability of the scales. Students rated mastery goals higher than performance goals, and were more internal than external in success attributions; yet, they reported low levels of satisfaction with school. In addition, engagement in cheating and the belief that cheating is acceptable received high ratings. Correlational and regression analyses revealed that satisfaction with school was a negative predictor, and the attribution of success to luck a positive predictor, of the cheating variables. Finally, mastery orientation showed a negative relation with the cheating measures.*

Introduction

A number of studies in the United States and Britain have already revealed that the practice of cheating in schools is widespread and is on the increase. Steinberg (1996) reported that two thirds of the students in his sample indicated that they had cheated on a test during the previous year, and that nearly nine out of ten participants admitted that they had copied someone else's homework. Schabs (1991) examined changes in cheating over time. His findings suggested that beliefs about the prevalence of cheating as well as admissions of cheating increased over the past thirty years. To date, there are no data on the prevalence of cheating among Moroccan students. However, cheating is held to be widespread among adolescents in high schools. Over the three-year period of high school, these students study for the baccalaureate exams which involve two types of assessment: (1) formal examinations set twice a year by the academy and (2) continuous assessment set by the teacher. As a result, students are constantly under the pressure to compete for high grades, which may perhaps make some of them more vulnerable to cheating.

One of the primary concerns of research on cheating is to explain why it is that some students engage in cheating whereas others do not. Newstead *et al.* (1996) suggested that cheating was more common in men than women, more common

with less able students than more able ones, more common in younger students than mature ones, and more common in science and technology students than those in other disciplines.

Motivation and cheating

A number of studies have investigated the relation between cheating and students' motivation, in particular their goal orientations. Two main types of goal orientation have been identified in the literature (e.g. Ames and Archer, 1988). Mastery goals refer to the preoccupation with the mastery of new skills and knowledge, and performance goals to the preoccupation with good grades and outperforming peers.

Newstead *et al.* (1996) suggested that students' motivation, in particular whether they are studying to learn rather than simply to obtain good grades, is a major factor in explaining differences in cheating. Similarly, Anderman *et al.* (1998) examined the relations of motivational variables to self-reported cheating behaviours and beliefs in adolescents. The results indicated that cheating behaviours and beliefs were correlated positively to personal extrinsic goals and school performance goals, and were negatively related to personal and school mastery goals.

Beliefs about the causes of success and cheating

One area that has been given little attention is the possible link between cheating and beliefs about the causes of success. Attribution theory holds that individuals, in achievement situations, often attribute their successes and failures to factors such as ability, effort or luck. Weiner (1979) distinguishes different dimensions in the perceived causes of success and failure and recognises that causes can be seen as internal (within ourselves) or external, and can be considered as controllable or uncontrollable. Differences in the degree of internability or controllability of the reasons of an outcome are held to affect the expectations for the future. For example, students who attribute success largely to internal factors (e.g. high effort) are apt to hold higher expectations for success than those who emphasise external or less controllable factors (e.g. good luck). A number of studies have shown that internal ability appears to be associated with high academic achievement, intrinsic motivation, and strong achievement behaviour such as preference for challenge, persistence, time on task, and effective decision-making (McGhee and Crandall, 1968; Rotter, 1966).

Although previous research has not emphasised the relation between success attributions and cheating, there is reason to believe that students who have an internal attributional style would be less likely to indulge in cheating than those who believe that success is caused by external factors such as luck. It is reasonable to expect that if students believe that success is caused by factors beyond their control – such as luck – they might withdraw efforts and view cheating as a viable means of survival.

Satisfaction with school learning and cheating

Another area that has been given little attention is the possible link between satisfaction with school learning and cheating. Calabrese and Cochran (1990) have looked at the relationship of alienation to cheating among a sample of American adolescents. They used three items to measure contextual alienation such as students' perceptions that their school or teachers are unfair, and four items to measure social alienation (e.g. living in a broken home, not attending church regularly). They found that contextual alienation was correlated with higher self-reported potential involvement in cheating but that social alienation was unrelated to students' unethical stance. One question that has not been addressed in this area of research concerns the relation between students' satisfaction with school learning and their reported engagement in cheating and their beliefs about cheating. There is reason to hypothesise that students who find their school work interesting and enjoyable are less likely to cheat or endorse cheating than those who experience boredom at school.

The purpose of the present study was twofold: First, to explore students' perceived satisfaction with school, goal orientations, beliefs about the causes of success, and cheating behaviours and beliefs. Second, to investigate the relations between self-reported cheating behaviours and beliefs and the other variables. It is hypothesised that students who report higher levels of satisfaction with school will be less likely to engage in cheating and to believe that cheating is acceptable. It is also predicted that those who attribute success to luck will tend to report greater engagement in cheating and higher endorsement of cheating.

Method

Subjects

A total of 287 students (150 boys and 137 girls) attending high schools in a large city in the western part of Morocco participated in this investigation. Participants were aged 16 to 18, were all studying for the baccalaureate degree and

were specialising in different areas like mathematics, sciences, economics or literature. They were drawn from three different schools: School A (a girls' school in the city centre), school B (a predominantly boys' school in the city centre), and school C (a mixed school in the suburbs).

Procedure

The questionnaires were written in Arabic, which is the medium of instruction in schools. They were administered during scheduled classes by the students' regular teachers. A note, attached to the questionnaire, explained the educational purpose of the study, stated that participation was voluntary, encouraged students to answer as honestly as possible, and assured them that their responses would remain anonymous. It was hoped to make the administration of the questionnaire as non-threatening as possible. The inventory took approximately 20 to 30 minutes to complete.

Measures

The questionnaire contained 38 items, and comprised scales for satisfaction with school, perceived causes of success, goal orientations, and cheating measures. The items were inspired by the literature and by the students' educational context. Principal component-analysis with varimax rotations were used to examine the structural validity of the instruments. The full set of measures, along with Cronbach's alpha coefficients, is presented in the Appendix.

Satisfaction with school. The students responded to eight items assessing their degree of enjoyment, interest or boredom experienced in school (e.g. *'I enjoy learning at school'*). These items were inspired by those developed by Duda *et al.* (1992).

Beliefs about the causes of success. Students were asked to respond to 15 potential causes of success in school. This measure incorporated four subscales assessing students' beliefs that achievement in school stems from (a) effort (e.g. *students are most successful if they do their very best*), (b) ability (e.g. *students are most successful if they are capable*), (c) luck (e.g. *students succeed if they are lucky*), and (d) the teacher (e.g. *students are most successful if the teacher likes them*).

Goal orientations. Two subscales were created for measuring goal orientations. The mastery orientation scale (four items) assessed students' interest in, and enjoyment of, learning in school (e.g. *'I feel most successful when I learn something I did not know before'*). The performance orientation (four items)

tapped students' concern with grades and demonstrating their ability (e.g. '*The main reason I do my school work is because we get grades*').

Cheating measures. The students responded to two subscales. A 4-item subscale aimed at assessing their cheating behaviours in school (e.g. '*I use cheat sheets when I take exams*'), and a 3-item scale aimed at measuring their beliefs about the extent to which cheating is acceptable or serious (e.g. '*I believe that cheating is very serious*'). It is to be noted that the items selected for measuring cheating behaviours covered the facets of cheating which are widely recognised as the most typical acts of cheating in the context investigated.

Given that cheating is a sensitive area, it was pointed out by a number of researchers (e.g. Newstead *et al.*) that it is difficult to determine whether subjects give honest reports of their cheating behaviour. However, Calabrese and Cochran (1990) reported that a wide array of research on this issue consistently suggests that the self-report format produces reliable and valid measures of cheating. This is particularly true when confidentiality and anonymity are strictly guaranteed.

All items on the scales were presented in a five-point Likert format ranging from '*not at all true of me*' (1) to '*very true of me*' (5).

Additional measure. An open-ended question was added to the questionnaire, asking the students to write down their personal observations or comments. The aim was to give the students the opportunity to express themselves on any issue related to their own agenda, and also to gain naturalistic evidence that could potentially shed light on the quantitative results.

Results

In order to demonstrate the factorial validity of the scales used in this study, factor analysis procedures were applied to the items contained in each scale. The results revealed clearly the predicted dimensions. Scale-items items and reliabilities for all the measures are presented in the Appendix. Items of each scale were used to create composite scores. Means, standard deviations and reliabilities (Cronbach's α coefficients) are reported in Table 1. The percentage of respondents who rated items as '*always/mostly true of me*' are also presented in Table 1.

Results indicate that mastery and performance goal orientations were given high ratings (always/mostly true) by 79. % and 58% of the students, respectively. These results suggest that whereas more than half the students exhibited a high performance orientation, the majority of them strongly endorsed the mastery goals. By contrast, students' levels of satisfaction with school were comparatively low. Only 22 % of the students seemed to be highly satisfied with school.

TABLE 1: Means, SD and percentage level of response of those who responded 'always true of me' and 'mostly true of me'.

Variable	% level of response	Means	SD	α
Cheating				
beliefs	21%	2.72	1.24	.75
behaviour	25%	2.83	1.22	.88
Satisfaction with school work	22%	3.14	.88	.87
Causes of success				
Effort	60%	3.94	.72	.64
Ability	53%	3.73	.87	.62
Luck	14%	2.47	1.09	.89
Teacher	33%	3.48	.87	.67
Goal orientations				
Mastery	79%	4.29	.58	.52
Performance	58%	3.79	.98	.79

Additionally, results show that the internal causes of success (effort and ability) were given high ratings (always/mostly true) by 60% and 53% of students, respectively. By contrast, the external causes of success (luck and teacher) received lower ratings (14% and 34%, respectively). On average students appeared to be more internal than external in their success attributions.

Interestingly, as shown in Table 1, a quarter of the students reported indulging in cheating 'always or mostly'. A slightly lower portion (21%) of students gave high ratings to the beliefs that cheating is acceptable. Such figures appear significant if we take into account that only 8% the students rated cheating behaviours as 'not at all true', and 13% reported that they did not believe at all in the acceptability of cheating. This implies that about 90% of the subjects reported more or less engagement in, and endorsement of, cheating. These figures appear much higher than those found in the study reported by Anderman *et al.* (1998) who reported that 39% of students from a middle school in the USA admitted that they cheated.

Gender differences

Differences between the genders reached significance only in respect of cheating behaviours, where males scored significantly higher than females ($t = 2.78, p < 0.006$). This finding is consistent with previous research (e.g. Calabrese

and Cochran, 1990; Newstead *et al.*, 1996) which showed that academic dishonesty is self-reported as occurring more often among males. It is worth noting that no significant difference between the sexes was observed on beliefs about the acceptability of cheating, goal orientations, satisfaction with school and success attributions. This suggests that whereas boys and girls exhibited similar beliefs about cheating and similar motivational and satisfaction levels, boys reported greater engagement in cheating. There seems to be no obvious reason for this difference. Newstead *et al.* (1996) suggested that males and females may indulge in similar amounts of cheating but that the males overreport their own cheating because 'it would be seen as the masculine thing to do to beat the system through dishonest means' (p.239). Another explanation for this difference is that females may be more reluctant to take risks than males.

Correlational analysis

The Pearson product-moment correlations between the cheating measures and the measures of students' goal orientations, success attributions, and satisfaction with school are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2: *Correlations among the variables*

Measure	Behav.	Beliefs	Satisfac.	Effort	Ability	Luck	Teacher	Mast.	Perfor.
Cheating									
Behaviours	-								
Beliefs	.61	-							
Satisfaction	-.39	-.43	-						
Causes of success									
Effort	-.09	-.18	.15	-					
Ability	-.6	-.19	.20	.35	-				
Luck	.30	.40	-.24	-.31	-.20	-			
Teacher	-.04	-.02	.04	.15	.12	.22	-		
Goal orientations									
Mastery	-.14	-.24	.28	.06	.16	.02	.05	-	
Performance	.01	.04	-.00	.05	.14	.02	.11	.06	-

Note. N=287. For $r_s < .13$, $p > .05$. For $r_s > .14$, $p < .01$. For $r_s < .18$, $p < .001$.

As expected, these results indicate that higher scores of satisfaction with school were negatively related to self-reported engagement in cheating behaviours ($r = -.39$) and beliefs that cheating is acceptable ($r = -.43$). In other words, students who reported lower levels of satisfaction with school also reported greater engagement in, and stronger endorsement of, cheating.

Additionally, results in Table 2 indicate that the cheating measures showed distinctive patterns of relations with perceived causes of academic success. As predicted, perceiving that *luck* is the cause of success was positively related to higher reports of cheating ($r = .30$) and to beliefs that cheating behaviours are acceptable ($r = .40$). This suggests that those students who tended to attribute success externally to luck also tended to report greater engagement in, and endorsement of, cheating. In contrast, attributing success to the external causes of success *effort* and *ability* correlated negatively with beliefs that cheating is acceptable ($r = -.18$ and $-.19$, respectively). Students who tended to attribute success internally to effort or ability were less likely to believe that cheating was acceptable. Effort and ability attributions for success were unrelated to cheating behaviours.

Finally, perceived mastery goal orientation was inversely related to self-reported involvement in cheating behaviours ($r = -.14$) and cheating beliefs ($r = -.24$). This suggests that mastery-oriented students tended to report less engagement in, and less endorsement of, cheating. This is consistent with Anderman *et al.*'s (1998) study which suggested that cheating behaviours and beliefs were negatively related to personal and school mastery. However, unlike Anderman *et al.*'s results which indicated a positive relation between personal extrinsic goals and cheating, the present study showed that the performance goal orientation and the cheating measures were unrelated.

Regression analysis

Hierarchically ordered regression analyses were conducted for cheating behaviours and cheating beliefs with the measures of satisfaction with school, success attributions and goal orientation as independent variables. The results of the regression are displayed in Table 3.

In accordance with predictions, it was found that satisfaction with school was a significant negative predictor of cheating behaviours and beliefs (betas = $-.34$ and $-.18$, respectively). In contrast, the external cause of success 'luck' was a significant positive predictor of cheating behaviours and beliefs (betas = $.24$ and $.35$, respectively). Further, mastery orientation predicted cheating beliefs negatively (beta = $-.27$). No predictive power was observed for any of the other independent variables.

TABLE 3: Regression Analyses (Beta Values)

Independent Variable	Dependent variable	
	Cheating behaviours	Cheating beliefs
Satisfaction	-.34*	-.18*
Luck	.24*	.35*
Mastery	-.06	-.27*
Ability	.02	-.05
Effort	.02	-.03
Teacher	-.01	-.07
Performance	-.00	.02
Multiple R	.46	.54

* $p < .001$

Results of the open-ended question

A total of 192 students (67% of the sample) responded quite substantially to the open-ended question. Generally, they were thankful that someone was interested in them. The responses were content analysed and two broad categories were identified: Students' dissatisfaction with various aspects of the school and the problem of cheating.

Four main sources of dissatisfaction with school were highlighted by the students: the curriculum, the teacher, the teaching procedures, and the evaluation system.

The curriculum seemed to be at the core of students' concerns. A total of 81 students reported that the curriculum was overloaded and too long to cope with. It was pointed out that teachers rarely managed to finish the programmes, despite the extra hours they provided students with, and that many of them resorted to giving students photocopies of the lessons that they did not have time to cover in class. The majority of respondents appeared to be overwhelmed by the great amount of knowledge they were expected to learn. Their reactions to the school curriculum are illustrated in the following two quotes, by a female student from school A, and a male student from school B, respectively.

'The huge quantity of lessons and chapters that we have to learn makes us forget the value of what we learn and what we want to learn. It is as though the aim is to make us dull or stupid.'

'The number of lessons and chapters that we have to assimilate is so great that we have no time left for exploring or understanding the material. So, we have to learn the lessons by heart, without understanding them. This is the high school policy: rote learning with no time for investigation, no room for discussion or understanding.'

Respondents also expressed their concerns about the quality of the curriculum. A total of 41 respondents thought that the contents of the curriculum did not come up to their expectations in terms of usefulness, interest and modernity, as expressed by three male students from school B:

'The school curriculum is not up to the standards. It relies on cramming our heads with lots of information required for the exams, without taking into account whether this information is of any use to students' education. The curriculum needs to be changed or at least reconsidered.'

'Certain subjects such as social studies are heavy, lack modernity and renewal, and as such they inspire us with boredom and disgust. We need to understand in detail what is going on now. We want the curriculum to be more up to date and more modern.'

'The curriculum is out of touch with real life and the outside world, and not in line with modernity and technological development.'

A total of 21 respondents reported that they were exposed to too many academic subjects, and that there was a lack of cultural, artistic and leisure activities, including information technology. They argued that such activities would help them explore new talents, widen the scope of their education and make it more in line with modern life.

Another major source of dissatisfaction for students was the teacher. Around 64 respondents stressed that the teacher played a crucial role in determining students' success and satisfaction with school. More than 40 respondents reported that their teachers did not fulfil their educational roles properly, in that they cared more about the curriculum than about their students' needs and interests. This view is illustrated in the following quotes by two male students from school B:

'Most teachers do not pay attention to students' problems, they simply think of ending up the syllabus in time. I wish that education in schools will become more caring and more motivating for students which is not the case now.'

'I believe that one of the reasons for the falling standards in education is that the teacher relies principally on providing students only with what is on the curriculum without discussing things with them. As a result, the students feel marginalised, on the periphery, and they do not care about what the teacher is saying.'

A further source of dissatisfaction highlighted by 30 respondents was the nature of the lessons themselves. These were thought to be based more on cramming students than on developing their creativity, critical thinking and free expression. In this respect, two male students from school C wrote:

'Some teachers do not consider us as adults capable of discussing issues and expressing our opinions with all objectivity. Rather they give their lessons as though they were dealing with pre-programmed computers.'

'The lessons we get are routinised and not stimulating, which incites some students to skip classes. We aspire to something new, to lessons that stimulate our curiosity and enhance our motivation to work harder.'

A total of 22 respondents highlighted teacher-student relationship in their responses. They suggested that a poor rapport can have devastating effects on the students. Three male students from school B expressed their respective views as follows:

'Some teachers, with all the respect I have for them, do not know how to behave intelligently with students. Teachers are educators, and their primary role is to understand their students' needs and problems. Exerting pressure on students does not solve a conflict but makes it worse.'

'I wish that teachers put themselves in students' shoes in order to realise the extent of the damage they inflict on their morale and aspirations. When teachers always blame and criticise students, they destroy their personalities and make them feel despised by their peers.'

'Teachers should stop being acrimonious, rebuking students and then leaving the class with an easy conscience. A good teacher is not expected to be a sharp critic, but a subtle psychologist.'

A total of 49 respondents raised the issue of cheating and gave full accounts of its prevalence and reasons. Cheating was perceived by respondents as

'something real and widespread' that can hardly be resisted, as a female student from school A wrote:

'I had always thought of myself as someone incapable of cheating at exams until I realised that most of the students, whom I know very well, including the most brilliant and hardworking among them, do indulge in cheating. So, on the day of the exam, I took with me my notes on 'human rights' which was the last lesson we did in class. When I looked at the exam question it was on 'human rights'. So even though I am a very timid person, I copied from the notes I had taken with me, and in the end, I obtained a better mark than the one I got before.'

Not only was cheating thought to be widespread, but it was considered to be part of the school culture, as expressed by a female student from school B:

'As a student who has experienced cheating in secondary school, I believe that cheating is a phenomenon that has developed on a large scale to the point that it has become natural for students not only to admit to cheating, but to be proud of it.'

A similar view was expressed by a male student from the same school:

'Cheating, by its widespread incidence, has become something normal and natural, something considered to be unquestionable, something that is part of student behaviour and experience.'

As noted by Newstead *et al.*, students who cheat tend to neutralise or rationalise their behaviour, blaming it on the situation rather than on themselves. Perhaps in an attempt to protect themselves from blame and from moral disapproval, respondents provided a number of reasons that they claimed 'forced them to cheat'.

The majority of respondents argued that indulging in cheating was a major strategy for coping with subject matters which required them to assimilate or memorise a huge amount of knowledge. In this respect, two female students from school B observed:

'Students who cheat in social studies and religious education deserve some compassion because these disciplines require the student to do the impossible, i. e., to absorb all the information in detail as it appears on the texts.'

'Why are teachers surprised when they find a student cheating at exams? How can this student absorb eleven or twelve disciplines

and in every discipline a great number of chapters and in every chapter a huge number of paragraphs?’

Most respondents claimed that one of the main reasons for cheating was to maximise their chances for success. In this respect two female students from school A observed:

‘Nowadays, hard work and effort are no longer the recipe for success. Some students do nothing and do not participate in class. Yet, they achieve successful results. The answer is easy: they are champions at cheating strategies.’

‘As soon as we get into the classroom, we write and write until we get exhausted. At the end we get the minimum explanation. What can we do? we resort to coaching, we work day and night, and what we get in the end? Results which do not meet our expectations at all. Now I imagine that everybody will understand why some students rely on cheating. This remains the only strategy or way to success.’

Obtaining good marks was another reason put forward as a justification for cheating, as is suggested in the following quotes by two female students from school B and A, respectively.

‘I like learning new and interesting things, but at school, marks become an obstacle to this type of knowledge. So the students start to look for grades by any means, such as cheating.’

‘Social studies, philosophy, religious education and Arabic take up a great part of our time and prevent us from devoting ourselves to scientific subjects. If we neglect them we risk having poor marks on them and thereby lowering our overall grade. As a result, students resort to unlawful means to get high grades in these subjects.’

Consistent with Newstead’s (1996) finding, the fact that ‘everybody does it’ as a reason for cheating also emerged in the respondents’ data. This view was captured by a student from school B who reported:

‘When you see that cheating has become common, and that it is possible for all to reach their objectives, even if this achievement is relative, why can’t you too relieve your stress and strain in just an instant in which you copy from a sheet of paper and the problem is finished?’

Similarly, peer pressure was cited as a justification for cheating, suggesting that those who do not participate in cheating may sense a high degree of estrangement from their environment. In this respect, a female student from school A wrote:

‘Those who choose not to cheat expose themselves to criticism from their peers. Consequently, everybody draws away from them and they stay isolated.’

As shown by the following extract from a male student from school B, cheating was used as a way of beating the system.

‘I don’t think that cheating is the serious thing. What is serious is that, at the end of the year, teachers find it natural to make photocopies of the lessons they did not have time to cover in class and to distribute them to the students without any explanations. This incites students to cheat by taking those very photocopies to copy from during the exams.’

Around 18 respondents believed that cheating in school is unfair and should be eradicated in order to give students equal opportunities at exams. It was pointed out that those who cheated obtained results which they did not deserve and those who worked harder were not rewarded. In this respect, a male student from school C wrote:

‘Some students think that cheating is one of their rights. This is wrong. No young generation, no nation can thrive through cheating. The eradication of this phenomenon calls for a radical change in the educational policy from its very roots.’

A total of 47 respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the evaluation system. They perceived the marking to be unfair, argued that examinations often aimed at testing students’ memory rather their skills and real competence, and that very often results did not measure up to their expectations. They also pointed out that the examination standards differed from one academy to another, in such a way that students did not have equal opportunities for success, and for accessing higher institutions of their choice. They observed that even their future beyond the baccalaureate was affected by the system. On the whole, examinations seemed to be regarded with uncertainty and mistrust, as something beyond their control, subject to the vagaries of luck, and in which effort was not a guarantee for success.

Discussion and conclusion

The purpose of the present study was: (1) to explore students' perceived levels of goal orientations, satisfaction with school, success attribution, and cheating behaviours and beliefs; (2) to examine the relation between the cheating measures and the other variables.

Results indicated that more than half of the students investigated appeared to pursue performance goals, but the great majority of them tended to be highly oriented towards mastery goals. This suggests that despite their great concern with grades, students seemed to place a high value on learning for its own sake. With regard to success attribution, students exhibited an internal style by giving more credit to effort and ability than to teacher and luck. However, students' perceived levels of satisfaction with school did not seem to match their high motivational profile. Only about one in five students reported high levels of satisfaction with school. This finding was largely supported by evidence from students' responses to the open-ended question. All respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with various aspects of school learning. The most frequently mentioned sources of dissatisfaction had to do with the curriculum, the teacher, the teaching approach and the evaluation system.

Cheating was reported to be common among students, as one in four students reported high levels of cheating, and only 8% of students reported never engaging in cheating. Evidence from students' responses to the open-ended question lent support to the widespread incidence of cheating, and also revealed that students provided a number of reasons to justify their cheating behaviours. The most common reasons were coping with curriculum overload and memorisation, obtaining higher grades, and maximising the chances for success.

Satisfaction with school emerged as a negative predictor of cheating behaviours and beliefs. Students who reported higher levels of dissatisfaction also reported greater engagement in cheating and believed that cheating was somewhat acceptable. Presumably, if the students cannot cope with the pressures placed on them by the curriculum, the evaluation system and the increased standards to enter university, they may become disaffected with the system and alienated from school and from their studies. This may create an environment in which unethical behaviour is viewed as acceptable since it is perceived to be correlated with survival. This finding is consistent with Calabrese and Cochran's (1990) study which suggested that alienation from school may be a major factor in explaining academic dishonesty among adolescents. This would imply that if students become disaffected with a school system, they may adopt an attitude that ignores community interests, and places a priority on personal concerns.

Additionally, luck emerged as a positive predictor of cheating behaviours and the belief that cheating is acceptable. In situations where they become persuaded that effort does not pay, that examination results are subject to chance and uncertainty, students may withdraw their efforts and attribute success to luck in order to protect their self-esteem. In the face of threatening situations, they may resort to any means available including cheating. This view is reflected by a male student from school B who wrote:

'I believe that students should not rely on what they memorise for the exams, but also on what is referred to as cheating, and on luck as well. The fact is that there are some students who strain themselves through hard work in learning their lessons, but they do not achieve well, whereas those who do not even attend classes regularly outperform the others because they rely on luck and cheating.'

Results in the present study also revealed that mastery orientation was a negative predictor of beliefs that cheating is acceptable. Mastery orientation was also negatively associated with cheating behaviours and beliefs. Students who reported higher mastery orientation tended to report less engagement in cheating.

Overall, the students investigated showed high levels of intrinsic interest in learning, and expected the curriculum to be more in line with modernity, with reality, and with the outside world. They also argued for a curriculum that enhanced their critical thinking and creativity, and helped them develop new talents and interests through extra curricular activities. However the educational environment did not seem to match their strong motivation for learning and for personal development. Results suggested that students were disaffected with school and the educational system as a whole. Respondents to the open-ended question observed that emphasising quantity over quality and memorisation over thinking skills and creativity was counterproductive and contributed little to the students' education and personal development.

In order to meet students' needs and help them develop positive attitudes towards school, there needs to be a move away from a knowledge transmission and reproducing approach to education, towards an approach which takes a wider view of what education is all about, and which places the learner at the centre of the educational process.

In the first place, the curriculum needs to be more appealing to the students, and more in line with their reality. The link between what is being taught and the outside world needs to be made more prominent for the learners. In addition, extracurricular activities need to be introduced in order to humanise schools and

offer learners alternative ways of achieving their potential without being concerned about grades and examinations.

Teachers and examiners need to place less emphasis on memorisation processes and consider ways of stimulating learner thinking skills, creativity, and the ability to see reality from more than one perspective. Deeply engaging activities such as problem-solving are more likely than recall tasks to boost students' interest in their school work.

Educating the *whole person*, including the cognitive and affective side of the learner needs to be one of the primary goals of school education. This implies providing learners with a nurturing environment which promotes their self-actualisation and personal growth. A caring environment is likely to enhance learners' sense of belonging and reduce their feelings of alienation from school.

If the students perceive the educational environment to be more in harmony with their needs and interests, and more in line with their views about what education is all about, they will perhaps develop more positive attitudes towards school and become less vulnerable to cheating. These issues are of a central importance and need to be addressed in future research.

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APPENDIX

Scales and Reliabilities

School cheating

Cheating behaviours (4 items; $\alpha = .88$)

- I copy answers from other students when I do my school work.
- I copy answers from other students when I take exams.
- I exchange information with other students when I take exams.
- I use cheat sheets when I take exams.

Cheating beliefs (3 items; $\alpha = .75$)

- Cheating is something very serious
- Cheating in exams may be acceptable.
- It is natural, in some circumstances to cheat at the exams.

Causes of success

Luck (4 items; $\alpha = .89$)

- Students get good grades if they are lucky.
- Students succeed if they are lucky.
- The type of grades students get depends on how lucky they are.
- Passing exams is a question of luck.

Teacher (4 items; $\alpha = .67$)

- Students are most successful if the teacher encourages them.
- Students are most successful if the teacher gives them the experience of success.
- Students are most successful if the teacher likes them.
- Students are most successful if the teacher is competent.

Effort (4 items; $\alpha = .64$)

- Students are most successful if they study well.
- Students are most successful if they try again and again.
- Students are most successful if they do their very best.
- Students are most successful if they rely on their efforts.

Ability (3 items; $\alpha = .62$)

- Students are most successful if they are capable.
- Being successful is a question of ability.
- Students are most successful if they are intelligent.

Satisfaction with school (8 items; $\alpha = .87$)

- I usually find school enjoyable and interesting.
- I enjoy learning at school.
- I enjoy doing my schoolwork.
- I usually get really involved when I do my schoolwork.
- I feel bored at school.
- At school I usually wish time would end quickly.
- I usually come to school because I have to.
- At school I often daydream instead of paying attention.

Goal orientations

Performance (4 items; $\alpha = .79$)

- I feel successful when I get better grades than my peers'.
- The main reason I do my school work is because we get grades.
- I feel good when I do better than my classmates.
- The most important thing for me is to get good grades.

Mastery (4 items; $\alpha = .52$)

- I feel most successful when I learn something I did not know before.
- I feel most successful when I understand things that interest me.
- The main reason I do my school work is
- Discovering new things is more important to me than the grades I get.

Research Report

EDUCATION STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD GENDER ROLES

AYSENTUR YONTAR TOGROL
ATIYE ÖNÜR

Abstract – *The focus of this study is to examine candidate teachers' and school counsellors' attitudes towards gender roles and to see if the variables like gender, years spent at the Faculty of Education (or grade level), and the area of study within the Faculty of Education have any impact on their attitudes toward gender roles. A total of 562 subjects participated in the sample of the study. The data were collected by administering a questionnaire which measures attitudes toward gender roles. The study has three independent variables – gender, area of study, and grade level. The data were analysed by using one-way ANOVA, Sheffe test and t-test. It was found that, according to the gender and the area of study, students present differences in their attitudes towards gender roles, but there was no significant difference between different grade levels.*

Introduction

It can be said that sex stereotyping starts at the moment of birth - probably even before birth, when expectations related to the new-coming baby are being considered. It continues during childhood when girls are given dolls, boys are given toy trucks, and even story books and comics are sex-divided. Children's play and play-groups tend to be sex-segregated and to be sex-differentiated by the type of activities they are involved in.

Values related to gender roles are reproduced within families, and maintained during school life. Literature about the dynamics of interactions between teachers and students gives us valuable information regarding inequalities in the treatment of the two sexes and further enlightens interesting points (Kelly *et al.*, 1985; Kelly, 1986; Ebbeck, 1984; Kahle and Damjanovic, 1997; Jones, 1989). Kelly (1986), for instance, drawing on a meta-analytic study related to the gender differences in teacher-pupil interactions, estimated that teachers spend 56% of their time with males, and 44% with female students, concluding that girls are under-represented in teacher-pupil interactions. Similarly Jones (1989) showed that teachers addressed significantly more praise, conversation, private communications, behavioural warnings, and direct questions to male students. Some mechanisms in formal education institutions – such as gender-biased curricula, curriculum

materials, textbooks, classroom dynamics and management – also employ and maintain discrimination on the basis of gender. For example, text books traditionally characterise females as passive, emotional creatures defined by family roles, whereas males are generally characterised in opposite but equally stereotypical roles. Such textbooks strengthen the image of males and females during school life and help to structure gender stereotypes (Boocock, 1971; McCune and Matthews, 1975; Sadker and Sakker, 1981; Helvacioglu, 1996).

Acker (1988) has documented how teachers contribute to gender inequalities in schools. She proposed three main categories of inequalities which may summarise the results of related research studies. According to Acker, inequalities in the classroom include (a) the dynamics of teacher-student and student-student relationships, (b) the establishment of a 'gender regime' – which is the dominant motif in a school and which contributes to the construction of masculinity and femininity and the sexual division of labour; this may include curricula, timetables and all those practices of school life demonstrating gender as the major organising principle, and (c) teacher resistance, that is, the ideologies and beliefs held by teachers, and which causes them to resist anti-sexist or equal opportunity initiatives, policies and practices in their schools. Teachers' behaviours may either reflect and accelerate the discriminatory practices or they may challenge those practices.

The focus of the present study is to examine prospective teachers' and counsellors' attitudes towards gender roles and to see if the gender of the respondents, the grade level and the area of study have any effect on their attitudes toward gender roles.

Research Method

Sample

The data of the study were collected from prospective teachers and prospective counsellors enrolled at Bogaziçi University Faculty of Education. In Turkey, all teachers must be university graduates of four-year undergraduate programmes. Entrance to universities is regulated by a centralised University Entrance Examination. According to Akarsu (2000), 1.4 million youngsters took the two-tier university entrance examinations in 1996 and only one out of ten was placed in one of the academic options. Bogaziçi University is one of the top universities and every department of the university attracts the best performing students in that exam. Students from three different areas of study have participated in the sample (Foreign Language Education, Science Education, Guidance and Counselling). All of these areas of study are four-year undergraduate programmes. In both of the teacher education programmes – i.e. Foreign Language Education, Science

Education – students get similar pedagogical training courses as well as education courses related to their specific fields. In none of the programmes is there a specific course related to gender and education.

A total of 562 prospective teachers and counsellors participated in the sample. Also the ratio of questionnaires that were completed without any missing value was approximately 92%. There were 363 female and 184 male subjects in the sample. In other words, 64% of the sample consisted of females, whereas 33% of them were males. Distribution of subjects according to the grade levels and programmes are shown in Figure 1 and Figure 2.

Instrument

The data were collected by administering a questionnaire which consisted of two parts. The first part included demographic information, and the second part was a scale with 30 items which measures attitudes toward gender roles. The scale

FIGURE 1: Distribution of subjects according to programmes

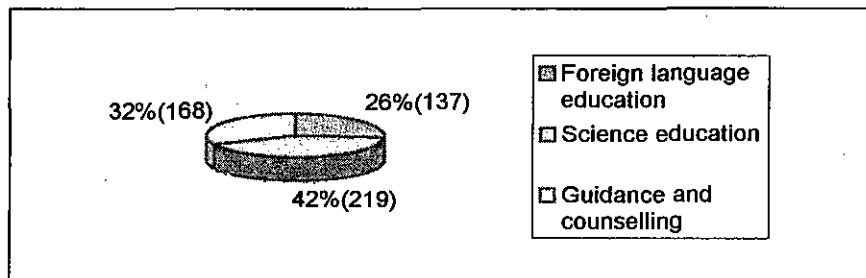
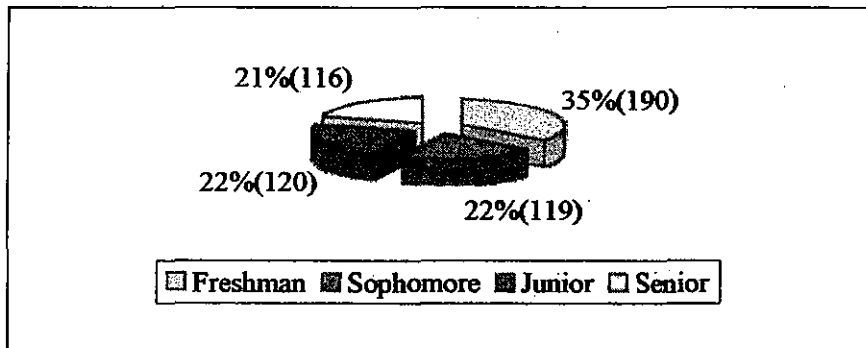


FIGURE 2: Distribution of subjects according to grade levels



was originally developed by Chirestensen and Massey (1989). The original scale presents a variety of commonly-held stereotypes of role-appropriate male and female behaviours, which can be classified as social roles, domestic roles, professional roles and attitudes to education and children. After translation studies, two of the items from the original scale were omitted from the Turkish version because they were culturally irrelevant. For example, the statement, 'It is important for a teacher to say 'he' or 'she' when using an example which could refer to a male or female' was omitted because in the Turkish language only one pronoun is used for the third person singular form, so there is no indication of gender similar to 'he' or 'she' third person singular forms as in the English language. Each of the 30 items in the Turkish version had five response alternatives, ranging from 1 (strongly agree) which represents a traditional perspective, to 5 (strongly disagree) which represents an egalitarian perspective, except for some reverse items. The internal consistency of the questionnaire was calculated to be .92 by Cronbach Alpha. The data were collected on three independent variables, namely gender (female, male), area of study (Foreign Language Education, Science Education, Guidance and Counselling), and grade level (1, 2, 3, 4). The total score obtained from the instrument was the dependent variable. Possible scores on the second part of the questionnaire ranged from a minimum of 30 (traditional) to a maximum of 150 (egalitarian).

Data analysis

For the purpose of the analysis, scoring of several items was reversed and recoded. For example, one of the statements: 'Girls are better than boys at rea-ding', a score of one (strongly agree) reflects a traditional perspective, while five (strongly disagree) indicates an egalitarian position. The reverse is the case in the item 'Girls should share the cost of dates with their boy friends'. The data were analysed with one-way ANOVA by using the total score from the scale as the dependent variable. To compare the means, Sheffe test and t-test were also used.

Results

The result of one-way ANOVA by using the total scale as the dependent variable showed a significant main effect of gender ($F = 90.264, p < .0001$). The result of t-test for independent samples of gender is shown in Table 1. As can be seen from Table 1, there is a significant difference between the mean scores of the two groups, where females ($X_F = 103.14$) had more egalitarian views than males ($X_M = 87.03$).

TABLE 1: *t*-test results for independent samples of gender

	n	X	SD	SE of X
female	363	103.14	10.99	.57
male	184	87.03	14.20	1.04
mean difference = 16.10				
Levene's Test for Equality of Variances: F=8.75 p=.003				

The results of one-way ANOVA by using the total scale as the dependent variable showed that there is a significant main effect of area of study ($F = 10.11$, $p < .0001$). In order to analyse the differences between areas of study, the Sheffe test with significance level .05 was conducted and the results indicated that subjects enrolled in Foreign Language Education ($X_{FL} = 102.0876$) and Guidance and Counselling programmes ($X_{GC} = 102.1667$) had more egalitarian views than the subjects enrolled in Science Education programme ($X_{SE} = 91.5479$). In other words, students studying science education presented significantly different attitudes in comparison to students studying language and counselling ($p < .05$).

The results of one-way ANOVA by using the total scale as the dependent variable showed that there is no significant main effect of grade or the years of study in the Faculty of Education ($F = 2.927$, $p > .01$).

Discussion

The results suggest that gender and area of study contribute to a difference in students' attitudes toward gender roles. Similar results have been found in the related literature (Pratt, 1985; Spear, 1985; Chirestensen and Massey, 1989; Önr and Engin, 1996). Females and males have significant differences in their attitudes toward gender roles. Males hold more traditional views whereas females have more egalitarian views of gender roles. This result shows that males are more conservative whereas females are more open to changing roles and more egalitarian. It can therefore be said that gender difference reflects differences in peoples' expectations related to gender roles. There may be several explanations for this: for example, females in the sample constitute a select group in the sense that they were the brightest candidates in the university entrance examination, are

hard working and ambitious, and can afford to study at one of the top universities of Turkey. Their performance level may be an indicator of their characteristics. As has already been mentioned, the ratio of placement in one of the academic programs as a result of success in university entrance exam was one out of ten in 1996. If the chances of male and female high school graduates are compared, the ratio is in favour of males. According to Ministry of Education statistics (1999), there was a total of 15,074,411 students in different levels of education. 8,389,965 of them were males and 6,684,446 of them were females. If the male-female ratio is calculated by using the above mentioned figures, the result is approximately 5:4. As the level of education increases, and if only secondary school education is considered, we find a total of 607,332 male and 391,357 female students, with the male to female ratio working out at approximately 6:4. So, at the graduation of secondary school education, females and males enter the university entrance examination along this ratio and it may help to understand the characteristics of female students in the university population in Turkey. Females who have made it up to this point may suffer more from stereotyped behaviour patterns and because of that reason they may be more prone to changing their behavioural patterns to more egalitarian gender roles.

The present data also shows that there is a significant effect of the area of study on attitudes towards gender roles. In other words, students who study language education and guidance and counselling present more egalitarian views than students enrolled in the Science Education programme. Of course, students' entry characteristics and demographical characteristics may vary in these programmes. In order to have an idea about the differences in sample students' demographic characteristics, some related descriptive statistics may serve. For example, 67% of the students in science education programme lived in a city before their university education. In contrast, the corresponding statistics were 81% for those in foreign language education, and 89% for those studying guidance and counselling. The fact that 33% of students in science education programme lived in a village or a small town most of their life may account for the more traditional attitudes evinced by these undergraduates. Similarly, if we look at the education levels of parents, students in science education programme present different characteristics than the ones who enrolled in other two programmes. Only 29% of science education students have mothers who have graduated from a high school or a university, and 41% of them have fathers having graduated from a high school or a university. In contrast, 69% of language education students have fathers who have a high school education or who are university graduates. The percentage of language education programme students with high school or university graduate mothers is 48%. Some characteristics of parents of guidance and counselling students are similar to those of parents of language students, with 68% of mothers and 76% of

fathers being high school or university graduates. Again, if we look at the occupations of mothers, we note that 83% of science education students reported that their mothers do not work, with the percentage decreasing to 78 for those in language education, and 74 for those in guidance and counselling. These figures suggest that students who study science have different demographical characteristics in comparison to others and this difference may shape their attitudes toward gender roles.

Another important point is related to the gender distribution or male/female ratio in these programmes. There was a total of 249 females in language education and guidance and counselling, whereas in science education, the number of female students was approximately 1:3, working out to a total of 92. A consideration of the difference in the male/female ratio may well contribute additional points to the discussion. The male/female ratio in these programmes typically reflects the masculinity of science and related professions. The masculinity of science is an example of the cultural reproduction of gender which deserves closer attention. Kelly (1985) identifies four important points behind the arguments related to the masculinity of science. The first point, according to Kelly, is related to the number of those who study science, who teach it, and/or who is recognised as a scientist. The second point is about the way science is presented in society. The third point is related to the classroom behaviours and interactions whereby elements of masculinity and femininity developed in out-of-school contexts are transformed in such a way as to establish science as a male preserve. Finally, the type of thinking labelled 'scientific' embodies an intrinsically masculine world view.

These four arguments have particular importance in the explanation of classroom practices. Results of the present study and characteristics of the sample reflect the masculine dominance in the science education programme. Findings related to the difference in areas of study – mainly stereotypical masculine characteristics of prospective science teachers – raises an important issue related to science education, namely girls' participation in science classes and science related professions. Children acquire an interest in science at an early age, well before attending secondary schooling. Girls and boys enter science classrooms with sex-role stereotyped attitudes toward the appropriateness of science and related activities for them and their girl and boy classmates (Reid and Stephens, 1985; Jones and Wheatly, 1988; Mason, Kahle and Gardner, 1991). For example, boys react positively to the careers related to science, whereas girls tend to reject science and science-related careers for themselves as well as for their future husbands (Mead and Metraux, 1957; Lawrenz and Welch, 1983; Jones and Wheatly, 1988). Also, results of the research studies show that female students tend to choose and pursue scientific

careers when they receive positive messages from parents, teachers, counsellors, and peers, when they are exposed to role models and when they expect to succeed in the enterprise (Jones and Wheatly, 1988; Huber and Burton, 1995). At that point the role of the science teacher is crucial as he/she is the person who may shape the attitudes for the better. If the sensitivity of girls towards the stereotypic environments which perpetuate the masculine characteristics of science is considered, male science teachers' attitudes toward gender roles gain more importance.

The present study also indicates that the grade level does not make any difference in terms of changing stereotypical attitudes of gender roles. Areas of study make a difference between the expectations related to gender roles of students but this difference is neither created nor changed at the university level. This means that males and females have made up their minds or shaped their expectations before they enter university, and four years of study do not seem to have an effect on their attitudes. It may also be concluded that even their outlook may very well influence the choice of areas of study: however, this point requires further data and research.

In interpreting the results of the individual item analysis, it must be noted that in most of the mean scores there was a tendency towards an egalitarian direction. However, this does not imply that the magnitude of the mean indicates either the egalitarian or the traditional viewpoint for each item. In a number of cases, students could not reach a mean level of agreement or disagreement in accepting or rejecting traditional stereotypes. For example, the statements 'Girls should share the cost of dates with their boy friends', 'Girls should be permitted to participate along with boys in all sporting teams', or 'There should be more women working as engineers' are the type of statement on which all could not reach a mean level of agreement or disagreement in accepting or rejecting the traditional viewpoints. Means of individual items for different groups show variability between $X = 2.06$ to $X = 2.91$ out of 5 (egalitarian). Also, a relatively more conservative attitude by female students emerged on items related to behaviour such as drinking and swearing.

Conclusion and recommendations

As the above discussion indicates, two important interpretations of the data can be made. The first interpretation is related to the differences in the attitudes of male and female students. On the basis of existing research results, it seems reasonable to conclude that male students seem to have more traditional gender roles than female students and female students are more sensitive toward the

issues of gender. The second conclusion that can be drawn is that the grade level does not have any effect on changing the attitudes of students. Among the findings of this study, the most striking is the result related to the effect of grade level when one considers the mission universities hold regarding social change. Of course the previous statement can further be elaborated for faculties of education and for important roles of teachers in shaping the behaviours of individuals in society. As it was mentioned before, none of the programmes contains a specific course related to gender and education. The results indicate that other courses in the programmes do not have any influence in changing stereotypical gender roles either. From the above findings, it is not easy to anticipate that the teacher education programme intentionally prepares teachers to challenge gender discriminatory practices in their professional and personal lives. Experiences students have during the course of their study do not seem to make any difference in terms of changing their attitudes.

Research evidence suggests very strongly that teachers' attitudes towards gender roles may have significant impact on their interactions with students. The present study does not examine this issue, but it indicates that further research is needed to investigate this phenomenon. Teacher-training programmes must meet the challenge of preparing teachers to overcome their own biases in their values, and recognise the impact of their expectations on the behaviour of their students. A similar conclusion can also be used for guidance and counselling programmes, which will prepare counsellors of future generations. How well prepared are today's teachers to meet the needs of both male and female students? Will they be able to address the needs of diverse student groups in their classes? Most of the time, teachers tend to teach the way they themselves were taught and it is one of the important reasons why some teachers are conservative in terms of changing their attitudes, values and beliefs about teaching. Of course, male-female differences in attitudes, together with the enrolment ratio of males and females in different programmes, cannot be solely attributed to the way the school socialises students, or to teacher attitudes and behaviour. However, these certainly do contribute to the formation of gender identities. All educators want to provide and create the best learning environment for their pupils, but this does not prevent them from reflecting their social values and attitudes on their practices. Schools or educators seems to play more of a reproductive rather than a transformative role in the formation gender identities.

Academics, as teachers of future teachers, also have a vital role to play and are important models in transforming the attitudes, beliefs and values of prospective teachers during the period of pre-service education. So, they themselves may have to test and reconstruct their attitudes toward gender roles and related classroom behaviours.

Finally, a cautionary note is called for. Students who participated in this study were a select group studying at one of the outstanding higher education institutions in Turkey – they represent a relatively homogeneous group in terms of socio-economic background as well as academic ability. Further studies with wider samples are therefore needed to consider the factors that may directly or indirectly affect gender-related attitudes in a larger context.

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From the Field

DISTANCE EDUCATION IN SLOVENIA: A CASE STUDY OF INNOVATION

LEA BREGAR
MARGERITA ZAGMAJSTER

Abstract – *In Slovenia, the development of modern open/distance education started at the beginning of the nineties at a traditional university having considerable experience in the delivery of part-time study courses. The initiative of developing a distance education programme were carried out within the framework of the PHARE Programme for Multi-country Co-operation in Distance Education, in which 11 Central and East European beneficiary countries were involved. The Faculty of Economics of the University of Ljubljana was selected as a pilot institution for Slovenia. The paper shows how the synergy created through the combination of existing domestic resources as well as the local social and educational environment with outside expertise served to bring about a self-sustainable distance education programme and to improve the quality of mass higher education services offered by a traditional university.*

Background

The Faculty of Economics (FE hereafter) is the biggest unit of the University of Ljubljana and has more than 9,400 students (undergraduate students – 4,665 full-time students, 2,725 part-time students and 1,250 distance education students; 770 graduate students, 32 doctoral students).

The current study programme is run both on a full-time and a part-time basis. Part-time studies are delivered at the FE in Ljubljana for all study levels (graduate, undergraduate, and professional higher education). In addition, a part-time high-professional school programme (Business School) is offered in nine study centres in Slovenia.

A considerable extent of part-time studies at the FE in the nineties was due to a mix of various external circumstances and some particular features of part-time studies at the FE: a shortage of knowledge of business and economic disciplines and increased demand for such educational programmes in a country in transition like Slovenia; a rapid adaptation and revision of study programmes at the FE; a relatively high level of organisation and running of current part-time study; a good

reputation of part-time study at the FE, confirmed by the equivalence of degree with a full-time degree; and good career opportunities for part-time graduates.

Although part-time study has become a considerable source of the FE's income in recent years – especially in the current situation of reduced budgets – some questions regarding its overall efficiency have been raised. Namely, the implementation of part-time studies requires particularly great efforts on the part of staff because of the considerable teaching load in full-time study. Besides, the drop-out rates tend to be much higher in the case of part-time students.

At the beginning of the nineties such a situation led to an initiative by the management of the FE to consider the feasibility of introducing distance education (hereafter DE). After a preparatory phase it was decided to initiate a DE pilot project at the FE.

The objective of the first phase of the project was to begin DE experimentally in the first year of Business School in 1995/96 in three study centres, and later (if the results permitted this) to integrate DE into the regular organisational scheme of the FE, and to develop new DE courses.

The above mentioned decision coincided with the resolution of the Ministry of Education and Sport to embark on a pilot project of DE at the undergraduate level in Slovenia.¹ The FE was selected as the pilot institution. At the same time the FE operated as the National Contact Point (hereafter NCP) for Slovenia in the PHARE Programme for Multi-country Cooperation in Distance Education.

Activity modules and underlying principles

The starting idea for the development of the DE model at the FE was that:

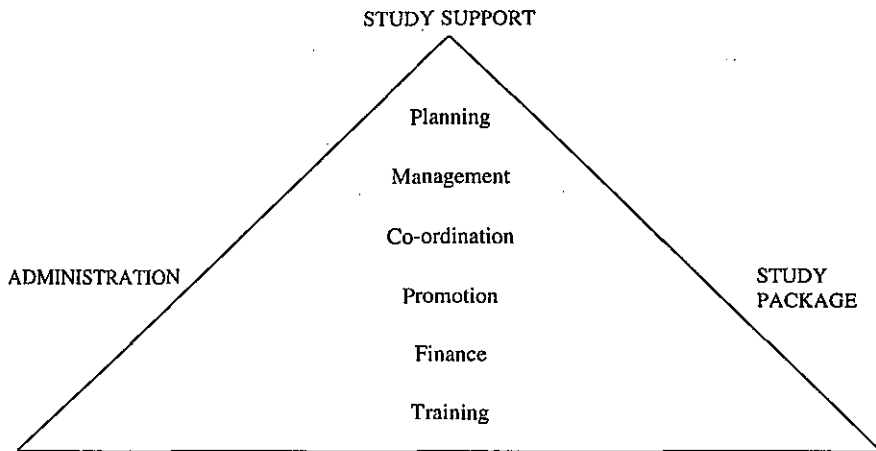
- DE should be integrated into the existing educational scheme at the FE and within higher education, and be compatible with the social environment in Slovenia in general (the principle of functionality);
- DE should be cost-effective (the principle of rationality);
- DE should be based on domestic expertise and potential, combined with foreign expertise and experience in the field of DE (the principle of supported self-development).

The development of the DE programme required the elaboration of a number of interrelated elements which can be clustered in three activity modules:

- the Study Package Module – the development of study materials for ten courses,² which comprise the first year curriculum of Business School and the elaboration of delivery procedures of study materials;

- the Study Support Module – the elaboration of elements of the DE study programme (enrollment requirements and running procedures, testing and assessment, tutoring and counseling, students’ information systems, and other forms of study support);
- the Administration Support Module – the elaboration of an organisational scheme, and administrative and technical support to meet the needs of DE.

FIGURE 1: Activity modules and underlying principles of the DE programme



The above principles were applied in the elaboration of any element of the three modules. The application of this approach can be illustrated by means of several examples such as, for instance:

- exploiting the already available resources (equipment, information technology infrastructure at the FE and the former centres of part-time study) to set-up a network of DE study centres;
- additional training of the FE’s academics who are well experienced in developing traditional study programmes and writing traditional study materials;
- taking the advantage of the small size of Slovenia to provide regular contacts between students and tutors, and occasionally between professors and students;
- building up trust in DE (as a novelty in Slovenia) on a solid reputation of the FE part-time study;
- using the services and know-how of the FE’s Publishing Unit in publishing DE study materials.

Implementation of the distance education model

General

In line with plans, the FE started experimental implementation of the DE programme in October 1995 for the first year of the Business School at three study centres located in the towns of Nova Gorica, Ptuj and Trebnje with 230 students enrolled.

As in the case of the FE's part-time courses, the first cohort of the DE students saw an overwhelming representation of young people. Indeed, 40 percent were younger than 21 and 60 percents were younger than 26. The age range extended from 18 to 46.

More than half of the enrolled students are female. In spite of their youth and a high rate of unemployment in Slovenia, almost all students declared that they were economically active either in paid employment, self-employment or occasional employment. Only 5 students out of 211³ declared themselves to be economically dependent persons.

The educational level of the students' parents indicates that the students' social background is above the Slovene average.⁴

The distance taught academic year lasted 18 months. The DE students were supported by tutors and professors of the FE during the period of six, seven or eight weeks of the course delivery. The support services are organised according to a pre-planned sequence of courses. The whole DE process is led and controlled by the FE, the FE being responsible for the quality of the DE programme.⁵

The status of DE students is equal to that of full-time or part-time students. This is possible under the statutory requirements of the existing legislation on higher education, since DE in Slovenia is defined as one of the official study forms, at a par with full-time and part-time study.

Study package

Taking into account that DE students are employed and lack time, a package of study materials for independent study was prepared for each course by FE teachers. This package contains various combinations of different study materials types:

- textbooks, which integrate the elements characteristic of DE study materials;
- study guides which wrap around traditional university textbooks;
- exercises with key;

- exercises and tasks for tutorials;
- instructions for tutors;
- other media (e.g. audiotapes and diskettes).

The package allows students to achieve more flexibility in terms of time and place of study.

Study support

Special attention was paid to two facts: first, the majority of students are young adults and are largely not used to studying independently. Second, prior study results show that a lot of students were low achievers in secondary school. For these reasons they were offered the option of using the tutorial support provided by tutors and teachers (see Table 1 for details).

TABLE 1: Study support services at FE

TYPE OF SUPPORT SERVICE	PARTICIPANTS	
Contact-sessions	professor	group of students
telephone tutorial	professor	individual student
group tutorials	tutors	group of students
individual tutorials	tutor	individual student
telephone tutorials	tutor	individual student
on-line communication	tutor, professor	individual student
video-sessions	professor	group of students, tutor

Up to three face-to-face contact sessions with FE professors are scheduled during the period of each course implementation. The FE professors are also available to students by E-mail or by telephone.

Group study sessions are led by local tutors in study centres. Local tutors are mostly secondary school teachers of related subjects (e.g. economists, mathematicians or computer specialists with a B.A. degree) specially trained for their tutor role.

The group tutorials last from two to three hours each week during the course implementation phase (in groups of 30 students). Students who have problems in understanding the contents of the course, can attend individual tutorials. They can also contact their tutor via e-mail or by phone.

Students have the opportunity to organise self-study groups in order to prepare for examinations. They can use the student room at their study centre or contact their colleagues in other study centres by e-mail.⁶

In the academic year 1997/98, video-conferencing was introduced as an additional means of study support programme.⁷

Administration

Introducing DE at a traditional university requires not only an adaptation of pedagogy to the distance mode but also a careful redesigning and upgrading of organisational and administrative support in order to comply with the demands of the DE study process.

When setting up administrative and organisational support at the FE, the existing organisational structure of part-time study (in the FE's administrative office and at regional centres) was used as a base, but it was adapted to specific requirements of DE. After discussions about the necessary DE administrative services and their division among FE and the study centres, the organisational and administrative scheme of the DE programme was set up.

After a one year experimental period starting in October 1996, the DE programme obtained the status of a regular programme. It is managed by the office for part-time study. After the transformation of the first three part-time study centres into DE study centres, other part-time study centres have also been given the opportunity to operate as DE study centres. Now the DE programme is delivered in five DE study centres.

The study centres are in charge of the organisation of tutorials according to professors' instructions, and they are responsible for distributing study materials to DE students. Contact sessions are organised in cooperation with the study centre, the FE and professors. Students' enrollment takes place at the study centres; and the exercise is organised in cooperation with the FE and the study centre.

The student records data are kept in the computer database at the FE, including the data on exam scores. The study centres have the access to data at the FE via computer networks.

Evaluation

Output

In just two years, about 40 units of DE study materials have been developed for ten courses for the first academic year and for ten courses for second academic year of the Business School programme. A DE programme for the third academic year is now in the process of development. About forty members of FE teaching staff are involved in the preparation of DE courses and DE study materials. During the academic year 1999/2000, more than 1,250 DE students are enrolled in the first and second year of DE programme Business School.

Innovations

The development and introduction of DE in higher education was a novelty in Slovenia and has as such induced a number of innovative processes.

The innovations which are worth highlighting are the following:

- the whole approach of the development of DE at a traditional university of a former socialist country, using the available domestic (human, material and infrastructure) resources in combination with outside expertise and in accordance with the characteristics of the local environment;
- DE programme and DE study packs, developed on the basis of the existing study programme and study materials, prepared by the same authors who write materials for traditional full-time study;
- implementing a new pedagogical paradigm, shifting from a teacher-oriented to a student-oriented process (a new role for the FE's professors who became DE course writers, facilitators and leaders of DE pedagogical process instead of being lecturers);
- setting-up a system of tutorials led by tutors, which is a new to Slovene higher education and exceptional with regard to a close cooperation between professor (course writer) and tutor;
- transformation of the former part-time study centres (workers' universities) into study centres for modern DE;
- setting up a DE information system (computer links between the FE and the study centres, creating a home page on the WWW with information on DE and hypertext study materials, with DE students getting access to all the Internet services, etc.);⁸

- evaluation based on a modern approach was carried out in Slovenia for the first time. It was run during the experimental period aimed at immediate improvement of the DE study process.

Benefits and weaknesses: students

Undoubtedly a key feature in justifying DE is increased study efficiency. This expectation has been fulfilled, as the evaluation carried out during experimental implementation of DE programme has shown. Compared to full-time students, the DE students were found to be more successful in most courses.

In DE, the students are given the opportunity to tailor their study to their particular needs. Study materials combined with other forms of support stimulate independent study and for this reason students are in no way compelled to attend lectures. However, the actual flexibility of DE at the FE is diminished by the fact that the majority of students are nevertheless very keen to attend tutorials and contact sessions with tutors and professors according to a fixed time-schedule.

Further, the flexibility of pacing is reduced due to the fact that the programme of the Business School is a rather demanding four-year higher education programme. It requires the student to fulfil all requirements for one study year (i.e. ten exams) in 18 months, which does not allow for much free time and consequent flexibility in the pacing of study.⁹

Moreover, the level of flexibility is further reduced due to the fact that only some of the students are connected to Internet, even though most of them have access to a PC. The only opportunity for them to have access to Internet is therefore through the computer in the study centre. This resource is, however, rarely exploited. Attempts have been made to increase the level of electronic communication by training students in special workshops focusing on using Internet and new technologies, but this has not resulted in any major change in habits.

Apart from group tutorials and contact sessions, students have very rarely used other forms of interaction with tutors and professors. Students expressed their belief that group tutorials offered a good opportunity for resolving study problems, as did contact with tutors and other students as well as pre-exam consultations with professors. The students found the system of intensive tutorial support very helpful, noting in particular the usefulness of individualised interaction. In most DE study centres and most courses, students highly commended the commitment shown by tutors.

A large majority of students perceived as especially beneficial the opportunity of staying home while studying. A number of students noted that this was crucial for their decision to continue with their education.

Benefits and weaknesses: traditional university

Distance education is not only beneficial for the student but also for the institution providing it. In the case of the FE, the following benefits may be enumerated:

- the introduction of DE was an impetus for the development of higher quality study materials which is coupled with the introduction of the modern media into the educational process. It is not only the DE students who benefit but also the full-time and part-time students.
- The routine teaching workload of professors - in particular delivering the same lecture to a number of student groups - is smaller. This makes it possible for the professors to focus on more creative work.
- The development of the DE contributes to the individual professional development of professors and other staff as well as the development of the team work and the increase of motivation to implement innovation in educational process.
- FE has so far developed programmes for more than twenty courses and is about to develop another ten. These cover especially marketable areas of professional continuing education in Slovenia (accounting, computer technology, international economics). This gives FE an opportunity to enrich its study programme supply by offering short-cycle modules in the above mentioned areas.
- The implementation of DE involved modernisation of technological infrastructure of the pedagogical process and its administrative support. The set-up of the information system, which was developed within the framework of the DE project, meant the starting point of the development of the local network which links all FE students within an overall information system.

Thanks to successful participation in the first phase of the PHARE project, FE got the opportunity to be involved in the second phase in September 1999. This experience, together with references which were obtained in the first phase, have also brought about new opportunities for wider international co-operation.

However, the development and implementation of DE does not only bring about benefits but also a lot of difficulties and extra work. Indeed, a major problem the FE is constantly facing is the rather unbalanced workload of teaching staff. Suffice it to point out that the ratio between teachers and students is by far the worst among all higher institutions in Slovenia.¹⁰

The development and implementation of DE is a complex process, involving a number of professionals from various fields and requiring a number of related

activities which do not refer only to tuition. In terms of organisation, technology and staffing, DE is far more demanding than a traditional model of education.

The altered structure of activities and players in DE requires corresponding changes in staffing, organisation and financial schemes in the educational institution. Undoubtedly, a quicker resolution of the kinds of problems already identified at the pilot stage could by increase the overall DE programme efficiency at the FE.

Benefits and weaknesses: the educational environment in Slovenia

It is clear that overall, DE has brought about a number of benefits for students across Slovenia. It is opening up new opportunities for education, while at the same time reducing the pressure of students who would like to enrol in full-time studies. In terms of its aspirations for development, it is critically important for Slovenia to provide educational access to people from all age groups and social and economic backgrounds. It is also important that those who live in areas away from the university centres, where the educational background of the inhabitants is lower, should also have access to opportunities for studying. The potential of DE for the economic, social and cultural development of different areas in Slovenia has not yet been fully recognised and evaluated. Indeed, the opportunities inherent in DE should, in our view, be explicitly taken into account in the regional development planning exercise in Slovenia.

Modern DE which is supported by the use of new technologies can open up new ways to knowledge and resources and in this way change the traditional role of the teacher. The teacher who, in the traditional systems is perceived as a knowledge resource, has adopted a new role, that of a methodologist facilitating the acquisition of information and its transformation into knowledge. New technologies are introducing team work involving tutors, network engineers, editors and desk top publishers as well as specialists for pedagogy and adult education. All such changes can only take place through a constant innovation and research regarding the pedagogic process.

The experience obtained at the FE is shared with other institutions and individuals who are interested in DE. The NCP operating within the PHARE framework as a national project co-ordinator has taken over the organisation of various related activities. The promotional efforts which were coupled with successful implementation of DE at the FE have generated considerable interest in DE among other educational bodies and institutions in Slovenia. According to the records of the NCP there are more than 60 institutions in Slovenia which have shown a keen interest in the development of DE.

Favourable results have enhanced a positive attitude for the implementation of DE at other institutions, opening up possibilities for a mutual co-operation in the development of DE both on a national and international basis. It is obvious that currently Slovenia stands a good chance for an active international co-operation in DE and an intensive involvement in the process of the globalisation of education.

The opportunities tend to be reduced by the circumstances which could generally be described as conservatism, and a rigid educational environment. In practice, these phenomena manifest themselves in a number of different ways. In the first instance, there is still a lot of prejudice and misunderstanding concerning modern DE. Secondly, the institutional infrastructure is inappropriate. Key features of DE, including its openness and integration, require adequate organisational and institutional support. The organisational framework of the NCP, which was founded in 1994 at the FE to carry out the 1st phase of the PHARE project, has become too limited in order to carry the burden of efficiently co-ordinating and implementing the various tasks which fall under the responsibility of this unit. Thirdly, the criteria for career advancement and promotion of university teachers do not stimulate research in the field of pedagogic activities, and neither do they simulate the development of new didactic approaches and study materials.

Last but not least, the current system of educational funding – and in particular of higher education funding – is not adapted to the characteristics and requirements of modern forms of education, as it is based on the financing of direct forms of tuition such as lectures, seminars and practice classes. The costs incurred by modern education no longer merely refer to the staff salaries, ‘blackboard and chalk’ expenses, or the depreciation of buildings. Educational economics has in many ways adopted the characteristics of the economics of information services.

Notes

¹ This decision was based on the findings of the research undertaken by the University Research and Development Centre. The research involved a needs analysis that led to pinning down the following priority fields: economics and business, pedagogy (in particular additional training of teachers), biology, and biotechnology. Confer: Phare Feasibility Study on the Development of a Regional Distance Education Network, Working Document of the Seminar, 19 - 20 October 1993, Budapest.

² These courses are: Introduction to Economics, Business Administration, Principles of Accounting, Information Systems in Business, Statistical Methods, Mathematics for Business, Industrial Law, Foreign Language for Business 1, Foreign Language for Business 2.

³ During the first month of the running DE programme 19 students abandoned the course and therefore they were deleted from students' database, which thus contains data for 211 students.

Only 13.7 % of DE students had fathers with accomplished elementary school (or even less than that) while the percentage of Slovene inhabitants older than 15 years in the 1991 was 47%. More information are available in M.A. thesis written by M. Zagmajster (1999) *The Economics of DE in Higher Education*.

More about the implementation of DE model has been discussed in the paper written by L. Bregar and M. Zagmajster (1996) 'Development of a Distance Education Programme at the Faculty of Economics, University of Ljubljana'. In *Developing Distance Education Systems in Central and Eastern Europe*. Guidelines, EADTU.

⁶ In DE information system development phase, access to Internet server is provided to all students. They can communicate via e-mail and have access to other Internet services. WWW server at the FE provides information on DE (<http://www.ef.uni-lj.si>).

⁷ See L. Bregar (1998) 'The potential of videoconferencing as a study support form in a distance study programme.' Proceedings of 1998 Eden Conference, Volume 1. University of Bologna, pp. 319-323.

⁸ See Dobnik and Turk (1996), and J. Jaklic and M. Indihar Stemberger (1996).

⁹ Due to this reason in academic year 1998/99 the length of DE study year was extended to 24 months.

¹⁰ The student/teacher ratio at the University of Ljubljana is 30, while in the FE it is about 110.

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C

Conference Report

THE SECOND SELMUN SEMINAR IN MEDITERRANEAN EDUCATION STUDIES:

A CEPems activity supported by the European Cultural Foundation

25 JUNE–1 JULY 2000, Selmun Palace Hotel – Malta

“TEACHER EDUCATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION: RESPONDING TO THE CHALLENGES OF SOCIETIES IN TRANSITION”

Goals of the Selmun Seminar

The Selmun Seminar is one of the initiatives organised by the Comparative Education Programme in *Euro-Mediterranean Studies* (CEPems), together with the *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies*, the Network of Mediterranean Education Scholars, and Mediterranean Education Resource Centre, has the following goal: *“To develop South-South and North-South dialogue in the field of education, and through this, to enhance the possibility of mutual understanding and co-operation among the people of the Mediterranean in the various spheres of life”*.

The Selmun Seminar, on its part, is an annual, high profile event, creating a distinctive and distinguished forum by bringing together education scholars of international repute as representatives of each Mediterranean country. The scholars present state-of-the-art reviews of educational development in their respective systems, as well as propose and pursue collaborative educational research projects on topics judged to be of regional concern. The Selmun Seminar therefore contributes directly to the strengthening of the links between countries of the South, facilitating mutual understanding, co-operation, and the transfer of knowledge.

The 2000 Selmun Seminar

The June 2000 Selmun Seminar was the second of these annual meetings. A number of goals were established for the Seminar, namely (1) the presentation of rigorous, high quality academic papers, (2) the development of an intimate,

friendly atmosphere conducive to frank interchange and the facilitation of a regional sense of identity through the construction of a Mediterranean education space, (3) the generation of research agendas based on learning experiences offered by the Seminar, and (4) the raising of awareness about the different education systems in the Mediterranean region, and the challenges each country is facing in that regard.

These different objectives were achieved to the satisfaction of the organising programme and the participants alike. In all, 21 papers were presented at the Seminar by Selmun Fellows.

Over and above the academic programme, the Selmun Seminar gives a great deal of importance to social activities that enrich the interaction among the Selmun Fellows, in the hope that this leads to personal and academic growth, and the development of strong relationships and bonds of friendships in a region that either does not know itself, or which is marked rather more by ruptures than by co-operation. Most of the social activities concerned aspects of Malta's Mediterranean history and culture, and thus directly facilitated the overall focus on regional themes and the conscious effort in identity building. Over the six days of the Seminar, participants from 17 countries of the Mediterranean region attempted to tease out commonalities in the region, and more specifically to embark on the construction of a discourse around the idea of the 'Mediterranean'. What is the Mediterranean? How can one describe it in economic, political, cultural, religious, educational terms? This was the leitmotif that underscored the whole Seminar, as participants discussed case after case, noting similarities and differences, attempting to come up with analytical frameworks that could make sense of complex, often conflictual situations in the field of teacher education.

The different country case-studies presented led to increased sensitivity as to the situation of education generally, and teacher education more specifically, in the region. Several issues were raised dealing with a great range of aspects in terms of the rationale behind teacher education, the influence of European and American scholarship and research on the paradigms adopted in the Mediterranean, the trend towards the universitisation of initial teacher training, and the complex range of foundational as well as technical challenges that have to be faced in order to make ITE relevant to the different needs of countries bordering on the Mediterranean shores. This wide-ranging discussion led to the generation of important research agendas, which will be pursued collaboratively in teams or as a whole group. One team is being constituted around the challenge of preparing science teachers in the region, with the particular difficulties this represents in those countries where the discourse of modernity and post-modernity is considered to be inimical to the discourse of faith and tradition. Another team is being constituted around the issue

of environmental education and the training of teachers to develop a sensitivity to Mediterranean dilemmas, particularly through the common theme of 'water'. The whole group has decided to search for sources of funding to meet again next year in order to take the issue of quality in initial teacher education to a deeper level, considering the strategies that could be adopted in the different Mediterranean countries, given the new knowledge that was shared during the Selmun Seminar 2000 meeting.

Evaluation of the Selmun Seminar 2000

Participants were clearly touched by the vision for the Selmun Seminar, showing an enthusiasm and commitment that exceeded my expectations as its organiser. Indeed, the feedback has been so encouraging as to persuade CEPems that this attempt to forge an educational identity for/in the Mediterranean is critically required and timely. It is revealing to quote some of the more relevant and striking excerpts from the evaluation forms that participants filled in, and from e-mail messages sent after the participants returned home.

About the location:

'The location is beautiful, and far from distractions...'; 'Excellent facilities...'; 'Selmun gives you a feel for the history of Malta and the Mediterranean – the very architecture and building complements the academic purpose of the Seminar...'

About the organisation:

'The seminar was extremely well organised...'; 'There was an excellent balance between work and friendship... it was all so stimulating and challenging...'; 'There was attention to detail and everything went so smoothly...'; 'The standard of organisation was absolutely high... it made good use of our time, and the academic and social activities were nicely distributed throughout the week...'; 'From the invitation and establishment of contact, to the week of the Seminar, every detail was taken care of...'; 'The organisational aspects of the Seminar were outstanding from the very beginning... a wonderful experience...'; 'The seminar was Northern in its organisational dimensions but very Mediterranean in its actualisation. I almost regret that we can not repeat it - repetitions never are as successful...'; 'This seminar gave me the opportunity of such interesting experience which not only involves intellectual

aspects but also feelings. The seminar has been perfectly organized, mixing the most accurate British style with the best Mediterranean sense of friendship...'

About the papers:

'A very stimulating and intensive set of papers...'; 'The presentations were well above the average level of many of the seminars and conferences I've attended...'; 'The presentation of the context for teacher education took a lot of time, but it was vital, given that we know so little about each other in this region...'; 'The situation in the Arab world was completely unknown to me and I am so grateful for being given the opportunity to learn about it...'; 'The selection of participants was wise, leading to high quality intellectual contributions, both during the presentation sessions and the discussion time...'; 'I consider our meeting to have been one of the most stimulating and enriching ones I have ever had! I have full intentions of continuing what was started at the Seminar and within the next couple of weeks...'; 'You need to know that it has been one of the best I have ever attended, very efficient, relevant to my professional interests, high quality discussions, good company, the best organized, ever. I have learned a lot, in many ways. Congratulations!...'; 'The idea of having a 'Mediterranean' way of looking at teacher education issues considering our economic, political, cultural, religious context is quite new for me I must say. It gave me new ideas and perspective which are likely to reorient some of my academic activities. The presentations helped me learn and compare to the main issues and problems in our teacher education system... I am very much excited to be part of this distinctive group...'

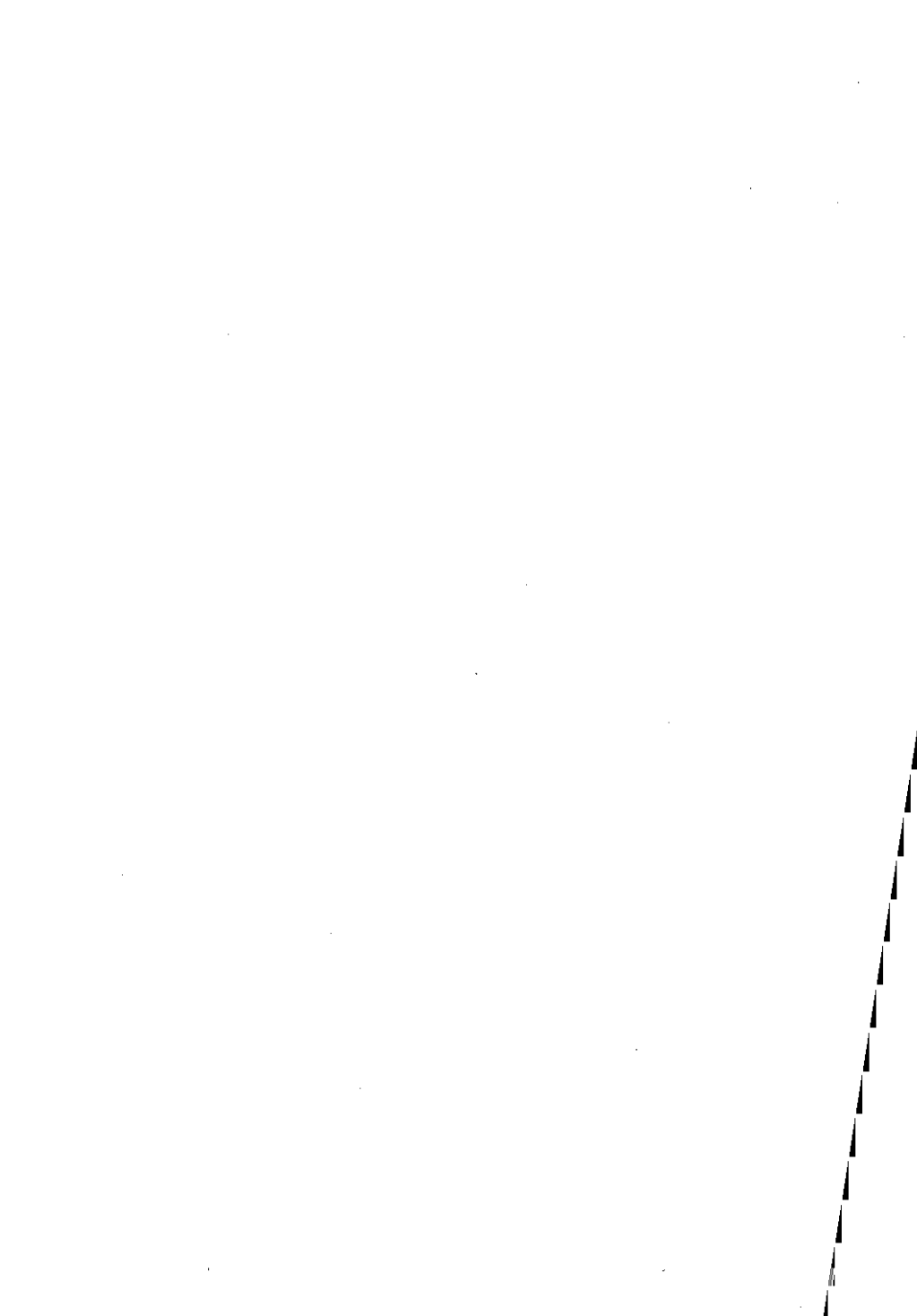
About the social programme:

'The social programme was very important... it enhanced the level of communication between us, and led those coming from inimical countries to get to know each other personally...'. 'I felt that we were not only entertained, but also educated through the social activities organised for us...'; 'The social activities helped create a really nice atmosphere between the participants...'; 'Rich, varied, and very enjoyable. It combined culture with pleasure...'; 'I felt a member of a great family – everybody took care of everybody else. The size of the group was ideal – I've never had this feeling at other international meetings. Here it was effective both academically and from the social point of view...'; 'The meeting with the Minister of Education and the Rector of the University brought even more status to the participants, and gave our meeting high visibility...'; 'Six months

ago, I hardly could imagine myself having dinner with friends coming from Palestine, Israel, Egypt, Cyprus and Greece, at the same table! On Saturday night, when we were leaving, two Fellows whose countries are sworn enemies embraced each other and said 'This is an historical kiss!' and we all start laughing. I think that is the spirit of Selmun. I hope very much that our cooperation will increase, not only at personal level but also at the Institutional between our Universities...'; 'It is impossible to express the feelings about our seminar... it simply was the best seminar I ever attended: a huge range of new knowledge, new contacts, new places to see ... and especially wonderful spirit within the group. I am still sitting in the Selmun Palace and I can see and hear all participants... I miss it all: the warmth, sense of humour, the knowledge we shared, and all that which made our group a family of Selmun fellows. Thank you all for the opportunity to share the ideas and time with you...'

Follow-up to the Selmun Seminar 2000

There was agreement that the Selmun Seminar experience should not stop there. While other Selmun Seminars will be organised, if funds are available, the 2000 Selmun Fellows decided to build on the community spirit that had been developed, and to meet again in 2001 to explore further themes related to teacher education in the Mediterranean. In particular, the group felt that the journey towards the discovery of the regional identity in educational matters had just begun, and that further intellectual work had to be done in order to develop frameworks of understanding in the construction of insights related to the Mediterranean in an age marked by globalisation. The Selmun Fellows have agreed to meet again, this time in Cyprus. The focus will be 'Quality in Initial Teacher Education', and will draw on the insights developed in Malta in order to address a number of important challenges that the region has to face in preparing teachers for tomorrow's schools.



BOOK REVIEWS

Xavier Bonal, *Sociología de la educación. Una aproximación crítica a las corrientes contemporáneas* (Sociology of education. A Critical Overview of Contemporary Trends), Paidós: Barcelona, 239 pp., 1998, ISBN 84-493-0599-3 (pbk).

Any new textbook on sociology of education can generate among potential readers two contradictory feelings. On the one hand, there is the fear of finding 'more of the same', that is, one more description of the same authors and theoretical trends that have been reviewed by the numerous volumes already in existence. On the other hand, there is the hope of finding something different that adds to the literature on the topic: perhaps an original approach, perhaps a more refined analysis, perhaps a more accessible language, perhaps a more updated examination of trends.

Bonal's work falls into the second category. Although it does not constitute a radical breakthrough with the tradition of sociology of education textbooks, it provides a lucid interpretation of the most important recent contributions to the field. The word 'recent' leads to a comment about the subtitle of the book ('a critical approach to contemporary trends'). This could be somewhat misleading to some readers who may expect an in-depth critical discussion of current theories, because the text is in reality a historical review of the evolution of sociology of education during the second half of the twentieth century. Having said that, if the term 'contemporary' is understood in its broad sense, as an era that encompasses the last five decades and not as the immediate present, this is a non-issue. Nevertheless, those who expect a critical analysis of contemporary (meaning 'current', or the 1990s) debates may be disenchanted, because this task is only undertaken in the last chapter of the book, and even in that chapter there are multiple references to works published in the 1970s and 1980s.

This potential mismatch between the promise of the subtitle and the actual content, however, does not take away any merit from the book. On the contrary, the main achievement of the author is precisely to provide an overview of the sociology of education literature from the Second World War onwards. Indeed, unlike most textbooks on sociology of education, this one does not discuss the relation between education and society in the production of Marx, Weber and Durkheim. Rather than reiterating what many other authors have written about these canonical works of the classical sociological tradition, Bonal preferred to channel all his energies to analyze the evolution of sociology of education since the 1950s. This updated focus is certainly a strength, but at the same time it makes

it difficult for instructors to use Bonal's publication as a stand alone introductory textbook. Another strength of the text is the extent and variety of literature under scrutiny. To write this book, Bonal reviewed a considerable amount of material in English (the majority), but also in French, Spanish and Portuguese, a highly commendable task, because it allowed him to examine a great number of works that have not yet been translated into Spanish.

The book is organized in five chapters and an annotated bibliography. The first chapter provides a general overview of sociology of education during the last five decades, starting with its institutionalization in the post-war period, during a period of consolidation of the welfare state and a general consensus about the positive impact of educational expansion on both economic growth and equalization of opportunities. Chapter 2 deals with structural-functionalism, with a focus on the debates around education, productivity and employment (human capital theory), and around meritocracy and equality of opportunity. Chapter 3 examines theories of conflict and reproduction, including theories of the state. Chapter 4 describes some of the developments that took place during the 1980s, such as symbolic interactionism, sociology of curriculum, neo-Gramscian and resistance theories, and the incorporation of gender and race analysis to the traditional class-based focus. Finally, chapter 5 deals with the debates of the 1990s, and is organized in four sections: information-society, education and employment; the sociology of educational policy; the attention to difference; and methodological challenges. In this part, following Bernstein, Bonal argues that one of the most important epistemological and methodological challenges for sociology of education, and particularly for reproduction and resistance theories, is to redirect the focus of attention from the 'what' to the 'how' of cultural reproduction, linking macro-theories (which tend to conceptualize schools as a black box) with micro-theories (which limit their analysis to the immediate school context). The annotated bibliography (pp.225-239), which follows the thematic logic of the five chapters, provides a useful and brief recapitulation of the basic texts discussed in each chapter.

In explaining the logic of the book Bonal points out in the prologue that his experience as a sociology of education professor in the Universidad Autonoma de Barcelona has shown him that students, used to a lineal and cumulative conception of knowledge, are reluctant to accept the existence of more than one explanation of social reality, especially when they are not only different but divergent. He claims that one of the strategies to help reduce this difficulty is to provide a historical contextualization of those explanations. Hence, he traces the itinerary of sociology of education during the last 50 years, from the preeminence of Structural Functionalism and Human Capital Theory in the 1950s to the ascendance of Structural Marxism in the 1970s to the contributions of critical pedagogy in the 1990s.

This is interesting, because in my own experience teaching introduction of sociology of education in the US and Canada, I found that although students tend to develop a certain degree of anxiety at the beginning, when they find out that there is not 'one and only one objective truth' regarding the relationships between education and society, later on they appreciate the opportunity to compare the assumptions and the evidence advanced by each approach, to link them with broader political philosophies, agendas and ideologies, to confront them with their own assumptions and their own experiences in educational systems, and/or to analyze a specific educational issue from different perspectives. At the same time, Bonal's historical strategy for reducing students' anxiety is a double-edge sword: while it helps to contextualize a particular theoretical interpretation, it runs the risk of interpreting the history of sociology of education mainly as an incremental and progressive process in which the paradigmatic theory of a given period is replaced by another in the next period, and not as a field of permanent contestation.

While examining the most important moments in the recent history of the field, Bonal argues (correctly in my view) that the real epistemological turning point in sociology of education took place in 1971, with the publication of *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education* (London: Collier-Macmillan) edited by Michael Young and the emergence of the so called 'new sociology of education'. In that book, Young and his collaborators, building on the insights of ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism and sociology of knowledge, challenged structural functionalism's acritical view of school as ideologically neutral, and provided theoretical and methodological tools to critically analyze the relationships between curriculum, reproduction and power by examining what actually happens inside educational institutions. Although in *Knowledge and Control* Young refrained from advancing any particular understanding of educational reproduction (in his own words: 'we do not know how relations between the economy and the educational system produce different degrees and kinds of stratification of knowledge' (p. 40), in retrospect it becomes clear that the new sociology of education constituted a crucial contribution to 'reproduction theories', and anticipated some important developments that would take place in the 1980s such as curriculum theory, resistance theory, and a more dynamic understanding of the relations between structure and agency.

The long list of authors analyzed by Bonal include representatives from different traditions in the contemporary sociology of education. Among them are Parsons, Clark, Schultz, Becker, Thurow, Coleman, Collins, Bourdieu, Passeron, Althusser, Young, Bowles, Gintis, Baudelot, Estabiet, Rist, Jencks, Anyon, Berger, Luckman, Bernstein, Giroux, Willis, Apple, Acker, Carnoy, Levin, Giddens, Hargreaves, Touraine, Popkewitz and many others. Were there any noticeable omissions? While no book can be totally comprehensive, it would have

been helpful if Bonal had explained his rationale for excluding from the analysis the works of Ivan Illich, Paulo Freire, or the Frankfurt School (which arguably influenced the ideas of many educational theorists and educators during the period under study), or to the different theoretical understandings of important developments that took place during the same period such as popular education, back-to-basics, privatization, the dismantling and remantling of the welfare state, globalization and the like.

In the same vein, it would have been also helpful to explain the absence of any references to non-formal and informal education. While the title of the book claims to be about 'Sociology of Education', I advance the proposition that by and large the book is about a sociology of schooling. Even if this is the case, Bonal's textbook constitutes a valuable contribution to the field, and an important tool for professors and students of education. With a clear language, analytical rigor and theoretical sophistication, Bonal examines the most important sociological approaches and research findings on education during the last five decades, puts them into context, explores their continuities and ruptures, and assesses their current usefulness to understanding today's education. I recommend this book to all who are interested in a critical overview of the main approaches to the analysis of the connections between education and society that developed during the second part of the twentieth century.

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Laura Operti (ed.), *Cultura Araba e Società Multi-etnica. Per un' Educazione Interculturale* (Arab Culture and Multi-ethnic Society. Towards an Intercultural Education), IRRSAE, Torino, 224 pp., 1999, ISBN 88-339-1086-6 (pbk).

The book is the sequel to two previous works *Verso un' Educazione Interculturale* ('Towards an Intercultural Education') and *Sguardi sulle Americhe* ('Views on the Americas'). It is entirely dedicated to Arab culture and constitutes the proceedings of a conference held in Turin by IRRSAE (Piedmont, Italy) in 1993. Each author provides an updated version of his or her contribution to the conference.

The project is the response from the Italian educational and political authorities to a pressing need to build a new society that acknowledges the reality of an increasing number of immigrants who reach the country in search of a better life. It is a fact that the majority of immigrants in Italy come from Arab countries.

It is very difficult to overcome the tensions that arise from the mixture of different cultures. The discomfort felt by those who leave everything behind to seek pastures new and others who feel that they are being 'invaded' can lead to conflict. If the newcomers are marginalised and are compelled to live in poverty, they immediately pose a threat.

The origins of conflict are many. They involve a clash of interests. The issues range from such basic ones, concerning the need for food and shelter, to more complex ones centring around control over the economy. Hostility is bound to develop if the 'other' is a stranger.

At war, soldiers are taught to call the enemy nicknames (eg. 'Charlie' in the Vietnam case). This is done in a bid to de-humanise the persons the soldiers are meant to kill. Calling nicknames is a way of giving vent to one's anger and hatred. This gets the adrenaline going. Killing and fighting appear as natural things to do. If only we could stop and think that the only 'fault' of those whom we shoot is that they happen to be on the 'other side' but want to live life like us, would like to have a family and do all the things we like to do, then we would probably no longer be able to pull the trigger. For we would not like to kill anyone who is like us.

We would feel the same way about people we know very well, people who, we feel, are part of our life. We recognise links with other persons. Anthropologists refer to the human being as a 'social animal'. We internalise a law that says: we should avoid entering into conflict with those we regard as 'us'. And those, with whom we have a positive relationship of mutual exchange, become 'us'. Our survival depends on this. The more we are close to someone, the more we are ready to accept him or her, to find a way to feel at ease in the context of diversity. We would set aside personal interests and allow space for common ones.

The relevance of all this to the situation concerning immigration should be easy to see. But in the case of the 'Arabs', there is more to be done in order to develop an effective strategy for peaceful conviviality.

We need an external enemy – the 'other' – to acquire a definition of 'us' against 'them'. This has always been the case but more so now that the Cold War is over. With the end of 'Cold War' and the threat of the Russian 'Other', we lack an external enemy. The Arabs, with a life style different from that of the West, a different conception of family, morality and time, are ascribed the role of 'evil force', committed to invade and destroy us because of their 'religious fanaticism'.

Because of the nature of the global economy, the flux of immigrants from poorer countries is not bound to stop. If anything, it is likely to increase. This renders it necessary to acknowledge them as persons enjoying the same rights as we do. We should do this not out of pity. We should neither do this simply out of concern for the fact that we have been and still are exploiting their countries of origin, but for practical reasons. They constitute our new reality, irrespective of whether we like it or not. They are our new neighbours and could possibly be providing our children with their future boyfriend or girlfriend. They are definitely an integral part of our future. We can render this process a positive one, a constructive one, from which everyone can gain. We also have the option of turning it into one marked by great social tension. Whichever way we choose, this is a situation which has to be faced.

This book provides us with signposts for the creation of an inclusive society, a society which includes the new cultures which have entered and are entering our social structure. The conference was concerned with this task of rendering our society more inclusive. In the introduction, Laura Operti, the editor, provides the philosophical underpinning to the whole work. The book is meant to serve as the means for bridging cultures together and to combat people's ignorance of knowledge surrounding Arab cultures, an ignorance which is reflected in the stereotypes that are developed. The aim is to provide a basis for us to educate ourselves and help educate others. The book calls for an interactive and dialogical process of education, an education among equals.

The variety of approaches, adopted by the different authors, is meant to appeal to different types of readers: those of a social-scientific bent, who are exposed to an examination of the topic from economic, sociological and anthropological viewpoints, and those of a humanistic disposition, who are exposed to accounts of literary, cinematic and dramatic expressions. Also catered for are readers who seek ways and means of implementing the proposals.

Operti informs us, at the outset, of the different orientations of the book's three parts. This enables us to go straight to those sections that appeal to us most.

The whole work is a sort of hypertext which provides us with relevant information and then provides us with useful links for further reading.

As for those who are keen on reading the book from cover to cover, the book takes the form of a journey. The first part is formal where sociological, anthropological and economic-geography perspectives are brought to bear on the analysis of Arab culture. The second part focuses on immigration with the discussion eventually narrowed down to the situation in the Northern Italian city of Turin. Finally, the third section focuses on educational strategies intended for both Arabs and non-Arabs alike.

During the 'journey', you will be fascinated by the ancient form of street theatre (*Hikayah*), or the incredible world of the Hammam, the Turkish bath, where the women share their life secrets, meanwhile curing their bodies with natural remedies. You would otherwise be informed of the histories of colonialism and wars which have contributed to our present day prejudices against Arabs.

My only criticism concerns a lack of analysis, in the book, of the problems that can result from the discovery of elements, in Arab culture, which would be deemed oppressive. These would include aspects containing elements of oppression of one group over another, as could be in the case with men dominating women. To live those out is tantamount to generating tensions that can be exploited by those intent on undermining an inclusionary politics. The fact that these 'problematic' aspects are often used to create racism and prejudices should lead us to develop a critical attitude towards them, and not highlight only a culture's positive aspects.

On another note, one should be wary not to use the terms Arab and Muslim interchangeably. Reality is far more complex.

All told, this is a book to be enjoyed.

Fabio Ambrosini,
Ancona

Yiannis Dimitreas, *Transplanting the Agora: Hellenic Settlement in Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Australia, 313 pp., 1998, ISBN: 1-86 448-430-6 (pbk).

A persistent human tragedy throughout history has been the forced migration of groups of people that invariably cuts them from their cultural roots and leads to the fracturing of their cultural reality. Often, this cultural fracturing process gives rise to a form of cultural schizophrenia, making it very difficult for a psychologically harmless cultural identity formation. In fact, throughout history forced immigration, through slavery to the new world to the contemporary forced economic migrants from less affluent countries to the developed world, gives rise to a debilitating cultural insecurity on the part of immigrants that calls for the development of multiple strategies to protect themselves from what they perceive to be a violent assault on their humanity. For example, immigrants often develop strategies to safeguard their threatened cultural values by freezing the culture that they have left behind so as to romanticize about the 'good old days' of their original cultural milieu. As a result, most immigrant groups who find themselves in a bittersweet reality in an often xenophobic host culture develop psychological mechanisms that will enable them to survive and reconcile the cultural schizophrenia, which is part and parcel of their adopted and shifting identity.

In this important book *Transplanting the Agora: Hellenic Settlement in Australia*, Yiannis Dimitreas attempts to capture the nuances and complexities of Greek settlement in Australia. The author 'paints a complex picture of the Hellenic community in Australia - one of the many migrant communities which has had to come in terms with a new society which, until relatively recent times, had not been either accepting or tolerant of ethnic, cultural and racial differences.' Dimitreas' study examines the role of the ethnic factor in social mobility and supports the thesis that the marginalization of ethnic groups in Australia, including Greeks, has traditionally been based on the migrant's country of origin, ethnic or cultural background, or racial and gender differences. He insists that particular discriminatory practices on the part of the Australian government have impeded for the longest time Greek migrants' social mobility forcing them into low status positions, and thus excluding them from particular categories of employment that would ensure their social mobility. As a result, Greek migrants' survival, cultural adjustment, and social mobility have gone through a very long and painful process - a process that invariably involved constant struggle to erase the 'inferiority' stigma. Greek migrants in the eyes of the Australian community were the 'other' and, like other ethnic groups in host countries, have often been robbed of their own human nature and became 'wogs,' 'fish and chips,' 'greasy Greeks,' 'dagoes,' 'strangers,' 'aliens,' 'migrants,' 'them' as against 'us' and so forth. This is in line

with the public opinion surveys in Australia (1948-1978) on acceptability towards various immigrants groups – including Greeks – that indicate that the rating of favourability towards a national group was determined by its similarity to the Australian lifestyle and one's share in English history.

As a result, the formation of a cultural identity in Greek migrant groups in Australia became - and still is - a very complex and painful process for it had to start from the denial of what they were in order to be according to the new set of imposed cultural characteristics. This form of forced cultural suicide not only points to the enormous contradictions in societies that consider themselves democratic but it also unveils the colonial legacy that shape the asymmetrical co-existence between the dominant and subordinated groups in the host countries.

Given that identity is layered and shifting, it should be understood as socially and historically constructed, shaped through variants such as racism, social class, ethnicity, religion, age, sex role socialization, and so forth, and positioned within the spectrum of multiplicity, plurality and fragmentation. Only through a convergent model of analysis can we transcend the imposed monolithic view of the cultural 'other' via stereotypes.

Dimitreas builds his argument around the concept of the ancient Greek *agora*. The ancient Greek *agora* is this social setting that 'allows for a free and open exchange of ideas, is conducive to independent thought and resourceful action both of which are of vital significance to the Hellenic conception of participatory democracy [...] it is the catalyst that allows individuals to initiate cultural development, political discussions and personal or group interaction.' The author maintains that the *agora* has been re-created in the host country by Greek immigrant groups who left their native land – especially in times of deep political instability, war or dictatorship – in search of what they perceived to be democratic societies, with a tradition of freedom of speech and tolerance such as Australia and the US. In those social spaces Greek immigrants exercised their 'freedom of speech' and had the opportunity to dialogue with other Greeks, and exchange experiences. Dimitreas comments that contemporary Greek migrants, 'like their ancestors, use their 'modern' *agora* settings to gather collectively to debate issues of personal and social interest within their host societies. They often spend hours debating history philosophy, or the meaning and function of culture within *agora* settings such as *kafeneion*.'

For Greek migrants in Australia, the cultural capital derived from Greece's historical and mythological past has been central to the development of an Hellenic-Australian identity. In addition, Hellenic cultural features, values and symbols that constitute Greek migrants' 'social memory' have greatly influenced the formation of a new identity. However, Dimitreas – a child himself of Greek migrants in Australia – cannot avoid making under the emotional pressure some

generalizations as well as romanticizing the Greek culture. For instance, socially constructed human values and virtues, such as love of freedom, fame, honor and pride (*philotimo*), bravery, and so forth are presented as if they were biological elements attributed to the Greek people. Hellenic culture is presented as continuous, homogeneous and uniform, and traditions and customs as remaining relatively intact, thus ignoring the flood of history and the evolution of people, contradictions, concepts, and institutions through time. The author points out that 'the history of the Greek people is underlaid by certain uniform cultural characteristics and values that are common to all Greeks, irrespective of local cultural variables,' ignoring thus the layered identities contained in what we would call 'greekness.' In fact, under the umbrella of this 'common past' and the 'homogeneous culture,' race, ethnicity, social class, gender, religion, and so forth are not included. The erasure of the multiplicity of cultural factors in the process of overcelebrating a monolithic cultural and national identity is eloquently discussed by Henry Giroux:

[...] National identity has all too often been forged within popular memory as a discourse that too neatly links nation, culture, and citizenship in a seamless and unproblematic unity [...] it is structured through a notion of citizenship and patriotism that subordinates ethnic, racial and cultural differences to the assimilating logic of a common culture...

The romantization of the Greek antiquity should be understood rather as a mechanism used by the Greek migrants to safeguard their threatened culture and identity by drawing paradigms from what they perceive to be their common past. However, leaving this romantization unproblematized becomes dangerous for it reproduces a false identity while it ignores the complexity of lived experiences of immigrant groups along the lines of ethnicity, social class, gender and so forth. For example, implicating Greek pioneer settlers in Australia Dimitreas claims that 'in spite of the many challenges that faced them, by drawing on the rich reservoir of their traditions and culture they were better able to engage with their new society. Their cultural history, therefore, provided the base for their achievements and successful settlement within the socio-economic structures of Australia.' There is no doubt that the cultural roots of a people are part and parcel of their cultural existence. However, overcelebration of a national history and a mythical past results almost always in the creation of a very threatened and introverted national identity, an identity torn between two worlds. In addition, the blind overcelebration of an illusory cultural identity of the past prevents Greek immigrants from understanding 'what it means to be at the periphery of the

intimate relationship between two cultural worlds' shaped by the asymmetrical coexistence between the dominant and subordinated groups.

In fact, in *Transplanting the Agora* it becomes obvious that achieving social mobility or 'succeeding' was neither a gift from the British Australians neither a result of re-creating Greek antiquity. It was the outcome of a constant struggle to survive against racial discrimination and exclusion. Dimitreas historically delineates the factors and practices patterns of the Greek community before and after the WWII. For instance, before WW II the that determined the working prevailing socio-economic conditions, as well as the cultural ideology of Australian society, were the major reasons that led many Greeks to shop-keeping occupations. According to Dimitreas, self-employment enabled Hellenes to continue their gregarious and homogeneous gatherings and thus maintain their cultural traditions in times when White Australia Policy regarded them and other non-British migrants as 'lucky to be here.' It was only after the 1970's that the implementation of a form of 'multiculturalism' and the radical changes in migration policy enhanced participation of Greek-Australians at most political and social levels which facilitated migrant participation in the social, economical and political life of the broader community. Dimitreas provides an important analysis of the Australian 'multicultural model' and the way its implementation responded to many needs of different migrant groups. He comments that occupational and accompanying economic upward mobility attests to the determination to succeed is a dominant trait in the Hellenic character. In my point of view, Greek migrants, like other migrant groups throughout the world, have no such thing as success or failure stories. Both success and failure should be defined and situated within a framework of otherness and analyzed along the lines of race, ethnicity, class, gender, age, and religion. The issue is not success, failure or even social mobility, but the ideological construction of 'otherness' in a host country and the way this construction either facilitates fuller civic participation in all aspects of the society, or creates mechanisms to dehumanize and contain the aspiration and dreams of human beings who have been typecast as 'others.'

Although *Transplanting the Agora: Hellenic Settlement in Australia* provides an important narrative that shows how migrant Greeks in Australia strive to recapture both their cultural and human dignity, the collapsing of multi-layered cultural identities into a monolithic Greek identity creates spaces for the development of a false 'model minority' which becomes a measure against which other minorities in Australia could be measured. In other words, if Greeks made it, how come this other minority groups have not done as well? Inherent in the 'model minority' framework lies the proposition that the dominant Australian culture does not discriminate against minority cultural groups. For example, if Greeks have succeeded so well, by implication other minority groups just do not

have the cultural predisposition for success. Instead of overcelebrating monolithic Greek culture in Australia, the author of *Transplanting the Agora: Hellenic Settlement in Australia* could have more forcibly interrogated the colonial legacies that still inform and shape the asymmetrical relationships between the Greek community and the Australian dominant society. Dimitréas missed a great opportunity to make Australian and other dominant societies learn what it means to live in a cultural democracy as passionately described by the famous Mexican author Carlos Fuentes: 'We will be able to embrace the other in loving our human possibility. People and their cultures perish in isolation but they are born or reborn in contact with other men and women, men and women of another culture, another creed, another race. If we do not recognize our humanity in others we shall not recognize it in ourselves.'

Panayota Gounari
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Godfrey Baldacchino, *Introducing Social Studies – A Maltese Reader*, Malta, PEG Publications, 448pp., 2000, ISBN 99909-0-246-1 (pbk.)

In the introduction to this Social Studies school textbook, Godfrey Baldacchino suggests that, 'the study of society is an exciting adventure. It invites us all to become...detectives of society...then we cannot avoid asking questions...to ask yourself why things are presented in a certain way – to be critical – is another important skill in the study of society. Don't be fooled by others!' and in the final essay of the book he reminds the reader that 'investigators of society take pride in having an independent mind.' Myself being a person who persists in showing my students the importance of becoming 'free thinkers' of life's idiosyncrasies, the introduction spurred me on to review the book with a substantial dose of curiosity and enthusiasm.

The book contains five Chapters, each helpfully organised in sections, with essays discussing contemporary data. Chapter I considers types of relationship and the process of socialisation. A flowing account of Maltese culture that includes our language and religion and *fešta* celebrations as part of our customs and traditions and our characteristic rubble walls and stone huts, is presented. To my mind, the most interesting in this chapter is the discussion of the existence (or non-existence) of social classes. I particularly liked Baldacchino's observation of the extension of social stratification, in a place of unquestionable equality as the graveyard.

Chapter II raises crucial issues related to high-density population, housing, sanitation, pollution and waste disposal. A theme for discussion that is sure to strike a raw nerve draws on the last section, in this chapter, that addresses the issue of foreign visitors to our land and our attitude towards racial and ethnic groups. Are we Maltese truly tolerant of those whom we perceive as unacceptably different'?

Chapter III is concerned with features that define economic growth and development and the side effects of social change especially in countries often referred to as Third World. The roles of state, employers and trade unions are examined, along with industrial conflict, collective bargaining and co-operatives.

The bulk of the fourth chapter consists of Government and Politics. It proceeds through eight sections that walk the reader along various political paths. On an international level, the chapter bulges with information on the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, the International Monetary Fund, the Council of Europe and the list goes on. The discussion on a national level is also detailed and includes the Constitution of Malta with a brief outline of its eleven chapters, the development of Maltese political parties and local councils. Political theories

and ideologies and the various forms of democratic and totalitarian systems enjoy a section on their own. The focus is broad and, admittedly, there is much value in this chapter, but considering the young age range of the target audience, I suspect that it runs the risk of tedium and incomprehensibility. Having said this, I must add, that I was intrigued by the final section in this chapter, that addresses peace and justice in the world. Drawing on his initial challenge of becoming good detectives of society, the author seeks to revamp our eagerness by encouraging initiatives towards this end. 'What can you do today?' Relatedly, the excerpt taken from Alice Walker's *The Colour Purple* is profound. Incidentally, the author has a tendency to leave the 'good wine for the end'.

The fifth and final chapter is a collection of essays based on selected institutions as, for example, the family, religion, media, health and education. It also ranges widely over social problems. The section that touches on deviancy is short but powerful; the discussion on disability and persons with special needs awakens the reader to the reality that after all we are all impaired in one way or another whether visibly or otherwise; the author raps adults in condemning young people and choosing to forget the folly of their younger days in the section that explores the involvement of youth in our society. Incidentally, the book is dedicated to Dun Frans Bianco 'who strongly believed in youth'. The main text finishes with a special essay on the European Union.

There are a number of reservations that I hold about the section on Gender. While the essay is a good 'consciousness raiser' it, nonetheless, leads me on to mention the main irritants in this book. In order to illustrate points, Baldacchino insists on maintaining a biased male precedence compounded with an unequal weighting of female and male examples throughout the text. He reinforces this prejudice by failing to give a broad definition of 'work' that would otherwise give a social identity to over half the population immersed in home making. This pervasive language, however, seems to arise from an unconscious recourse to the norms and values of a sexist society as, earlier in the text, he argues that 'if we find out from our investigations that a majority of housewives...are far from sitting pretty...would help to generate a wider appreciation of the contribution of such unpaid work to our Society' (p.23).

In spite of nods in the direction of gender as in: 'I have done my best to avoid...stereotypes in the illustrations provided in this book – but I may not have succeeded completely' (p.326), I was most thrown by the author's categorical allegation that 'of course, the absence of females from certain professions and technical categories is related to the lack of interest in the pursuit of certain subjects and specialisations at school' (p.328). Tell me another...

These observations are not meant to detract from the value of the book. Overall I found it to be well researched and thought provoking, well informed by the

author's desire to share his knowledge and wonder of his craft as a social scientist. The text is accompanied by useful adjuncts on the MATSEC examination syllabus, a select reference guide, internet web sites and answers to exercises.

The strength of *A Maltese Reader* lies in its interactive style and versatility for use by both student and educator. It is well sign-posted and each of the individual chapters is clearly written and provides the reader with a concise boxed-in introduction to a particular debate. In addition, each chapter contains a set of discussion topics, and activity-based exercises with a timely warning that the latter may not always be suitable for couch potatoes!

Finally and relatedly, it is a delight to find a school textbook that exudes so much enthusiasm for the subject and respect for its readers as this publication does. Moreover, when the targeted readers are very young people under sixteen, it is encouraging to mark the positive approach the author employs in presenting a study subject that he assures 'is not a dead and boring subject only to be studied for an exam.'

Introducing Social Studies: A Maltese Reader is a welcome addition to the literature in the field. Incidentally where would Social Studies be in Malta without Baldacchino's contribution to the subject?

Frances Camilleri
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Mark Bray, *The Shadow Education System: Private Tutoring and its Implications for Planners*, UNESCO, Fundamentals of Educational Planning series, Paris, 97 pp., 1999, ISBN 92-803-1187-5 (pbk).

This booklet is the 61st in a long series on *Fundamentals of Educational Planning* published by UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning. It is an unpretentious yet valuable attempt at investigating private tutoring – an important widespread educational phenomenon that has escaped the attention of researchers and educators in most countries.

In an admirable attempt to systematically investigate the nature and dynamics of private tutoring, Mark Bray, Director of the Comparative Education Research Centre and a professor in the Department of Education at the University of Hong Kong, draws on the little available literature from different countries where the phenomenon is particularly widespread. It needs to be pointed out at the outset that this is not a *universal* phenomenon. Just as it is widespread in some societies it is not so evident in others. Bray refers to the phenomenon as the 'shadow education system' – a system that effectively supplements the mainstream one.

It is no mean task putting together the various strands of a hitherto little known and very little understood phenomenon like private tutoring. In so doing, the author organizes the booklet into two parts. The first part is primarily descriptive and informative in nature. Here, three chapters deal with definitions and parameters, characteristics of private tutoring, and producers and consumers.

The issue of defining the phenomenon is a delicate one, not least to enable cross-national comparisons. The present phenomenon refers to tutoring which:

- covers curriculum subjects which are already covered in the school (*supplementation*);
- is provided by private institutions and individuals for profit-making purposes (*privateness*).

It may be differentiated in terms of:

- the levels at which the subjects are taught (e.g. primary and secondary);
- its forms (e.g. it may be provided one-to-one, in small groups, in large classes or in huge lecture theatres).

The casual reader will be forgiven to think that private tutoring is restricted to merely a few students who lag behind due to absence from school due to some illness or who, therefore, need some form of remediation to help them keep abreast with the rest of the mainstream class. Although not conclusive, data from sixteen different countries (including Malta) show that very high proportions of

mainstream students attend private tutoring classes. What is more, there is also evidence that demand is on the increase. It is clear from this body of data that the prime motivator is the desire to obtain ever-higher grades at examinations. That is, rather than 'to catch up' or 'to make up for', private tutoring is assuming an increasingly supplementary role.

In the second part of the booklet, the author looks into the educational, social and economic impact of private tutoring (Chapter IV); diversity and evolution of education systems and specifically the factors and conditions that determine the widespread presence or otherwise of the phenomenon in a given context (Chapter V); and a discussion of the different policy options open to educational planners (Chapter VI).

Particularly interesting is the discussion of the impact that private tutoring has on academic achievement, mainstream schooling, and on students, social relationships and social inequalities.

Contrary to what many may think, there is to-date no evidence which unequivocally suggests that private tutoring improves academic achievement, unless, of course, by 'academic achievement' one means success at examinations. It is clear that most models of private tutoring are geared towards systematic coaching at passing examinations (what is usually referred to as 'cramming'). The situation is exacerbated by the fact that the majority of those students who seek private tutoring are the ones whose academic performance is already good. Hence, establishing a causal link becomes very tenuous, at best.

The impact of private tutoring on mainstream schooling can be varied. Apart from the often-assumed beneficial impact of helping students understand and enjoy mainstream lessons, there are several undesirable effects which warrant consideration. These include: the disruption of mainstream lessons due to students who have already covered certain subject content during private tuition lessons; students who do not pay attention and misbehave because content has already been explained, or will be explained, by the private tutor; mainstream teachers who cut back on their efforts since the private tutor will give supplementary support; certain topics are not covered in the mainstream class since they are covered by during private tutoring classes.

There should be very little doubt that private tutoring costs great sums of money. It also takes its toll on the students. It stands to reason that students who attend both mainstream and supplementary classes are exposed to considerable pressure. After a day spent at school students are then expected to spend a number of hours so many times per week in private tutoring classes. And when, one may ask, do these students find the time to engage in the much-needed leisure activities? Activities which are essential for both their physical and mental well-being. No wonder that we are witnessing successive generations of school

children who do not know what childhood is all about! School children who do not know what it is to be a child in this day and age. Students whose mainstream and supplementary schooling have indeed enabled them to obtain their passes at examinations. But at a very high price – lack of social skills and poor family bonds to name a few.

The central message of this booklet is a clear and simple one: educational planners, policy-makers and researchers cannot turn a blind eye to the private tutoring as if it does not exist or as if it has no impact on mainstream schooling. It deserves much greater attention and, perhaps, some form of monitoring and control. This is more so, as Bray points out, if the growth of this phenomenon is construed within the context of a worldwide shift towards the marketization and decentralization of education.

One final point. Mark Bray's main objective in putting together this booklet must surely have been achieved. Not only do I have little doubt that such a book has long been overdue, but I am very confident that it will stimulate the debate that its author has hoped for. This book is essential reading to educational planners, policy-makers, researchers and education students. I highly recommend it.

Mark G. Borg
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Da Qui: Rivista di Letteratura Arte e Società fra le Regioni e le Culture Mediterranee ('From Here: Review of Literature, Art and Society among Mediterranean Regions and Cultures'), 1997, Edizioni Poiesis, Bari, 208 pp.

Globalization – the political and economic buzzword of the 1990s – instead of maintaining its promise of destroying poverty and oppression has imprisoned humanity and condemned the poorest regions of our planet to further hardships. What is truly global in this phenomenon is that the rich are getting richer while the poor are getting poorer. The North through its new capitalist thrust is furthering its exploitation of the South. The only way to escape from the global prison is to unite, to globalise from below.

Education is deeply implicated in the challenge against the 'culture of silence' created by globalisation. To use the words of two great educational thinkers, Myles Horton and Paolo Freire, in the new challenge that has been created by the global capitalist trust 'we must make the road by walking together'. Individual efforts towards the transformation of a 'lean' society that is being emptied of its values, norms and beliefs by a new techno-economic cultural mega-machine are ineffective. However, collective efforts against Westernisation – and the concurrent de-culturation of the non-American and non-European world – may prove effective as did, for example, the efforts of labour movements in the past. Africans, Asians and Europeans; black and white; men and women; young and old; rich and poor; developing and industrialised societies must work together to halt the globalization process or, at least, to alleviate its devastating effects upon individuality, justice, social welfare and sovereignty. 'da QUI' (From here) attempts this journey by pooling together the wisdom, values and energy of intellectuals, groups, efforts, forms of resistance, which, in Italy and across the Mediterranean coasts, are searching for a means to revamp the collective spirit of solidarity, to create a legacy of love, to work together.

In the editorial of the 1997 issue, Giuseppe Goffredo condemns the exploitation by European countries – including his own nation, Italy – of Southern, Mediterranean, African and Asian states. He claims that the countries of the Maastricht pact are, like the missionaries of the past, providing material and intellectual aid to oppress and exploit rather than to liberate the poor. The industrialisation of the South, controlled by the IMF and other Eurocentric monetary institutions, and their structural adjustment programmes, are weakening the resistance and rebellion of the poor against globalisation. In this reality, to challenge globalisation, intellectuals, educators, politicians and journalists, who are organic to the oppressed groups they work with, must employ a pedagogy of

liberation that values indigenous culture, resources and histories; a pedagogy of peace and democracy.

The most illustrious victim of globalisation and the neo-colonisation thrust of the industrialised world is Africa. Scourged by post-colonial ethnic conflicts and cleansing, civil wars, famine and drought and a staggering debt of 1,000 billion dollars, Africa is fighting for its existence. In order to heal its many deep and open wounds, Hamid Larbi contends, Africa, like a 'bed-stricken' patient, is relying on a doctor who does not understand its language and needs. The patient, in such circumstances, uncritically accepts any cure offered by the foreigner. The price for survival is more debt. However, whether the patient lives or dies, the debt must be paid by his children – the future generation. What is tragic in this situation is that the foreign doctor is himself creating and maintaining open the fatal African wound through its pseudo-aid policies.

Maurizio Fiasco contends that a similar and bleak scenario exists in the post-soviet nations and provinces. Although no longer under totalitarian communist regimes, ex-soviet states are now ravaged by corruption. From Russia to Albania, the promise of economic development and emancipation made by neo-liberal advocates upon the fall of the Berlin Wall was never fulfilled. The tragedy of Sarajevo and the consistent illegal emigration from the Balkan states are stark reminders of the great divide between the economic and political stability of western Europeans and the people living in this region.

What is needed is a more democratic and less self-centred Europe which is open to all the countries and communities of the Mediterranean region. A Europe which valorizes all their cultures, arts and religions. The marginalised communities, argues Predrag Matvejevic, hope that the Europe of the future will be less Eurocentric than it was in the past and is in the present; more inclined to help the Third World than to colonize it; more conscious of its own resources and less vulnerable to Americanisation; more cultural than commercial; more comunitarian and less cosmopolitan; more comprehensive than arrogant; more socialist and humanitarian and less capitalist.

'da QUI' with its multi-cultural team of intellectuals, artists and poets provides an interesting, perhaps unique, collective challenge against the acculturation and deculturation of the South. To achieve this the review is divided into ten sections. The first five sections provide a critical analysis of the effects of the economic neo-colonisation of the rich over the less developed countries. Authors from Israel, Southern Italy and the Maghreb and Baltic regions provide first-hand succinct and emotional (but very critical) accounts of their communities' economic, political and cultural misadventures. From the Middle East, Moshe Dayan deplores the negative attitudes of the Netanyahu government towards the Palestinian problem while Naomi Chazon condemns the immoral behaviour of

Israeli soldiers on Palestinian women in Hebron. From Italy, Maurizio Fiasco writes about the debilitating effect of the culture of corruption upon creativity and transformation in Southern Italy and the Baltic States. Franco Cassano tries to find ways of how to reinvigorate the economy in Italy's Meridione (South) without changing its rich and unique cultural identity. From the Maghreb communities, Samir Amin argues that the strongest challenge to Westernisation is the unification of African and Arabic nations. On the other hand, religious integralism, El Hachemi Cheriff contends, disseminates hatred, creates marginalisation and destroys any possible European-African dialogue.

The other five sections of 'da QUI' are a showcase of experiences in which artists, through their work, become agents of conscientisation and, often, engage in action against oppression. For the educator who intends to create a strategy of liberation and democracy, the stories of survival presented in these sections are truly a watershed. Most of the authors, but particularly those from Sarajevo and the Middle East, present unique accounts of how, by means of their art and collective endeavours, they have survived in a world where freedom, identity and dignity – and human life – are constantly being destroyed by their communities' aggressors.

'da QUI' is a review of scholarly and artistic works which share a common objective – liberation from oppression. Educators who are involved in the struggle of the oppressed and marginalisation should find this publication very relevant in their work because it provides many concrete values and experiences for building a pedagogy of hope and liberation.

Joseph Vancell
University of Malta

CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENTS

'Language and Change'

Lebanese American University, in association with *Librairie du Liban* and the British Council, 17 & 18 November 2000. Further details from the Organizing Committee, c/o Dr. Nola Bacha. E-mail: nbacha@byblos.lau.edu.lb Fax: +961.9.547256; Tel. +961.9.547254.

'Global Resonance and Resistance: Affirmative Alternatives for Educational Policy, Practice and Transformation'

CIES 2001, 14-18 March, Washington, D.C. (USA). Contact: Professor Heidi Ross, Colgate University, 13 Oak Drive, Hamilton, NY 13346, USA. E-mail: hross@mail.colgate.edu Website: www.colgate.edu

2nd Mediterranean Social and Political Research Meeting

The Mediterranean Programme, Robert Schuman Centre, European University Institute, Florence, March 21-25, 2001. See website: <http://www.iue.it/RSC/meeting.2001.htm>

'Globalisation and higher education: views from the South'

27-29 March 2001, Cape Town, South Africa. Conference details from Betty Woessner, SRHE, 3 Devonshire Street, London W1N 2BA, UK. E-mail address: globalHE@srhe.ac.uk Further information from the conference website: <http://www.srhe.ac.uk>

'Labour market change, unemployment and citizenship in Europe'

20-25 April 2001, Helsinki, Finland. Contact details: Head of the EURESCO Unit, Dr. J. Hendekovic, European Science Foundation, 1 quai Lezay-Marnésia, 67080 Strasbourg Cedex, France. Web site: www.esf.org/euresco. Tel. +33 388 76 71 35; Fax. +33 388 36 69 87. E-mail: euresco@esf.org

'Bringing Psychology to Society'

7th European Congress on Psychology, 1-6 July 2001, the Barbican Centre, London, U.K. Contact: European Congress of Psychology 2001 Secretariat, Conference Associates & Services International Ltd., 4 Cavendish Square, London W1M 0BX, U.K. Tel. +44(0)171 499 0900; Fax. +44(0)171 629 3233. E-mail: ecp2001@thguk.com Website: www.bps.org.uk

'Education for the 21st Century'

11th World Congress of Comparative Education (WCCES), 2-6 July 2001, Choongbuk, South Korea. E-mail: leebj@cc.knue.ac.kr

'Education Content and Learning Strategies for Living Together in the 21st Century: Problems and Solutions'

Forty-Sixth Session of the International Conference on Education, 5-7 September 2001. Further information from: V. Adamets, IBE, P.O. Box 199, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland. E-mail: v.adamets@ibe.unesco.org Website: www.ibe.unesco.org

'Intercultural Research and Practice: New Perspectives, New Complexities?'

8th International Congress of ARIC (*Association pour la Recherche Interculturelle*), University of Geneva, 24-28 September 2001. E-mail: aric@pse.unige.ch Fax. +41(0)22.705.91.39.

Abstracts

IMPACT OF CENTRALISED INSTRUCTIONAL SUPERVISION ON TEACHERS: A CASE STUDY OF A PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOL IN TURKEY

AYSE BAS COLLINS

Cet article présente les résultats d'une étude de cas qui prend comme sujet l'application de l'inspection de l'éducation centrale dans une école secondaire privée. Il explore la perception de l'administration, des chefs de section et des professeurs en ce qui concerne les forces, les faiblesses et l'impact de ce système sur l'enseignement et l'apprentissage, le développement des enseignants et l'amélioration de l'école. Les résultats montrent que le système d'inspection centralisé actuel a des faiblesses due à sa nature subjective et à son manque d'inspecteurs adaptés, à la fois en termes de quantité et de qualité. Globalement, le système d'inspection est considéré comme une évaluation administrative et il n'offre aucun soutien formateur aux professeurs. Cet article montre la nécessité de changer le système existant; afin que des nouvelles formes d'inspection centralisée tombant en dehors des interventions du gouvernement soient adoptées ou bien, alternativement, que plus d'importance soit donnée, à des formes de supervision basées à l'école.

ÖZET: Bu makale, ortaöğretim okullarındaki merkezi öğretim denetiminin uygulanışını konu alan bir örnek olay çalışmasının sonuçlarını sunmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, idarecilerin, bölüm (zümre) başkanlarının ve öğretmenlerin, denetim sisteminin güçlü ve zayıf yönleri ve öğretim ile öğrenme süreci, öğretmenin gelişimi ve okul ortamının iyileştirilmesi üzerindeki etkileri ile ilgili fikirlerini araştırmaktır. Sonuçlar, merkezi teftiş sisteminin, yargılayıcı ve subjektif (tek yönlü) özelliğinden kaynaklanan eksiklikleri olduğunu, hem müfettiş sayısının hem de kalitesinin eksikliğini göstermektedir. Genel olarak teftiş sistemi, idari bir değerlendirme olarak görülmektedir ve öğretmenlere eksikliklerini giderecek şekilde herhangi bir fayda sağlamamaktadır. Bu makale, mevcut sistemin değiştirilmesi ya da yeniden ele alınarak daha faydalı bir hale getirilmesi gerektiğini belirtmektedir. Bazı merkezi unsurları ele alarak, bunların devlet kurumlarının pek çoğunda görülen politik yaklaşımları içermeyen ve merkezi olmayan unsurlarla entegrasyonunu sağlamaktadır.

الخلاصة : تقدم هذه المقالة دراسة حول نتيجة التطبيقات العملية للتفتيش التربوي المركزي التي اجريت فعلياً في احدى المدارس الثانوية العامة . والهدف من هذه الدراسة هي بحث الجوانب الايجابية والسلبية لتلازمين وروساء الاقسام (المجموعات) والمدرسين ونظام التفتيش وتأثير هذه الجوانب على عمليات وفترة التدريس وتطوير قابليات المدرسين وتحسين اوضاع التعليم في داخل المدرسة وايجاد اسين اللازمة لتطوير هذا النظام . وظهرت في النتيجة بأن نظام التفتيش المركزي لها جوانب سلبية من ناحيتي وهما اولاً امكانياتها على المراقبة وثانياً كونها غير حيادية (ذو طرف واحد) وكما ظهر نقص في عدد المفتشين ونقص ايضاً في قابلياتهم التفتيشية . وبشكل عام فإن نظام التفتيش هي عملية ادارية بحتة ولا جدوى منها لرفع كفاءة المدرسين . ويوصي نتائج هذه الدراسة على تبديل النظام الحالي بالكامل او العمل على تطويرها من جديد بحيث تعطي نتائج افضل بكثير مما هي عليه الان . ويتم هذا عن طريق تفاعل العناصر الغير المركزية مع المفتشين المرتبطين بالمركز شريطة ان تجرد الكثير من المؤسسات التعليمية الحكومية المتأثرة بالجوانب السياسية من هذه الظاهرة .

THE NEED FOR SPECIALIST TRAINING IN THE EDUCATION OF DEAF CHILDREN IN GREECE: LISTENING TO TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS

MAGDA NIKOLARAIZI

Dans le cadre d'une discussion générale concernant le rôle et la standardisation requise pour l'enseignement et l'éducation des enseignants dans le domaine de l'éducation spéciale, cette recherche a étudié l'opinion des enseignants d'enfants sourds en Grèce. La collecte des données a été effectuée au moyen d'entretiens et l'analyse a été basée sur les principes de la grounded theory. Les enseignants ont indiqué que leur éducation de base ainsi que leur éducation supplémentaire ne leur donne pas les moyens d'assumer leur rôle de manière efficace. Ils considèrent leur métier difficile, éprouvent de l'insécurité et sont souvent confrontés au problème de la non-communication avec les enfants. La recherche sur l'opinion des enseignants aide à comprendre leurs besoins, met en lumière la nécessité de reformer leur éducation et impose la conception d'un cadre de soutien et d'enseignement permanents sur des sujets concernant l'éducation d'enfants sourds.

Μέσα στο πλαίσιο μίας διεθνούς συζήτησης σχετικά με το ρόλο και τις προδιαγραφές που πρέπει να διέπουν την αρχική κατάρτιση και επιμόρφωση των εκπαιδευτικών στο χώρο της Ειδικής Αγωγής, αυτή η έρευνα διερεύνησε τις απόψεις των εκπαιδευτικών κωφών παιδιών στην Ελλάδα σε θέματα που αφορούν στην εκπαίδευσή τους. Η συλλογή των πληροφοριών έγινε μέσα από συνεντεύξεις και η ανάλυση στηρίχτηκε στις αρχές της βασισμένης θεωρίας (grounded theory). Οι εκπαιδευτικοί δηλώσανε πως η αρχική εκπαίδευση τους και η επιμόρφωση τους δεν τους εφοδιάζει κατάλληλα ώστε να ανταποκριθούν αποτελεσματικά στο ρόλο τους. Χαρακτηρίζουν το επάγγελμα τους δύσκολο, νιώθουν ανασφαλείς και αντιμετωπίζουν πολλές δυσκολίες, μεταξύ των οποίων η έλλειψη επικοινωνίας με τα παιδιά. Η διερεύνηση των απόψεων των εκπαιδευτικών συμβάλλει στη σε βάθος κατανόηση των αναγκών τους, αναδεικνύει την αναγκαιότητα της αναδιαμόρφωσης της αρχικής κατάρτισης και επιμόρφωσης και επιβάλλει το σχεδιασμό ενός πλαισίου διαρκούς στήριξης και πληροφόρησης του εκπαιδευτικού σε θέματα που αφορούν στην εκπαίδευση των κωφών παιδιών.

في إطار النقاش الدائر حول متطلبات تدريب المعلمين، تستكشف هذه الدراسة وجهة نظر المعلمين المشاركين في تعليم الأطفال الصم في اليونان حول أثر التدريب. استنبطت آراء المعلمين عن طريق استخدام مقابلة مفتوحة معمقة، إضافة إلى تحليلها على أساس مبادئ لنظرية راسخة. أجاب المعلمين عن احتياجات الأطفال بدون أن تكون لديهم الخلفية المعرفية أو التدريب الأولى أو أثناء الخدمة، وهو ما يمكنهم من أن يكونوا مستعدين بقدر كافٍ لمثل هذه المسؤولية. وقد وصفوا وظيفتهم بالصعبة، وأوضحوا بأنهم شعروا بعدم الأمن وعدم توافر الدعم والشك في قدرتهم على تحقيق الاتصال مع الأطفال الصم. واستخدمت ملاحظات المعلمين كأساس للتبصر في إدراك المعلمين لدور التدريب ولفهم أكثر توسعاً لاحتياجاتهم. وقد أكدت ملاحظاتهم على أهمية التدريب الأول والتدريب أثناء الخدمة، وكذلك أهمية التوفير الدائم للمعلومات والدعم، التي ستمكن في مجملها المعلم ليكون تربوياً أكثر فعالية مع الطفل الأصم.

ORGANIZATIONAL DEFICIENCIES IN SCHOOL MANAGEMENT: THE CASE OF GREEK PRIMARY SCHOOLS

ANNA SAITI

Cette étude offre un survol de quelques unes des traits dominants de l'éducation en Grèce, ainsi que quelques unes des réformes centrales qui ont marqué le développement de l'éducation dans le pays. Malgré les progrès remarquables, le système scolaire en Grèce a toujours devant lui un défi majeur: la décentralisation. Les détails de la structure du système administratif scolaire sont présentés, et une analyse critique est faite, en utilisant la technique 'Organisation et Méthodes' (O et M) afin d'enquêter sur l'efficacité des services éducatifs en Grèce. Deux études de cas sont présentés pour illustrer les processus administratifs traditionnels et compliqués qui prédominent actuellement, dont la plupart sont de nature routinière et non nécessaires. Cette étude démontre qu'une réforme est nécessaire.

Η εργασία αυτή κάνει μια επισκόπηση των βασικών χαρακτηριστικών και των κυριότερων μεταρρυθμίσεων που έχουν σηματοδοτήσει την ευρύτερη πορεία της ελληνικής εκπαίδευσης. Παρόλα αυτά, υποστηρίζεται ότι το σχολικό σύστημα στην Ελλάδα εξακολουθεί να αντιμετωπίζει μια πρόκληση: την αποκέντρωση. Επιπλέον, παρουσιάζεται η δομή του συστήματος διοίκησης της εκπαίδευσης και γίνεται μια κριτική ανάλυση με τη μέθοδο «Ο και Μ» (Organization and Methods), προκειμένου να διερευνηθεί η αποδοτικότητα του συστήματος αυτού. Με τη χρησιμοποίηση δύο παραδειγμάτων από την ελληνική πραγματικότητα, αποδεικνύεται ότι το διοικητικό σύστημα είναι συγκεντρωτικό, δύσκαμπτο και αναποτελεσματικό. Γι' αυτό το λόγο η διοικητική μεταρρύθμιση στο χώρο της εκπαίδευσης είναι ανάγκη επιτακτική.

تقدم هذه الورقة بداية عرضاً لبعض الملامح الأساسية للتعليم وبعض الإصلاحات الرئيسية التي ميزت تطور التعليم في اليونان. وقد وجد أنه على الرغم من التقدم الاستثنائي، فإن النظام المدرسي في اليونان ما يزال يواجه تحدياً أساسياً وهو إلغاء المركزية. وعرضت هذه الورقة تفاصيل النظام الإداري المدرسي، وقدمت تحليلاً نقدياً باستخدام أسلوب "التنظيم و المنهجية" من أجل بحث كفاءة الخدمات التربوية في اليونان. كما عرضت الورقة دراسية حالتين توضحان العمليات الإدارية التقليدية والمعقدة السائدة حالياً، وهي في معظمها غير ضرورية وذات طابع روتيني. وقد تبنت الورقة موقفاً داعماً للإصلاح.

THE STATE OF HISTORY TEACHING IN PRIVATE-RUN CONFESSONAL SCHOOLS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR NATIONAL INTEGRATION

KAMAL ABOUCHEDID
RAMZI NASSER

Le curriculum d'histoire gravite autour des différences dans les sociétés plurielles. Cependant, une série de différences jaillit du cas libanais qui se présente par un nombre d'écoles privées confessionnelles dont le contrôle du système administratif et du programme est minime. Depuis la fondation de la République Libanaise en 1926, la politique publique a donné aux écoles privées une grande autonomie pour créer chacune son programme éducatif. Cet article examine les politiques du programme d'histoire de sept principales écoles confessionnelles au Liban. En utilisant l'analyse de texte, les interviews des élèves, des décideurs du système éducatif et des professeurs d'histoires, l'article va démontrer que les écoles confessionnelles au Liban ont perpétué leur propre ligne de pensée pour l'enseignement d'histoire qui ne prépare pas l'intégration dans une société plurielle.

ينجذب منهاج التاريخ نحو فهم الاختلافات في المجتمعات المتعددة. ومع ذلك تنتزع الحالة اللبنانية مدى من الاختلافات المتناقضة المتمثلة في مناهج التدريس في المدارس الطائفية، ولاسيما أن هناك قصوراً من قبل الدولة في ضبط السياسات التربوية والإدارية لتلك المدارس. ومنذ توطيد الجمهورية اللبنانية عام 1926. حظيت المدارس الخاصة بمكاسب بنويوية مكنتها من إدارة برامجها التربوية الخاصة بكل منها. وتعالج هذه الدراسة السياسات التربوية المتعلقة بتدريس منهاج التاريخ في سبع مدارس طائفية في لبنان. وتشير نتائج المقابلات الشخصية مع عينات من المقررين التربويين، وأساتذة مادة التاريخ، والتلامذة، بالإضافة إلى تحليل نصوص كتب التاريخ، إلى أن المدارس الطائفية تولد توجهاً خاصاً في تدريس مادة التاريخ لا يتكيف مع صيغة وحدة التعددية.

MOTIVATION, SATISFACTION, SUCCESS ATTRIBUTIONS AND CHEATING AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN MOROCCO

NAIMA BENMANSOUR

Un questionnaire a été distribué à 287 lycéens afin de cerner leurs perceptions de leurs buts, leur satisfaction face à l'école, les facteurs auxquels ils/elles attribuent leur succès, et leurs engagement et croyances vis à vis de la fraude. Une analyse de facteurs a été utilisée afin d'établir la fiabilité des mesures. Les élèves placent plus haut la maîtrise du savoir que la performance par rapport aux autres, et attribuent le succès plus à des facteurs intérieurs qu'à des facteurs extérieurs. Cependant, leur niveau de satisfaction face à l'école est faible. Par ailleurs, leur engagement dans la fraude et leur croyance vis à vis de la fraude ont reçu des notes élevées. Des analyses de corrélation et de régression ont révélé que la satisfaction vis à vis de l'école est un indicateur négatif et que l'attribution du succès à la chance est un indicateur positif de l'engagement dans la fraude et la croyance que la fraude est acceptable. Finalement, l'orientation vers la maîtrise du savoir a montré une relation négative avec les mesures de fraude.

شمل استطلاع الرأي 287 تلميذاً في التعليم الثانوي لاستكشاف إدراكهم لغايات توجهاتهم التحفيزية، رضاهم على المدرسة، إسناداتهم لأسباب النجاح وممارستهم ومعتقداتهم للغش. واستعملت طرق تحليل العوامل لإرساء صلاحية المقاييس. وقد وضع التلاميذ غايات التعلم في درجة أعلى من غايات الأداء وكانت إسناداتهم داخلية أكثر منها خارجية في أسباب النجاح، كما عبروا عن مستوى ضعيف من الرضى على المدرسة. زيادة على ذلك، حصل الغش والاعتقاد بأن الغش مقبول على درجات عالية من طرف التلاميذ. واستعملت تحاليل الارتباط والتردي لتحديد العلاقات بين المتغيرات والتعرف على المؤشرات المحتملة لسلوكات ومعتقدات الغش. والجدير بالاهتمام أن الرضى على المدرسة ظهر كمؤشر سلبي لسلوكات ومعتقدات الغش، أما إسناد النجاح إلى الحظ فظهر كمؤشر إيجابي لمتغيرات الغش. وأخيراً، أبان توجه التعلم على علاقة سلبية مع إجراءات الغش.

EDUCATION STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD GENDER ROLES

AYSENTUR YONTAR TOGROL
ATIYE ÖNÜR

Le but de cette étude est d'examiner les attitudes des futurs professeurs et des futurs conseillers des écoles sur des rôles sexuels, et de voir si le sexe, la durée des études à la Faculté d'Education (c'est-à-dire le niveau) et le programme d'études dans lequel ils sont inscrits ont un quelconque impact sur leurs attitudes vis à vis des rôles sexuels. 562 sujets ont participé à cette étude. Les données ont été rassemblées à partir d'un questionnaire qui mesure des attitudes vis à vis des rôles sexuels. L'étude a trois variables indépendantes - le sexe, le type d'études, et l'année dans laquelle sont les étudiants. Les données ont été analysées en utilisant les tests ANOVA, Schaeffe et le test 't'. On a trouvé qu'il y a des différences entre les étudiants dans leurs attitudes envers des rôles sexuels selon leur sexe et leur programme. Mais il n'y a aucune différence significative entre les différentes années d'études.

Bu çalışmanın amacı eğitim fakültesinde öğrenci olan öğretmen ve danışman adaylarının cinsiyet rollerine ilişkin tutumlarının cinsiyetlerine, öğrencisi buldukları programlara ve sınıf düzeyine göre değişip değişmediğini ortaya çıkarmaktır. Çalışmanın örnekleme 562 öğrenciden oluşmaktadır. Çalışmaya katılan öğrencilerin cinsiyet rollerine yönelik tutumlarını ölçmek amacıyla bir anket uygulanmıştır. Çalışmanın cinsiyet, program (ya da çalışma alanı) ve sınıf düzeyi olmak üzere üç bağımsız değişkeni vardır. Veriler ANOVA, Scheffe test ve t-test yöntemleri kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir. Sonuç olarak cinsiyet rollerine ilişkin tutumların farklı cinsiyet ve programlara göre değişiklik gösterdiği ancak farklı sınıf düzeylerinde bu farkın istatistiksel olarak anlamlılık düzeyine erişmediği ortaya çıkarılmıştır.

تركز هذه الدراسة على فحص اتجاهات مرشحين للعمل معلمين ومرشدين بالمدراس نحو أدوار الجنس، والتحقق مما إذا كان لعوامل مثل الجنس وسنوات الدراسة (أو المستوى الدراسي) والمجال الدراسي داخل كلية التربية إي تأثير على اتجاهاتهم نحو تلك الأدوار. وقد تضمنت الدراسة ثلاثة عوامل مستقلة هي الجنس ومجال الدراسة والمستوى الدراسي، وكان العامل التابع هو مجموع النقاط المتحصل عليها من الاختبارين. وقد تم تحليل البيانات باستخدام تحليل التباين الأحادي واختبار شيفي (Sheffe) واختبار (ت)، وقد اظهر الطلاب اختلافاً في اتجاهاتهم نحو أدوار الجنس وفقاً لعامل الجنس ومجال الدراسة، على حين لم تظهر فروق دالة إحصائياً بين المستويات الدراسية المختلفة.

DISTANCE EDUCATION IN SLOVENIA: A CASE STUDY OF INNOVATION

**LEA BREGAR
MARGERITA ZAGMAJSTER**

En Slovénie, le développement de l'éducation ouverte/à distance moderne a commencé au début des années 1990 dans le cadre d'une université traditionnelle possédant une expérience considérable dans la réalisation des programmes d'études à temps partiel. Les activités liées au développement de l'enseignement à distance se sont déroulées dans le cadre du Programme PHARE de coopération multinationale pour l'enseignement à distance dans lequel ont participé 11 pays de l'Europe Centrale et de l'Europe de l'Est. La Faculté des Sciences Economiques de l'Université de Ljubljana a été sélectionnée pour la phase expérimentale du projet en Slovénie. L'article souligne l'importance de la synergie dans la combinaison des ressources existant dans l'environnement social/éducatif d'un pays et de l'expertise étrangère dans la construction d'un programme d'enseignement à distance autonome et économiquement efficace et sa contribution à l'élévation de la qualité de l'enseignement supérieur de masse dans une université traditionnelle.

V Sloveniji se je sodoben študij na daljavo začel razvijati v začetku devetdesetih let v okviru tradicionalne univerze z bogatimi izkušnjami na področju izrednega študija. Razvoj programa ŠND je potekal v okviru Phare programa za ŠND, v katerega je bilo vključenih 11 srednje- in vzhodnoevropskih držav. Ekonomska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani je bila izbrana kot pilotna institucija za Slovenijo. V prispevku opisujemo, kako lahko sinergija kombiniranja domačih potencialov ob kreativni uporabi tujega znanja vpliva na razvoj programa ŠND in izboljša kvaliteto visokošolskega programa na tradicionalni univerzi.

بدأ التطور الحديث للتعليم المفتوح / عن بُعد في (سلوفينيا) (Slovenia) في مطلع التسعينيات في جامعة تقليدية لديها خبرة طويلة في تقديم دراسات غير متفرعة كلياً. نُفذت أنشطة تطوير برنامج التعليم عن بُعد في إطار برنامج (PHARE) للتعاون في هذا المجال بين العديد من الدول باستفادة إحدى عشرة دولة مشاركة من وسط أوروبا وشرقها. وقد أُختيرت كلية الاقتصاد بجامعة ليوبليانا (Ljubljana) كمؤسسة استطلاعية في (سلوفينيا) وتشير الورقة إلى كيف يمكن أن يؤدي التعاون عن طريق توحيد المصادر الوطنية المتوافرة والظروف الاجتماعية / التربوية المحلية مع الخبرات الخارجية إلى بعث برنامج مدعوم ذاتياً للتعليم عن بُعد وتحسين نوعية برنامج جماهيري للتعليم العالي تديره جامعة تقليدية.

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Regionalism in the Post-Cold War World



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This essential guide describes, analyses, and projects the implications of regionalism on contemporary international relations. Regional policy positions are examined to increase our understanding of how the direct impact patterns of relations at a regional level of analysis are effecting the shifting balance of international power. The book clarifies what types of regional dynamics are currently manifesting themselves in different parts of the world. It consists of both theoretical and empirical assessments (similar to those developed in the author's previous book on regionalism) that ensure that the comparative analysis conducted is a comprehensive and coherent one.

Contents: Section One: Regionalism and Contemporary World Politics; Global hegemony and regionalism. Section Two: European Regionalism: European regionalism - where is the European Union heading?; The Nordic model of regionalism; Subregionalism in South-Eastern Europe; The OSCE and regional co-operation in Europe. Section Three: Global Regionalism: Regionalism in the Mediterranean; Towards the free trade areas of the Americas, challenges, limits and possibilities of inter-American regionalism; The Caribbean regional integration: what developments? Regional dynamics in the post-cold war world; Selected bibliography; Index.

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Aims & Scope

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