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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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# ANCIENT GREEK *LOGOS*: AN INVITATION TO HISTORICAL-COMPARATIVE DISCOURSE ON EDUCATION

PELLA CALOGIANNAKIS

**Abstract** - This study aims to present some aspects of the methodological and epistemological encounter of contemporary historical-comparative discourse on education with the ancient Greek historical-comparative *logos*; this encounter will pose a challenging stream of research in the area of comparative education dealing mostly with the historicity, the methodology and the epistemology of this field. Such an approach will attempt to demonstrate that the contemporary historical discourse on comparative education does not remarkably deviate from a process of reasoning and research via the ancient concept of *logos*.

## Introduction

**S**tarting from the positions and the advancements of the ancient Greek historical comparative *logos*, it becomes challenging to search the origins of contemporary historical comparative discourse on education; key questions include the degree to which the latter is revamped and/or based on the former and to what degree it has acquired a new meaning; finally, it is worth investigating how the contemporary discourse can fit into the various forms of the ancient Greek *logos*: *technology/methodology* (the how it is), *historiology* (the what it is), *epistemology/ dialectology* (the reason, the whether it is), *synkritology* (the relevance/comparison).

## Contextualisation

Ancient *logos* is tightly linked to the concepts of method, history/inquiry, knowledge/truth and comparison. The term 'method' is synonymous with the term 'art' (*technê*) in Antiquity. It constitutes a set of expressed norms which aid someone to acquire art and science (*epistêmê*) in depth and in a short period of time. Consequently, the term *technology* or *methodology* emerged with special reference to *technê/method*, which is a well structured expression of research components or of absolute knowledge and is characterised by continuity and consequence (Ong, 1957; Jardine, 1974; Kazazis 1992:185-209). Hence, the work of science came to be a work of art (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1094a5).

The *historiology* of discourse methodology was developed before Herodotus and the term *logos* was related to the Greek word *history* (*historia*); both of these terms - *logos* and *history* - referred to the inquiry into any matter or related area. Throughout *The Odyssey*, for example, someone finds a clear link between travel, inquiry and comparative knowledge and Odysseus is portrayed as an explorer and curious investigator, and as a man of exploration: 'he saw the cities of many men and learned their minds (or customs), and he suffered many pains in his heart while at sea' (Homer, *Odyssey*, i.3-4).

In *The Odyssey* someone finds a primary form of comparative knowledge at the risk of toils and dangers; hence, the 'suffering' Odysseus is firmly connected with the 'inquiring' Odysseus. This fact motivates Polybius to associate himself with Odysseus in a passage which is important for the relationship between *odysseology* and *historiology* of discourse (Polybius, xii.27.1-28.7).<sup>1</sup> So, in *The Odyssey* this *logos* seems primarily to influence the *historiology* of comparative discourse.

Due to Herodotus' prominence, historical and comparative *logos* became much more specialised. Thus, throughout the years, history as *logos* and *logos* as history have to be understood as systematic comparative inquiry into past events and their interconnections. Herodotus was among the first who sought to record and compare events in the way they actually happened and to critically assess his sources of information. Herodotus, in his presentation of historical-comparative *logos*, worked in a different way than that of Thucydides. In his comparative studies, Herodotus offers illustrations of all subjects which interest him and engages himself in an examination of particulars (*particularising*) not just from history, but also from related domains. From his day forward, the value of historical and comparative study has been noted by Westerners, and the historical-comparative approach has held a firm place ever since. On the other hand, Thucydides constrains himself in the political history of the Peloponnesian War and hardly ever went beyond this. Instead he tries to find broad generalisations (*generalising*) that he could apply to other situations based upon the evidence that he had gathered.

However, in Aristotle's works one finds elements of both men's methods of *logos*. When appropriate, Aristotle uses Herodotus' approach, giving specific details and comparative dimensions. On other occasions, he uses Thucydides' approach and tries to find constants that he can apply to all animals, not just specific categories. This despite the fact that Thucydides and Aristotle discuss quite different subjects.<sup>2</sup> Thucydides first presents the evidence and his observations and then he draws his conclusions. Aristotle states his reasoning, presents the evidence and then supports his conclusions. Both make attempts to find *generalisations* that can be applicable beyond the specific examples that they cite in their studies.

To this advancement of *historiology* of ancient comparative *logos*, other steps of scientific knowledge (*gnôsis*) were added: the *diagnôsis* based on love of truth, the *parakolouthêsis*, which means to follow and investigate or compare a thing with another - Galen, the Greek doctor, uses this word for the *investigation of symptoms* - the '*autopsy*' (Thucydides, I.22.), that involved personal investigation or experience to obtain authentic comparative knowledge and the consideration of facts from the beginning, *anôthen*, with reference to time. The above processes of investigation were accompanied by accuracy and objectivity (*akrivôs*), a consecutive treatment of a matter and the idea of a chronological sequence (*kathexês*). Finally, the word *epignosis* is strongly related to full/absolute knowledge.

Similarly, in Plato the *epistemology* of *logos*, concerning the knowledge of truth (*gnôsis*) and the various areas of discourse of all the different classes of human souls, was supplemented by the knowledge of the different kinds of argument. Only the person who has acquired all this knowledge is a perfect lover of the truth, in so far as perfection is attainable by humans; but the acquisition of this knowledge is a great task and it is connected with the desire to serve the spirit of real art and science (*technê* and *epistêmê*) (Fowler 1982:407sq.).<sup>3</sup> The process of collection and division, by which a number of particulars may be brought together under a *generic concept*, is also clearly stated. The latter is of much importance in the dialectic method which for Plato is the only acceptable method of *reasoning*. Plato's dialectic method consists of four types: the definitive, the analytical, the divisible, and the demonstrative (Plato, *Phaedrus*, 265d sq.). The key to the dialectic method appears in the Platonic *Phaedrus*, where Socrates articulates his opinion about the real art of rhetoric and describes two processes: the collection and the division, which characterise all the 'dialecticians'; that is, all who have the sense of sight of everything that Plato names deduction and induction. In reality the *epistemology/dialectology* of *logos* exposed in the above passage establishes not only the standards for the art (*technology/methodology*) of rhetoric but ultimately the principles for all sciences and arts. Earlier, Socrates *compares* the method of the art of healing and the art of rhetoric and ascertains their common grounds, since both of them analyse nature (*Phaedrus*, in the passage 265d-277d).

The above Platonic example of comparative method with the proposed criteria in this *Dialogue* is later adopted by Aristotle, in order to be completed and developed in greater depth. Furthermore, both Plato and Aristotle oppose reason to perception, but Aristotle explains that perception is of the individual as characterised by general qualities, and that reason apprehends general qualities as present in individual things. On the other hand, Aristotle (in the *Prior Analytics*) states and develops his theory of syllogism, analyses and illustrates the various



figures, moods and modes, and describes the conditions under which comparative inquiry is possible (Aristotle, *Prior Analytics*, 24a16-25a13); he examines the mechanism of *technology* and *epistemology* of reasoning, while in the *Posterior Analytics* he turns to the problem of knowledge (*gnôsis*): what it is, how it is acquired, whether it is guaranteed to be true, how it is expanded and systematised (Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics*, 71a1-72b25).

All reasoned acquisition of comparative knowledge involves a process in which the mind advances from something that is already known. This starting-point may be knowledge of fact, or meaning, or both. In this way, Aristotle shows that some of our previous knowledge may be only potential and prepares us for the structure of scientific comparative knowledge. In his theory, he supports that science should start with axioms as universal principles which are relevant only to quantities. He sometimes speaks of them as the source, at other times as the means, and as principles indigenous to the particular sciences which are either assumption, or nominal definitions of technical terms. On the other hand, scientific knowledge is concerned only with necessary facts; facts become necessary if they are proved as such; accordingly the premises from which they are derived must be necessary; they also must be scientific implying that certain relations between predicate and subject must exist.

Furthermore, definition, division and systematisation are substantial elements of the Aristotelian comparative discourse (Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics*, 89b23-90a34). Aristotle's object is to study and *compare* phenomena as carefully as possible and to put forward only such theories that have the potential to be proved. The *kinêsis* (motion/transition, also a central concept for Thucydides, without which there can be no history) and *metabolê* (change) which were crucial in his theory, deals with the essence of the *epistêmê* and the *cosmos* per se (Aristotle, *Physics*, 194a36, 200b3 and *passim*). Aristotle places observation before theory, and makes the theory fit the facts rather than the reverse. Especially (according to Aristotle) in the more concrete sciences, which take account of secondary qualities, much good work can be done through observation (*theôrêsis* /contemplation) long before quantitative exactness is a necessary condition of further progress (W.R.Ross, 1955:xi-xii).

It was via these scientific comparative paths that the concept of *synkrisis* which, in recent times means comparison, a *synkritology of logos* emerged; it should be noted that in Aristotelian theory *synkrisis* expresses the process of the *inter-*, the *cross-* and the *multi-* dimensions of scientific inquiry, as well as the interconnection and *synthesis* of phenomena and it is opposed to the concept of *diakrisis* which means distinction and separation (Aristotle, *Physics*, 187a31, 243b8-29, 260b11,265b20-22). In addition, within this context of *logos*, Aristotle poses five kinds of categories that each science should attempt to

answer via a dialectic reasoning: the *fact*, the *reason*, the *whether it is*, the *how it is* and the *relevance*.

### Contemporary historical-comparative discourse on education

Modern researchers can not limit themselves to national historical-comparative educational approaches. The comparison of international educational phenomena in different fields must be taken into consideration. The historical conditions which also determined the essence and content of pedagogical events must receive proper attention. The comparative approach in the historical analysis of educational phenomena today is very important, because it allows us to define a revived glance of the historical-comparative discursive paradigm in education. We discuss that a great need emerges in the field to work on 'a new comparative education' (Calogiannakis, 1993; Calogiannakis, 1988); hence, comparative education has to engage itself to reestablish/rethink the concept of comparison, placing it in the framework of ancient *synkrisis/comparison* and dialectic reasoning concerning the *fact*, the *reason*, the *whether it is*, the *how it is* and the *relevance*, that is in an inter-/cross-/multi-context. The most important components of this revived historical-comparative discourse on education could be presented in the following figure:

HISTORIOLOGY OF LOGOS	EPISTEMOLOGY OF LOGOS	SYNKRITOLOGY OF LOGOS
Comparative knowledge/ truth particularising, generalising  systematic inquiry/ (diagnosis parakoluthêsis, autopsy, anôthen, akrivôs, kathexês),  epignôsis	reasoning/  the <i>fact</i> , the <i>reason</i> , the <i>whether it is</i> , the <i>how it</i> <i>is</i> and the <i>relevance</i> .  Dialectic, scientific knowledge,  epistêmé	synkrisis/comparison  the inter, the cross- the multi-  diakrisis synthesis

According to the figure, some basic key-concepts can be carefully considered as the origins of contemporary historical comparative discourse.

Firstly, the concepts of the 'general' and 'particular' which have been treated by the ancient comparative *logos*, are related to the process of assessing to the sources of information/ facts/data in the context of the historical and comparative studies. These concepts also have to do with a category of problems that someone can find in the conceptualisation of contemporary historical educational comparisons. Besides, a concept can be considered as a *logos* approach, which is a part of the process of definition, collection, division and systematisation by which the comparative mind grasps educational reality. This phenomenon is particularly found in the formulation of theory which is a product of history; thus, it emerges under given historical conditions and history validates, or not, their relevance in the *historiology of logos*. Usually, a concept should be able to cope with the complexity and changes in various situations; to this the problem of meaning may be added. Thus, it is possible to establish similarities among differences and differences among similarities, that is to say to grasp the universal (*generalising*) in the particular (*particularising*) (Lê Thành Khôi 1988:87-113). Concepts which have been basic to historical analysis, *historiology of logos*, have become the basis for profoundly different treatment amongst social scientists, and amongst comparative scholars. Changed interpretations have also marked the historical-comparative discourse on education, since scholars have tried to 'escape' from what they have perceived as oversimplified versions of the concepts and their use by historians.

Secondly, dialectic reasoning in the context of ancient *logos* can be seen as solid ground for modern comparative scholars in the field of their epistemological and methodological approaches: collection and division, deduction and induction in the context of comparative dialectic reasoning is a challenge to contemporary comparative analysis. In addition, the historical-comparative discourse today implies several features, such as the dynamics of multiple interpretations, the holistic approach, the dialectic comparison, cross-cultural/cross-pedagogical interactions, re-interpretation process, multi-methodological revision. Researchers are continuously confronted with new challenges and opportunities, especially in the context of the postmodernism. Postmodern times elicit a new framework for alternative interpretive discourse on education, *the dialectic reasoning*, and different methodological procedures, different 'how'. This is due to various factors such as the following: (a) the consideration of each society as a dialectic unity/*logos* of biological and social components and as a set of relations rather than of objects or events; (b) the consideration of change not as an incidental outcome but inherent to the social process; (c) the use of different scenarios of evolution or comparison/*synkrisis*, of discontinuities or internal social

contradictions; (d) the use of different patterns for the investigation of educational problems; (e) the natural and social environment as a dynamic relation. Consequently, modern discourse in the field rethinks/reevaluates on the concept of the *cosmos/world* and expands the locus of comparative dialectic reasoning; concurrently, it seeks to re-grasp its concern with culturalist studies, with the historical dimensions of its tradition, with its *transitology* that deals with the complexities of the transition from pre-modern/ancient to late-modern educational phenomena (post-modernity deals with the downfall of educational and pedagogical forms and principles) and finally, with the concept of globality, multiculturalism, identity and alterity (Cowen 1996:151-170; Flouris 1977:17-39; Damanakis 1977: 23-112).

Thirdly, the nature of scientific comparative knowledge is considered to be a key-concept for both ancient and contemporary *logos*. This kind of knowledge can be associated with the ancient dialectic knowledge that leads to the truth, the perfect truth which in modern *logos* has to do with different concepts/problems such as: the ideology of progress, the concept of science/*epistêmê*, the new units/objectives of comparisons, the historical comparative method, and so on. In line with the above issues, it can be stated that current research (Novoa, 1995:22-24) in the field of contemporary historical-comparative *logos* is based on five axes: (1) the ideology of 'progress', the old principle which assumes that 'education is equivalent to the development and scientific progress is not valid any more'; therefore, the need for the revision of education's role is posed; (2) the concept of the 'science'/*epistêmê*, the argument that 'the adoption of general accepted norms (*generalising*) for the function of the educational phenomena which led to the concepts of 'pre-said' and 'pre-seen' is not valid for the educational systems any more. On the contrary, the so-called 'meta-modern realities' are based on the new concepts which promote the idea of interconnections supporting that nothing can be thoroughly understandable/known in an absolute way.

This somewhat Herodotian thesis implies that there is not a unique accepted interpretation but different interpretations and parameters; the *diagnosis* of an educational fact or problem suggests the idea of its contemplation (*parakolouthêsis*), its *autopsy*, its accuracy and objectivity and finally its placement to a historical and local continuity in order that scholars have an *epignôsis*/full knowledge of it; (3) the old concepts that are replaced today by other more relevant to the new concepts of reality, like 'the local', the 'universal', etc; this renewed orientation poses the problem of establishing new units/objectives of the comparison; (4) the emergence and the dissemination of renewed values rooted in the context of inter-, cross-, and multi- dimensions of educational comparison; (5) the establishment of the historical-comparative method/methods, this axis poses the biggest conflict since contemporary historical-comparative

*logos* is considered to be an interdisciplinary field of research and hence it elicits various interpretations.

*Epistemological* and *methodological* issues overwhelm inquiry in applied research. Some reports reflect the major topics of the theory of knowledge in relation to various perspectives. Since a rationale for eclecticism among perspectives is needed, it is argued that the falsificationist approach is better than any other theory of knowledge for overcoming the major problems in the domain. According to the reconsidered approach of ancient *logos*, analysis, definition, collection, systematisation, diagnosis, design, and implementation could be the successive stages of the change process. Design-oriented research, testing the developed design in comparable situations, is compatible with the positivist approach to science. It is also stressed that researchers may enhance the impact of their work by taking into account criteria of usefulness and clarity. *Epistemological* as well as *methodological* issues raised by conceiving of such theories as normative rather than merely procedural are discussed, and a plea is made for all educational comparative scholars to recognise the place of their theories of inquiry in their research activities. A theory of process of inquiry should be both acknowledged and, in fact, chosen deliberately and consciously incorporated and conducted in a reasoned and open manner. In more qualitative research, there has been more acknowledgment of the role of theory of inquiry/*logos*. The form of inquiry that most carefully defines its normative perspective is known as critical inquiry. Furthermore, given the wide spectrum of ways of ancient knowing/acquiring the *truth* and the growing pluralism in the contemporary social sciences, several recent attempts have been made to reduce the epistemological diversity in historical-comparative educational approach. Because epistemology of *logos* is most usefully viewed as a tool in dealing with reality, scholars in historical-comparative educational approach may try to consider an ecumenical orientation that favors heterogeneity, open textuality, and tolerance for different ways of knowing (Meel, 1991). Besides, scientific, positivistic approaches to comparative education have often been circumvented, or even suppressed, and alternative comparative knowledge domains have emerged. Such views are supported in the post-industrial era where knowledge paradigms are becoming holistic, context-dependent, and integrative, narrowing the gap between theory and practice (Masemann, 1990:465-473); this gap does not seem to mark ancient *logos*.

Fourthly, the character of the contemporary comparison is strongly connected to the ancient concept of Aristotelian *synkrisis* dealing with the process of inter, cross- and multi- dimensions of scientific inquiry. In recent times, the historical-comparative discourse on education has acquired, internationally, new or renewed areas of focus (international/global, cross-cultural, multicultural areas,

etc.) coupled with new methodologies and historiographical interests (CIES, 1995). In a global age we cannot have a concept of single homogenous approach in education, since the world is comprised of diversities and peculiarities failing to apply a standard operation of an intelligentsia to a single concept/image of *cosmos*. The condition of ancient conceptualisation of globality can no longer grant us common notions of earth-nature, or cosmos-world, as in the past (Flouris and Spiridakis, 1992). Instead, today's sense of globality is the integrated global space (*topos*) of educational practice and comparison/ *synkrisis*. Education now puts the distinction and the synthesis of phenomena in a multiplicity of different economic, social, cultural, and political movements (Pirgiotakis and Kanakis, 1992; Winther-Jensen, 1996; Psacharopoulos and Calogiannakis, 1996:9-19; Calogiannakis and Makrakis, 1996; Vamvoucas and Hourdakis, 1997). In the past, such globality was the illusion of philosophers and scholars but now it has become the every day occupation of educational theory and practice. More particularly, cross-cultural/ cross-pedagogical comparisons could be presented as a criterion by which to establish a renewed framework of historical-comparative *logos*. Yet throughout history, cross-cultural/ cross-pedagogical interactions have influenced people's life and education across the boundary lines of societies and cultural regions. As comparative educational researchers view the past from broad, comparative, and global viewpoints, they will need, on one hand, to consider the roles of cross-cultural/ cross-pedagogical comparisons in history while on the other they might also recognise patterns of continuity and change that reflect the experiences in the field of education. However, it is known that every pedagogical problem has a global, ecumenical, and planetary nature and a set of values which are common to the human race. The distinctive feature of this *logos* which deals with the entire globe rather than with a particular country or region, is a result not only of western or non-western thought but of that of all mankind (Hourdakis 1996:157-182).

Despite the plethora of research activities, however, a series of problems remain to a large extent unclear. The main reason for this situation can be traced firstly to the most prominent interpretive schemes which have been employed, and secondly to the methodological inadequacies in the majority of research projects. This variety of schemes and projects is reflected in the evolutionist paradigm, the un-historic and un-critical use of analogy, the reproduction of a fragmented past, the failure of most attempts to design research projects with an explicit definition of the internal social problem in mind; in the focus mainly on the site of educational phenomena as a unit of analysis and not on the region and the continuous landscape; in the failure to recover, study and integrate within an overall interpretation the various categories and the nature of historical evidence. These constitute a number of serious problems that contemporary

historical-comparative educational discourse must face, since this modern *logos* has to adopt some basic elements of the *odysseological* and *Herotodian* dimension, that is to find a link between 'suffering' and 'inquiring' and to trace the interconnections between particular educational events and phenomena.

Generally, historical-comparative discourse/*logos* on education needs constant revision: new historical inquiries, conditions and interpretations lead to new inclusive definitions and knowledge (Kazamias and Schwartz 1977:153-176; Kazamias and Massialas, 1992; Arnove and Kelly 1992; Matheou 1993; Bouzakis and Koustourakis 1995:97-134). Renewed discourse/*logos* to define the boundaries and the content of the subject in modern perspectives and the use of the latest research from cross-disciplinary areas constitute the basis of the historical-comparative discourse on education. This discourse can be placed in the framework of key-concepts already existing: systematic inquiry and comparison for the dialectic comparative knowledge/truth in the context of the inter-, the cross- and multi- dimensions of educational phenomena.

Contemporary conceptualisation on historical comparative *logos* certainly takes into account some basic methodological and epistemological ideas of the former key-concepts dealing with ancient *logos*; furthermore, some of them have acquired a new meaning due to the new cultural, political, social and educational order. We have argued that the ancient *logos* can be presented as a general framework/conceptualisation/problematic for modern comparative *logos*/discourse. At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup>, interconnections, interactions, comparisons and interdependence between countries and peoples have become closer than before. Peoples in the world are closely interconnected and constitute part of a global entity. A vital and urgent need exists to grasp the essence of current changes and the way in which the desirable ends can be achieved. Future generations will live and work in a multinational and multicultural environment where the ancient concept of *logos* will always be presented as the reasoning of the *what*, the *why*, the *whether*, the *how* and the *as to*.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> 'Nature has given us two instruments... by which we make all inquiries and obtain information (hearing and sight) and sight is by far the more trustworthy, according to Heraclitus... Personal investigation... demands much exertion and expense, but it is very important and is the greatest part of history... and the poet has been even more emphatic on this subject... wishing to point out for us the qualities that a man of action should possess, he presents the image of Odysseus... it seems to me that the business of history also demands such a man'.

<sup>2</sup> In the *History of the Peloponnesian War* and the *Generation of Animals*,

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the 'Introduction' to Phaedrus in the stereotyped edition LCL.

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# JOB SATISFACTION, STRESS AND COPING STRATEGIES AMONG MOROCCAN HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS

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*Abstract – Using a self-report questionnaire, a picture of stress, job satisfaction and coping strategies among a sample of 153 Moroccan high school teachers is established. Results of the study showed that 45% of teachers were satisfied with their job. When specific facets of job satisfaction were examined, teachers were most satisfied with the relationship they established with students and colleagues and were least satisfied with their social status. Results also revealed that over half of teachers reported high levels of stress and that stress and job satisfaction were negatively correlated. When teachers rated the intensity and frequency of 18 stress items, the two measures produced similar results. A principal components analysis was carried out on the stress items, and four factors were extracted: curriculum-related problems, student-related problems, classroom-related problems and work overload. A factor analysis of the 16 coping strategies produced four factors, labelled direct action, mental action, emotional action and physical action.*

## Introduction

**T**here has been widespread concern about occupational stress and low job satisfaction among teachers in various educational settings throughout the world (see Kyriacou, 1987, 1996). Numerous studies have investigated various aspects of teacher stress, namely its prevalence (e.g. Kyriacou and Sutcliffe, 1978), its causes, (e.g. Borg and Falzon, 1989; Chaplain, 1995) its effects and the strategies used by teachers to cope with stressful situations (e.g. Cockburn, 1996; Dewe, 1984; Kyriacou, 1980; Wilkinson, 1988). Results typically indicate that a considerable proportion of teachers report relatively high levels of stress. Around a quarter of the teachers surveyed generally rate their job as either very stressful or extremely stressful (see Borg, 1990; Kyriacou, 1987).

The vast number of studies which attempted to identify the main causes of stress facing teachers suggest that the sources of stress are many and varied and that they tend to change from one context to another (e.g. Kyriacou and Harriman, 1993; Manso-Pinto, 1989; Manthei and Gilmore, 1996; Okebukola and Jegede, 1989; Wilkinson, 1988). However, a number of stressors seem to

recur in most of the reported studies, such as pupil misbehaviour, work overload, time pressure, poor working conditions and role conflict/ambiguity (see Kyriacou, 1987, 1989).

The question of how teachers actually attempt to cope with stress has been addressed by a number of researchers (e.g., Cockburn, 1996; Dewe, 1984; Kyriacou, 1980; Wilkinson, 1988). Two main ways in which a teacher can deal with stress have been identified: (a) direct action techniques, by which one tries to deal with the source of stress and (b) palliative techniques by which one tries to alleviate the feeling of stress. Examples of some of the most frequently reported coping strategies involve seeking social support, the expression of feelings, trying to keep things in perspective, and trying to relax after work.

Investigating the level of job satisfaction among teachers has also attracted considerable attention. Kyriacou and Sutcliffe (1979) reported that 21.% and 51.% of the teachers surveyed were 'very satisfied' and 'fairly satisfied', respectively. Borg and Falzon (1989) in a study of 844 primary schools in Malta found that three out of every four teachers were either 'very satisfied' or 'fairly satisfied' with their job. Chaplain (1995) in a survey of 267 primary school teachers in England, reported that 37% of the subjects were satisfied with their job ('yes' or 'yes definitely'), with a further 47% having mixed feelings (yes and no).

Despite the proliferation of such studies, there has been as yet no parallel research interest about stress or job satisfaction among Moroccan teachers. Therefore, one of the major concerns of the present study was to explore job satisfaction, stress and coping strategies among a sample of Moroccan high school teachers.

Attempts to estimate the extent of teacher stress and job satisfaction have been plagued with problems of measurement (see Chaplain, 1995; Kyriacou, 1987). In this respect, two points relating to the methodology used to measure stress and job satisfaction are of particular interest to the present study. First, in attempting to measure teacher stress, numerous studies recorded teacher stress by asking teachers to rate the degree to which they experienced stressful aspects of their jobs (see Borg, 1990; Borg and Falzon, 1989; Okebukola and Jegede, 1989). Few researchers have emphasised the frequency of experience of such stressors. Chaplain (1995) made the point that the introduction of a frequency dimension into the enquiry might yield different results. Another concern of the present study was to estimate both the intensity and the frequency of potential stressors among teachers in order to better assess the severity of teacher stress.

Second, studies of job satisfaction among teachers have mainly used single-item instruments which measure teachers' overall job satisfaction. Little research has been done on teachers' satisfaction regarding various facets of their work, which is one of the major concerns of the present study.

While teacher stress has been defined in various ways, a widely accepted definition that fits the purpose of the present study is that proposed by Kyriacou (1989): 'Teacher stress refers to the experience by teachers of unpleasant emotions such as anger, tension, frustration, anxiety, depression and nervousness, resulting from aspects of their work as teachers' (p. 27). This definition conceptualises teacher stress as an unpleasant state manifested by various negative emotional responses.

A number of models of stress have been elaborated in an attempt to gain a better understanding of the nature of occupational stress. Of particular interest are the following three approaches to stress proposed by Travers and Cooper (1996):

- (1) *Stress as a stimulus*. In this approach, stress is viewed as a condition of the environment, extraneous to the individual and impinging on him/her in a disruptive way. The individual's perceptions of the stimulus are not taken into account in this approach.
- (2) *Stress as a response*. Stress here is described in terms of the person's response to some threatening or disturbing stimuli. Fisher, cited in Travers and Cooper (1996), suggests: that: 'A person can be deduced to have been exposed to stressful conditions if signs of strain are present.' (p.14). Of most interest in this approach is the manifestation of stress.
- (3) *Stress as an interaction*. In this approach, stress is not viewed as an environmental demand or as a response, but rather as an interaction or transaction between the person and the environment. Travers and Cooper (1996) pointed out that 'it is not the environment *per se* that is stressful, but the relationship between the person and the environment which may result in the experience of stress' (p. 17). In other words, it is the individual's perceptions of the stress stimulus, rather than the existence of the stimulus, which is important.

This last approach is in line with the model developed by Kyriacou and Sutcliffe (1978a), who suggested that the experience of stress is the result of the teacher's perception that demands are being made on him/her, that he/she is unable to or has difficulty in meeting these demands and that failure to do so threatens his/her mental and or physical well-being. The key element in this model is the teacher's *perception of threat*.

In brief, the present study sought to answer the following questions:

- What were the overall levels of stress and job satisfaction in a sample of Moroccan high school teachers?
- What were the major sources of job satisfaction reported by high school teachers?

- What were the major sources of stress reported by high school teachers, in terms of (a) perceived intensity and (b) perceived frequency.
- What were the coping strategies that teachers reported using most frequently to deal with occupational stress?

## Method

### *Subjects*

The questionnaire was distributed to 215 teachers drawn from 13 randomly selected high schools in the city of Rabat, including single-sex, co-educational, city centre and suburban schools. Care was taken to include in the sample teachers in disciplines as various as maths, sciences, languages, philosophy, technology and social studies in order to represent a cross section of the population. The questionnaire was to be answered in complete anonymity and returned to the author. A total of 153 teachers (49 males and 104 females) completed the questionnaire, accounting for a return rate of 71%.

### *Instruments*

The questionnaire items were mostly derived from semi-structured interviews conducted individually with 20 high school teachers drawn from six high schools in Rabat. The questionnaire was written entirely in French, the first foreign language that is widely used by teachers. The questionnaire was subdivided as follows:

- (1) *Biographical information.* regarding sex, age, and length of teaching experience.
- (2) *Job satisfaction.* Respondents were asked to rate on a five-point scale ranging from 'very satisfied' (score 5) to 'not satisfied at all' (score 1) their level of satisfaction with sixteen aspects of their profession, such as the curriculum, the teaching resources, and the communication and contact with the students. In addition they were asked a general question, rated in the same way, about how satisfied they were generally with teaching as a profession.
- (3) *Stress.* The stress scale comprised 18 potential sources of stress relating to students' misbehaviour, work overload, curriculum-related problems and working conditions. Teachers were asked to rate how stressful they found each item: from 'extremely stressful' (score 5) to 'not stressful at all' (score 1). They were then invited to indicate the frequency of occurrence of

each item on a scale ranging from always (score 5) to never (score 1). In addition, a general stress item was included which asked them to rate the degree to which they considered teaching stressful.

- (4) *Coping strategies.* A total of 12 coping strategies were listed. Teachers were asked to indicate how frequently they used such strategies to cope with stress at work. A five-point scale was used, ranging from 'always' (score 5) to 'never' (score 1).

## Results

### *Job satisfaction*

#### *Overall job satisfaction*

In response to the question 'To what extent are you satisfied with your job as a teacher?' 45.7% of the teachers reported being either 'very satisfied' or 'fairly satisfied', and only 7% reported being 'not satisfied at all'. Table 1 displays the mean satisfaction scores for the whole sample and the biographical subgroups. Results show that females scored higher than men on job satisfaction and that satisfaction scores increased with age. Results also suggest a reduction in levels of job satisfaction to mid-career, which then tends to rise as teachers reach the end of their career. However, *t*-test and one-way ANOVA measures showed that the differences within biographical subgroups in respect of job satisfaction did not reach significance levels.

#### *Specific facets of job satisfaction*

Table 2 shows the rank order of the 16 aspects of teaching according to the percentage of respondents who reported being either 'very satisfied' or 'fairly satisfied'. The five top satisfying aspects reported by the sample were 'relationship and communication with the school administrative staff', 'contact and communication with colleagues', 'relationship and communication with students', 'the subject taught' and 'the professional experience gained'. By contrast, the five least satisfying aspects comprised 'the curriculum', 'the manuals', 'the resources/facilities', 'the financial situation' and 'the social status'. The remaining aspects of satisfaction such as 'the long holidays', 'the school ambience' and 'the results achieved by students' were perceived as moderately satisfying.

TABLE 1: Job satisfaction scores for whole sample and biographical subgroups

	N	Overall job satisfaction	
		M	SD
Whole sample	153	3.35	1.09
Sex			
Males	49	3.13	1.08
Females	104	3.45	1.08
Age			
<15 years	39	3.24	1.01
35-45 years	104	3.35	1.10
over 45 years	10	3.66	1.32
Experience			
<6 years	11	3.50	.85
6-15 years	82	3.30	1.06
16-25 years	53	3.29	1.20
25 + years	7	4.00	.81

All the facets of job satisfaction were found to correlate positively and significantly ( $r = 0.18$  to  $0.49$ ,  $p < 0.03$  to  $0.001$ ) with reported levels of overall job satisfaction. No significant differences within subgroups were identified for any of the sixteen facets of job satisfaction.

### *Stress*

#### *Occupational stress*

A high proportion (58%) of the subjects rated their work as 'very' or 'extremely stressful'. Table 3 shows the mean and standard deviation scores for the whole sample in response to the question 'To what extent are you stressed in teaching?'. It also shows results for the biographical subgroups. The mean stress score for the whole sample was 3.70 (SD = 1.04) out of a maximum score of 5. Female teachers scored higher than their male colleagues in respect of occupational stress, and a  $t$ -test indicated that the difference was significant ( $t =$

TABLE 2: Rank-order of specific facets of job satisfaction

Item	% of respondents who rated items as 'very/fairly satisfying'
Relationship/communication with the school staff	75%
Contact and communication with colleagues	73%
Relationship and communication with students	73%
Subject matter taught	70%
Professional experience gained	70%
The pedagogical role played / the mission accomplished	65%
The long holidays	61%
The work ambience at school	61%
The progress and the competence I help students achieve	60%
The results achieved by students	47%
The teaching methods I use	43%
The curriculum I teach	29%
The manuals I use	26%
The financial condition of teachers	16%
The existing resources and facilities	13%
The social status of teachers	4%

- 3.31 (133),  $p < 0.001$ ). Figures on Table 3 suggest that occupational stress reached its peak levels in mid-career and middle-age periods. However, using one-way ANOVA these results did not reach significance levels.

#### *Stress scale items*

In order to compare the results obtained by the two measures of stress used in the present study, the 18 sources of stress were rank-ordered, first according to the intensity levels and then according to the frequency levels. The two rank-ordered lists with the mean and standard deviation scores are shown in Table 4. Results suggest that the rank-order of stress items in the two lists is similar. The five most intense sources of stress and the five most frequent sources of stress were identical. 'Working under time pressure', 'teaching mainly for exams',



TABLE 3: Occupational stress scores for the whole sample and biographical subgroups

	N	Occupational stress	
		M	SD
Whole sample	153	3.70	1.04
Sex			
Males	49	3.28	1.00
Females	104	3.90	1.00
Age			
<15 years	39	3.60	.97
35-45 years	104	3.73	1.02
over 45 years	10	3.67	1.50
Experience			
<6 years	11	3.55	.88
6-15 years	82	3.63	1.04
16-25 years	53	3.84	.97
25 + years	7	3.57	1.61

'emphasising quantity over quality', 'a curriculum which crams students more than it educates or trains them', and 'students who cheat in order to get good marks' were perceived by teachers as the most intense and also as the most frequent sources of stress. Similarly, five out of the six items which appeared at the bottom of both lists were the same. 'Student misbehaviour', 'students who cannot follow in class', 'difficulty in adapting pedagogical guidelines to the classroom reality', 'poor working conditions' and 'emphasis of theory over practice' were rated as the least intense and as the least frequent sources of stress.

Overall, there seemed to be much agreement between the measures of intensity and the measures of frequency of stress used in this study, in the sense that sources of stress which were perceived as the most intense were also reported as the most frequent, and vice versa. However, a closer examination of Table 4 reveals some mismatches between the perceived intensity and frequency of certain stress items. For example, 'discipline problems' and 'pupil misbehaviour' which appeared to be moderately intense, were rated as the two

least frequent sources of stress. Conversely, 'too much preparation and marking', which was perceived as the least stressful item in terms of intensity, was shown to hold a relatively moderate position with respect to frequency. Likewise, 'lack of pedagogical equipment' and 'lack of resources/facilities' were shown to be ranked substantially higher by the frequency measure than by the intensity measure.

TABLE 4: Rank-order of the sources of stress according to (1) intensity and (2) frequency

SOURCES OF STRESS			
Reported intensity	<i>M</i>	Reported frequency	<i>M</i>
Working under time pressure	4.45	Working under time pressure	4.24
Teaching mainly for exams	4.21	Teaching mainly for exams	4.22
Emphasising quantity over quality	4.38		
The curriculum crams students more than it gives them a good education or training	4.37	The curriculum crams students more than it gives them a good education or training	4.04
Students who cheat to get good marks	4.36	Emphasising quantity over quality	4.01
Students' lack of motivation	4.15	Students who cheat to get good marks	3.93
An overloaded curriculum	4.14	An overloaded curriculum	3.89
Discipline problems	4.04	Lack of resources or facilities	3.82
Lack of autonomy/initiative in teaching	4.04	Lack of pedagogical equipment	3.75
Lack of pedagogical equipment	3.96	Students' lack of motivation	3.69
		Lack of autonomy in teaching	3.68
Lack of resources or facilities	3.95	Students who do not take their studies seriously	3.65
Students' misbehaviour	3.94	Too much preparation/marking	3.60
		Difficulty in adapting pedagogical guidelines to classroom reality	3.54
Students who cannot follow in class	3.80	Emphasis of theory over practice	3.48
Difficulty in adapting pedagogical guidelines to classroom reality	3.78	Poor working conditions	3.36
Poor working conditions	3.69		
Emphasis of theory over practice	3.65	Students who cannot follow in class	3.35
Too much preparation and marking	3.50	Discipline problems	3.12
		Students' misbehaviour	3.09

The measures of perceived intensity and frequency of stress used in the present study produced similar results, with the exception of a few items for which the results were relatively different such as 'discipline problems' which received moderately high rating on intensity ( $M = 4.04$ ) but the lowest rating on frequency ( $M = 3.12$ ). Intensity and frequency are two distinct dimensions which can usefully be used to look at stress from different perspectives. For the remaining analysis of sources of stress, only the intensity measures of stress were used.

To determine any underlying factor structure, the eighteen stress items were subjected to a principal components analysis, using a Varimax rotation. Four factors were extracted, accounting for 40.0%, 11.1%, 7.5% and 6.4% of the total variance respectively. Items with significant factor loadings ( $> .4$ ) were used as a basis for explaining the factors and are shown in Table V.

As can be seen, factor 1 receives quite heavy loadings from five variables concerned with having to teach a curriculum which is exam-oriented, which crams students more than it educates them, emphasises quantity over quality, theory over practice and limits teachers' autonomy or initiative. This factor could therefore be labelled *curriculum-oriented problems*.

Factor 2 evidences substantial loadings from five items concerned with students who cheat to get good marks, who do not take their studies seriously, who have difficulty following in class, together with a lack of pedagogical equipment and resources/facilities likely to enhance students' motivation and learning. So this factor can be given the label *student-related problems*. At first sight, it does not appear to be clear why the two items having to do with lack of pedagogical equipment and lack of resources loaded on this factor. One reason might be that, in teachers' minds, stress caused by weak, disaffected or helpless students is compounded by the lack of teaching facilities and resources. These are thought to be essential for meeting students' special needs, making learning and teaching more enjoyable and effective, and easing teachers of part of the tension and frustration they may face when teaching learners in difficulty.

Factor 3 exhibits appreciable loadings from five variables having to do with poor working conditions, discipline problems, student misbehaviour, poor motivation, and difficulty in adapting the pedagogical guidelines to the reality of the classroom. This factor can therefore be labelled *classroom-related problems*.

Factor 4 is defined by variables concerned with too much preparation and marking, curriculum overload and working under time pressure. It is then labelled *work overload*.

TABLE 5: Stress scale items rotated solution (varimax) showing significant factor loadings

Item No.	Item	Curriculum problems	Student problems	Classroom problems	Work overload
10	The curriculum crams students more than it gives them a good education or training	.83			
9	Teaching mainly for exams	.81			
16	Emphasis of quantity over quality	.74			
14	Lack of autonomy or initiative in teaching	.73			
8	Emphasis of theory over practice	.58			
15	Students who cheat to get good marks		.78		
18	Students do not take their studies seriously		.74		
17	Lack of pedagogical equipment		.69		
7	Students who cannot follow in class		.58		
13	Lack of facilities and resources	.40	.51		
4	Poor working conditions			.74	
2	Discipline problems			.72	
1	Students' lack of motivation			.61	
11	Students' misbehaviour		.59	.60	
5	Difficulty in applying the pedagogical guidelines to classroom reality	.44		.50	
3	Too much preparation and marking				.79
6	Teaching an overloaded curriculum				.73
12	Working under time pressure	.55			.60

The overall scale proved internally reliable (Cronbach's alpha = 0.91), as did each subscale with alpha coefficients of 0.87, 0.80, 0.67, and 0.76 respectively.

The mean score for each factor was computed by taking the average score (minimum = 1; maximum = 5) for those items shown to load on each factor. Items that cross-loaded onto two factors were included in the index of the factor that they defined most highly. *Curriculum-oriented problems* had the highest score ( $M = 4.13$ ,  $SD = .75$ ) followed by *student-related problems* ( $M = 4.06$ ,  $SD = .71$ ), *work overload* ( $M = 4.06$ ,  $SD = .82$ ) and *classroom-related problems* ( $M = 3.91$ ,  $SD = .74$ ).

Differences between males and females in respect of stress factors reached significance in the case of *curriculum-*, *student-* and *classroom-*related problems, where males indicated less stress than females. The *t*-values were: 3.10 ( $p < 0.003$ ), 2.02 ( $p < 0.05$ ) and 3.45 ( $p < 0.008$ ) respectively. No significant differences based on age or experience were found, using one-way ANOVA.

### Coping strategies

Table 6 exhibits the rank order of the 12 coping strategies according to teachers' perceived frequency. Results show that the four most frequently used coping strategies reported by teachers were: 'plan/organise lessons in advance', 'suggest guidelines/strategies to improve students' performance', 'try to be more realistic and adapt to circumstances', and 'make double efforts'. These strategies seem to be concerned with taking direct action and putting things into perspective. The four least frequently used coping strategies reported by teachers were: 'relax after work', 'talk about the problems during the meetings', 'forget about the problems after work' and 'do sport'. These strategies appear to be concerned with minimising the effect of stress.

TABLE 6: Rank-order of reported coping strategies

Item	M	SD
Plan/organise lessons in advance	4.47	.77
Suggest strategies/working procedures to improve students' performance	4.39	.79
Try to be more realistic and adapt to the circumstances	4.20	.89
Make double efforts	4.15	.85
Use more motivating methods in class	4.02	.93
Get used and adapt to the problems	3.98	1.07
Talk about the problems with colleagues or friends	3.84	1.19
Try not to exaggerate the importance of the problems	3.82	.94
Relax after work	3.66	1.13
Talk about the problems during the meetings.	3.04	1.30
Forget the problems after work	2.93	1.38
Do sport	2.73	1.48

TABLE 7: Varimax rotated factor matrix for the coping strategies items

Item No.	Item	1	2	3	4
5	Make double efforts	.78			
4	Use more motivating methods in the classroom	.72			
2	Plan and organise lessons in advance	.66			
9	Suggest guidelines/strategies to improve students' performance	.60			
6	Try to be more realistic and adapt to the circumstances		.74		
3	Try not to exaggerate the importance of the problems		.74		
8	Get used and adapt to the problems		.69		
10	Do sport			.81	
7	Relax after work			.59	
12	Try to forget the problems after work		.41	.48	
1	Talk about the problems to friends or colleagues			.86	
11	Talk about the problems during the meetings		.50	.60	

Factor 1 = Direct action

Factor 3 = Physical action

Factor 2 = Mental action

Factor 4 = Emotional action

To determine any underlying factor structure, the twelve coping strategies were subjected to a principal components analysis, using a Varimax rotation. Four factors were extracted accounting for 25.2%, 12.9%, 11.8% and 10.8% of the total variance respectively. Items with significant factor loadings (> 0.40) were used as a basis for explaining the factors and are displayed in Table 7.

Factor 1 was dominated by items having to do with 'making double efforts', 'planning/organising lessons in advance', 'using more motivating methods in class' and 'suggesting strategies/guidelines to improve students' performance'. This factor was labelled *direct action* because it involves taking direct actions to deal with the source of stress, e.g., meeting the demands the curriculum.

Factor 2 was characterised by items concerned with 'trying to be more realistic and adapt to circumstances', 'not exaggerating the importance of the problems' and 'getting used and adapting to the problems'. It was therefore labelled *mental action* because it involves altering how the teacher sees the situation.

Factor 3 was mainly defined by physical actions such as 'doing sport' and 'relaxing after work'. It was therefore labelled *physical action*.

Factor 4 was characterised by items concerned with 'talking about the problems with friends or colleagues' and 'talking about the problems during the meetings'. This factor was given the label *emotional action* because it involves expressing feelings to relieve stress.

Whilst the first factor involves direct-action techniques which deal with the source of stress, the three other factors involve palliative techniques which minimise the teacher's experience of the feeling of stress.

The Cronbach's alphas for the four factors were generally moderate: .67 for factor 1, .66 for factor 2, .49 for factor 3 and .51 for factor 4.

The mean score for each factor was computed by taking the average score (minimum = 1; maximum = 5) for those items shown to load on each factor. Items that cross-loaded onto two factors were included in the index of the factor that they defined most highly. Direct action had the highest score ( $M = 4.25$ ,  $SD = .60$ ) followed by mental action ( $M = 4.00$ ,  $SD = .75$ ), emotional action ( $M = 3.45$ ,  $SD = 1.02$ ) and physical action ( $M = 3.10$ ,  $SD = .94$ ).

Differences between males and females in respect of coping strategies reached significance only in the case of *direct* and *emotional* actions. Females scored significantly higher than males on *direct action* ( $t = 2.33$ ,  $p < 0.03$ ) and on *emotional action* ( $t = 2.13$ ,  $p < 0.04$ ). No significant differences were observed for age or experience subgroups.

#### *Relationship between overall job satisfaction, occupational stress, stress factors and coping strategies*

As shown in Table 8, job satisfaction correlated negatively and significantly with occupational stress and three stress factors, namely *curriculum-*, *classroom-* and *student-related problems*. Job satisfaction also correlated positively and significantly with three coping actions: *direct*, *mental* and *physical*. Overall, results indicate that job satisfaction related negatively to occupational stress and positively to all coping actions except the *emotional* one.

TABLE 8: The Pearson product moment correlation coefficients between overall job satisfaction, occupational stress, stress factors and coping actions

	Overall job satisfaction	Occupational stress
Occupational stress	-0.29***	
Curriculum-related problems	-.20**	0.35****
Classroom-related problems	-0.20**	0.43****
Student-related problems	-0.19*	0.21*
Work overload	-0.15	0.55****
Direct-action	-.30****	-0.10
Emotional action	0.03	0.13
Mental action	0.19**	-0.13
Physical action	0.25***	-0.29***

\*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.03; \*\*\*p<0.0004, \*\*\*\*p<0.001

Occupational stress correlated positively and significantly with the four factors of stress, but correlated negatively and significantly with just one coping technique: *physical action*.

## Discussion of results and conclusion

The main objectives of the present study were to identify: (1) the overall levels of stress and job satisfaction in a sample of Moroccan high school teachers, (2) the major facets of job satisfaction and the major sources of stress reported by teachers and (3) the coping strategies that teachers reported using to alleviate stress.

Results indicate that under half (45.7%) of the sample reported being very/ fairly satisfied with teaching as a profession. This compares with Chaplain's study in England (1995) which found that over one-third (37%) of primary teachers were satisfied with their job ('yes' or 'yes definitely'). However the figures appear somewhat lower than those found in the studies reported by Kyriacou and Sutcliffe (1979) and Borg *et al.*(1991), who found that around 70% of their samples found teaching 'very' or 'fairly' satisfying. In contrast with other studies (e.g. Borg and



Falzon, 1989; Chaplain, 1995), the present study found no significant differences within subgroups in respect of job satisfaction.

Turning to specific facets of job satisfaction, teachers were found to be more satisfied with the communication and the relationship they established with students, colleagues and administrative staff, the subject they taught and the professional experience they acquired. This suggests that their professional career in itself, together with the human communicative dimension involved in their profession were the major sources of the satisfaction they derived from teaching. The teachers interviewed consistently pointed out that these aspects of their profession allowed them to grow and develop both as teachers and as human beings. On the other hand, the curriculum, the manuals, the lack of facilities/resources, the financial situation and particularly the social status were reported as the major obstructions to teachers' job satisfaction. These results give weight to Chaplain's (1995) suggestion that the use of single-item measures may obscure differences in the sources of teachers' overall satisfaction. Teachers' different responses to the different facets of their profession was encapsulated in a comment from a female biology teacher who argued:

'Being a teacher is no longer a socially worthwhile job. Yet I like this job and I would do it even if I were not paid for it. I am really satisfied when students understand in class. It is wonderful to be liked and appreciated as a teacher and as a person.'

The present study offered evidence that over half of the teachers (58%) found their job very/extremely stressful. This figure is approximately twice as high as results reported in other parts of the world. Studies conducted in England (e.g. Chaplain, 1995), Malta (e.g. Borg and Falzon, 1989) and New Zealand (e.g. Manthei and Gilmore, 1996) reported that 23%, 30% and 25% of teachers respectively felt that teaching was very/extremely stressful. Females in the present study reported significantly higher levels of stress. This contrasts with other studies in which no significant differences between the sexes were observed in respect of occupational stress (e.g. Kyriacou and Sutcliffe, 1979). Consistent with the findings of other researchers ( see Borg and Falzon, 1989; Chaplain, 1995) stress and job satisfaction were found to be negatively correlated ( $r = -0.29$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). High reports of occupational stress were related to low levels of job satisfaction.

The present study suggested that there was much agreement between the measures of intensity and the measures of frequency of stress. Overall and apart from a few exceptions, the sources of stress which were reported as the most intense were also perceived as the most frequent, and vice versa.

The principal components analysis used in this study identified four factors: *curriculum-oriented problems*, *student-related problems*, *classroom-related problems* and *work overload*. *Curriculum-related problems* were identified as the major source of stress to teachers.

The Moroccan high school curriculum has been subjected to major changes and attempts at improvement in recent years. Yet results show that it is perceived as the least satisfying and the most stressful facet of teaching. During the interviews, teachers asserted that the decisions and the changes about the curriculum were imposed on them from above and that they had hardly any influence on what to teach, how to teach and how much time to spend on teaching it.

The baccalaureate exam system appears to be largely responsible for the pressure put on high school teachers. The exams extend over the three-year period of high school and involves two types of assessment: (1) formal examinations set twice a year by the academy and (2) continuous assessment set by the teacher. Given that the students in a particular academy have to take the same formal examinations, some kind of uniformity is thought to be necessary in the implementation of the curriculum. Accordingly, teachers are required to cover a specific number of units or chapters to be completed within specific time limits and to allocate a specific number of hours for each lesson.

All the teachers interviewed argued that passing examinations appears to be the focus of what education is all about. As a male physics teacher put it:

'Everything is determined by exams, the curriculum, the teaching methods and even the future of students. Access to many higher education institutions is dependent upon grades. This is why students and their parents become obsessed with grades.'

This backwash effect on teaching appears to put great demands and responsibility on teachers. They have to work under pressure to cover all the curriculum for fear that examination questions might fall on something not treated in class. Very often, at the end of the semester, teachers have to arrange for extra hours in order to complete the syllabus. All teachers interviewed expressed their frustration at 'having no time to do what education is really about'. A female teacher of French observed:

'We have no time left for teaching students how to express themselves correctly, to use their critical thinking and their creativity or to engage in cultural activities inside or outside the school.'

Similar frustrations concerning the curriculum were expressed by a male teacher of social studies:

'Moroccan society and the media have tremendously progressed in recent years, yet the curriculum of history and geography is still stagnating. I have no time to explore with students some of the topical issues that may be of interest to them. There is also a lack of co-ordination between social studies and other disciplines.'

In a similar vein, a male teacher of chemistry argued:

'According to the curriculum, teaching consists of giving the students a packet of knowledge, just like a packet of sweets. As a result, we feel guilty and frustrated because our role as teachers does not serve good purposes, just helping students pass exams and cramming their heads with knowledge. For example, we have no time to make the link in science teaching between the school and the outside world or to organise research projects.'

Working under pressure and teaching for exams seems to have undermined teachers' self-esteem and perception of their role. The teachers interviewed consistently argued that their authority as teachers had been dramatically reduced. In this respect, a female biology teacher observed:

'The teacher has no weight. He is just like a robot working for the implementation of the curriculum.'

Teachers advocated a number of reasons for their perceived loss of authority. They claimed that they had less control over students who were becoming generally more assertive. Another reason was that all the grades given by the teacher during the whole year accounted for only 25% of students' global grades.

The interview comments quoted above lend support to the findings that the curriculum was perceived as the least satisfying and the most stressful aspect of teaching.

As concerns coping strategies, the results revealed that some strategies were used more frequently than others. For example, the three most widely reported strategies were: 'planning/organising lessons in advance', 'suggesting strategies to improve students' performance' and 'trying to be more realistic and adapt to the circumstances'. The three least frequently reported strategies were: 'talking

about the problems during the meetings', 'forgetting about the problems after work' and 'doing sport'.

The principal components analysis of coping strategies employed in this study identified four types of coping strategies: one direct-action technique which involves taking some initiative or action to deal directly with the source of stress and three palliative techniques – mental, emotional and physical – which are concerned with reducing the emotional discomfort rather than altering the source of that discomfort. Teachers seem to have more palliative than direct strategies in their repertoire of coping. As Dewe (1984) observed 'there are situations, particularly in schools, where the teacher finds it difficult if not impossible to deal directly with the source of stress and thus the most effective strategy is one which attempts to regulate or dissipate the emotional discomfort' (p.38). Teachers in the present study seemed to concentrate on direct and mental actions more than they did on the emotional and the physical ones.

Female teachers were shown to be using the direct and the emotional actions more frequently than their male colleagues. This implies that women would use strategies such as planning, organising and talking about their problems more frequently than men. There seemed to be no significant differences for age and experience concerning the use of coping strategies.

Job satisfaction was found to correlate positively and significantly with three coping actions: direct, mental and physical. This implies that teachers with higher levels of job satisfaction were more likely to be using these coping strategies. By contrast, occupational stress showed a significant and negative correlation with physical action techniques. This suggests that teachers with higher levels of stress would use physical coping strategies less frequently. Interestingly, physical action techniques seem to relate positively to job satisfaction and negatively to occupational stress. This may imply that teachers who relaxed after work or practised some sport were more likely to feel satisfied about their job and less likely to be stressed.

If the issue of reducing the level of stress on teachers is to be considered, it would appear that the school curriculum which was reported as the main source of dissatisfaction and stress to the teachers needs to be re-examined. The aims and objectives which are more conducive to the growth and development of individual learners and a society entering the new millennium need to be highlighted and effectively implemented. In particular, knowledge-oriented teaching and testing need to be replaced by an educational approach which emphasises the attainment of skills and competencies and engages the learner in more active learning.

The findings of this study need to be verified by studies carried out in other parts of the country and compared with other research on stress and job

satisfaction conducted in neighbouring African or Mediterranean countries in order to make the link between teachers in this part of the world and enable them to share their concerns. The present study indicates that there is a need for further research on the impact of the type and frequency of coping strategies used by teachers on their levels of stress and job satisfaction.

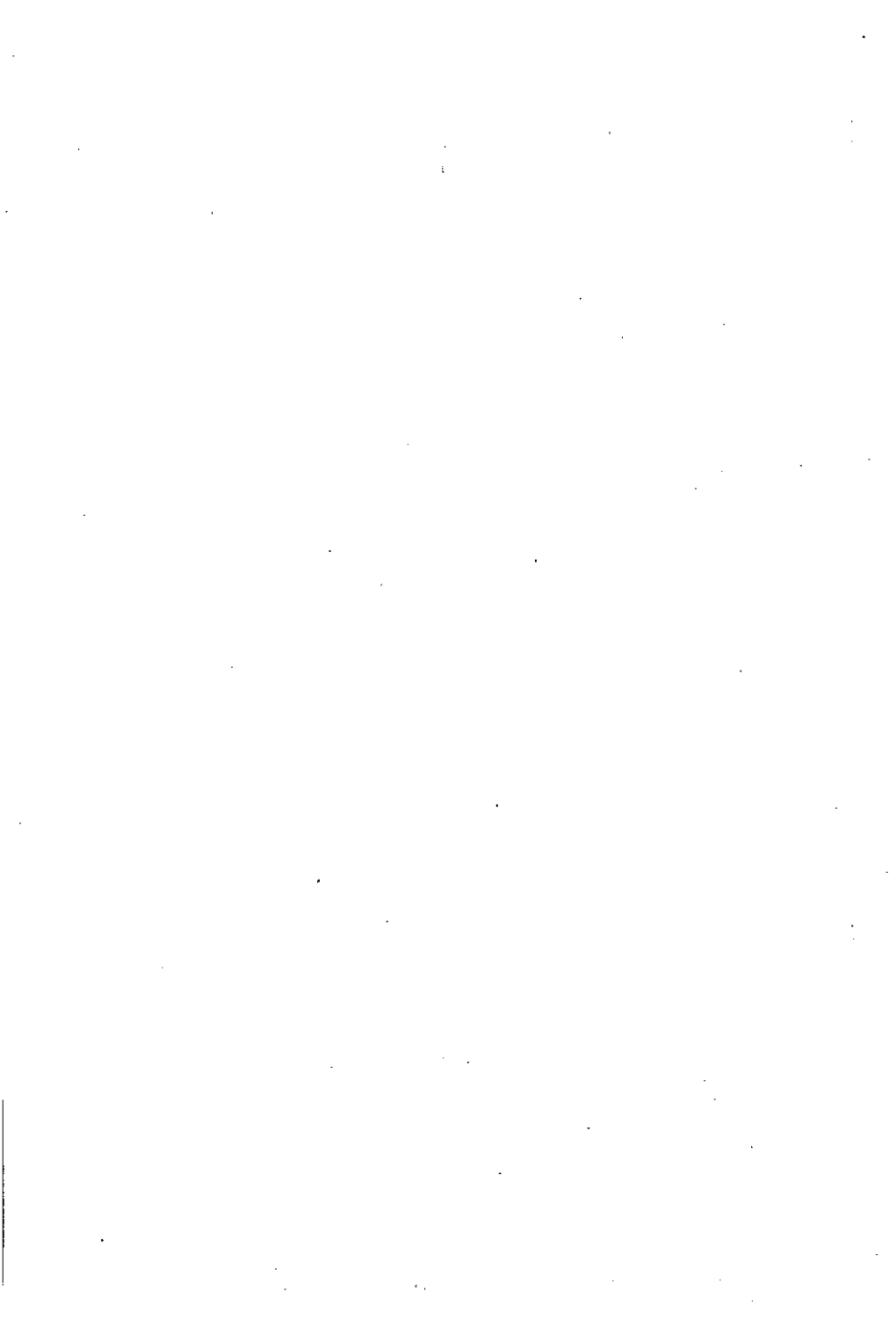
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# WHAT INFLUENCES STUDENTS TO CHOOSE THE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION MAJOR: THE CASE OF CYPRUS

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ELENA PAPANASTASIOU

**Abstract** – *The purpose of this study was to identify and compare the factors that have motivated third and fourth year students at the University of Cyprus to choose the elementary school teaching profession. The sample consisted of 176 students that were studying elementary education during the Fall of 1995. The questionnaire was administered to all students that were enrolled in certain elementary education classes which were selected randomly. Responses to the questionnaire items were factored using the principal components analysis with varimax rotation. Six factors were retained and they accounted for 63.3 percent of the variance. The first factor was accounted for 18.3 percent of the variance in the six factor solution. Items in this factor with loadings greater than 0.50 concerned the students' ideas about: love of teaching, love of the teaching / learning process, love of working with young children, and inborn talent for teaching. This factor was called 'internal motives'. The second factor accounted for 15.3 percent of the variance and included items describing vacations, immediate employment, job possibilities, secure job, and fringe benefits, and was called 'job benefits'. The third factor accounted for 9.7 percent of the variance and was called 'status of the profession'. The fourth factor accounted for 8.3 percent of the variance and was called 'relatives' influences'. The fifth and sixth factor accounted for 6.4 and 5.3 percent of the variance respectively and were called 'external motives' and 'teacher influence'.*

## Introduction

**T**he philosopher Henry Adams stated that, 'a teacher affects eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops'. In addition, Smith (1986) adds that '[teaching] is a profession that profoundly affects the lives of every individual, and ultimately the strength and well-being of the nation.' (p.39). Furthermore societies today place a considerable emphasis on elementary schools, and expect a lot from teachers (MacLean, 1992). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that teaching should require complete dedication and utmost competence as far as the role of the



teacher is concerned. 'A teacher is expected to be the possessor of knowledge which he [or she] can successfully impart to children;... he [or she] must see clearly the major goals toward which education is to be directing his [or her] society and to do his [or her] part to see that these goals are accomplished.' (Edman, 1968, p.12). On the other hand, elementary school teaching reaches children at an early stage when the students are more malleable, and able to incorporate the attitudes and habits on which to build their future success (Ornstein, 1978; Parelius, 1987). Therefore, the identification and recruitment of the appropriate people into teaching, and especially into the elementary school teaching majors in Colleges and Universities should be emphasised as one of the most important educational concerns today.

According to Niles and Herr (1989), the task of job selection requires the individual to be aware of how his or her interests, values, and abilities relate to specific occupations. Sometimes students choose to become teachers because they like teaching and working with children. Other students, however, choose to become teachers because they were not admitted in the major of their choice (Ornstein, 1983; Parkay and Hardcastle, 1991). These major differences in motivation raise questions about factors that influence students to become teachers. Thus, the purpose of this study is to identify and compare the factors that have motivated third and fourth year students at the University of Cyprus to choose the elementary school teaching profession. An understanding of these factors can help improve the selection of the teaching force in Cyprus so that only the most and best qualified individuals will undergo training. Thus, this is where the significance of this study lies.

For the purpose of this research, the factors that have influenced students to choose to major in elementary education at the University of Cyprus were divided into three categories: intrinsic, extrinsic and alternative factors. The intrinsic factors are associated with the act of teaching itself, and with the values that students hold for themselves. These factors include the love of children, the inborn talent for teaching, and the excitement and interest in the teaching/learning process. The alternative factors are associated with interpersonal influences which refers to the cases where students choose to become teachers because their relatives had persuaded them to do so. Finally, the third category that is labelled as extrinsic factors, includes the benefits that are attached to the teaching profession, and which influence students to enter the teaching major. Such benefits are the status of the profession, the relatively short working hours, vacations, immediate or definite employment, and salary, which are experienced by all public school teachers in Cyprus.

Since teaching involves constant interaction and involvement with other human beings, a strong love for, and interest in students is one of the factors that

influences individuals to enter the teaching profession. In a study that was done by Ashikali and Agathokleous (1995), elementary education students considered the factor labelled as 'love of children' as the most important influential factor for choosing this profession. According to Parkay and Hardcastle (1991), people who love teaching are generally attracted by the process and the spontaneous aspects of teaching. They take full advantage of every teaching moment and make the most out of it. Teaching is also a learning process since one can learn any subject in depth just by teaching it (Parkay and Hardcastle, 1991). Therefore, the fascination of discovering knowledge is still another attraction of teaching. As far as the love of the whole teaching/learning process is concerned, students according to Menelaou and Panagi(1994) had ranked it as the fourth out of 10 probable influential factors that had influenced their decision to enter the elementary education major.

Teachers in Cyprus are frequently considered to have short working days and long vacations. The average length of the required five day work week for all teachers in Cyprus is from 7:30-13:30. This is one of the reasons why many college students are attracted to the working schedule of this profession (Michaelidou and Siakalli, 1994). Another important factor that attracts students to major in elementary education in Cyprus is because they are guaranteed by the government to be employed as teachers during the academic year after they graduate (Ioannou and Christodoulou 1994). In Cyprus, the beginning elementary school teachers earn \$17,118, which is \$6,692 higher than the per capita income of the country (Department of Statistics and Research, 1994). Therefore, teachers' salaries are also another major extrinsic attraction for entering the teaching major. The factors of salary, fringe benefits and appointment are all major variables that determine the status of the teaching profession in elementary schools, just like any other profession (Edman, 1968). To the above, Demetriadou (1982) adds that the status of the teaching profession also depends on the quality of the teachers' training, as well as on the quality of the services that teachers provide to the society in which they work. However, the status of the teaching profession, like that of any other profession, varies greatly from country to country. For example, Feistritz (1986) found that this factor was ranked second in dissatisfaction among public school teachers who were drawn from a nationwide poll in the US. In Cyprus, however, Papaperikleous and Hatziyiannakou (1995) found that the elementary school teaching profession is among the most influential in Cypriot society generally.

The alternative factors that influence students to major in elementary education include parents, and extended relatives. The strongest single influence for students is usually that of their parents or other extended relatives with whom they come in daily contact (Parkay and Hardcastle, 1991). Students, and

all children in general appreciate the advice of their elders, and often consider it indispensable. However, according to Menelaou and Panagidi (1994), students in the elementary education major in Cyprus do not seem to be influenced strongly by their relatives.

The selection procedure of students for teacher training in Cyprus tends to be very competitive. In order to be admitted to the Department of Education in the University of Cyprus, students have to compete with approximately 2,000 other candidates in the fiercely competitive University Entrance Examinations. According to the Cyprus Ministry of Education, during the examinations for admission to the 1995-96 academic year, 2,334 candidates had competed for the elementary education major. Among these candidates, only 150 are admitted in the major every year. Since these examinations are highly competitive, the students that eventually get those positions, are the best out of all the candidates. According to Papanastasiou (1989), the high-school GPA of the students that are eventually accepted into this major averaged 92 out of 100 while they were seniors in high school. These students have also ranked among the top 10% of the candidates that wanted to enter the elementary education major. Therefore, the accessibility of entry can not be considered as a factor that influences students in Cyprus to choose teaching as a career.

## **Method**

### *Subjects*

For the purpose of this study, the sample for the study consisted of 176 students, out of 300, which is 58.7% of all third and fourth year students that were studying elementary education at the University of Cyprus during the Fall of 1995. Half of the 300 students of the population were Juniors and the other half were Seniors. Among the 176 students of the sample, 51.1% were third graders and 48.9% were fourth graders, 13.1% were male and 86.9% were female.

### *Questionnaire*

The questionnaire which was designed by the investigators, was based on a framework of three main factors, the intrinsic, the extrinsic and the circumstantial one, and used a five point Likert-type scale. The number one of the scale represents the statement that the students 'absolutely agree' with specific items on the questionnaire, and the number five that the students 'absolutely disagree'. The final version of the questionnaire includes two parts. The first part includes 18 questions that ask for the students' opinions about

reasons that made them choose to major in elementary education. The second part of the questionnaire includes only three questions that ask about demographic information. These questions ask about the student's gender, how many years they have been studying at the university, as well as their GPA while they were Seniors in high school.

### *Procedure*

In order to see if the questionnaire that was devised was adequate to accomplish the study's goals, a pilot study was carried out. For the pilot study, 10 questionnaires were administered to students studying elementary education. The participants completed the questionnaires, and wrote notes on any questions they were unsure of. Those notes were taken into consideration when preparing the final version of the questionnaire.

The questionnaires were handed out to all students who were enrolled in certain elementary education classes which were selected randomly from the university. For representative purposes, an equal number of Junior and Senior classes were selected for this study. The professors of the selected classes gave permission to the researchers to administer the questionnaires at the beginning of each period and they were handed back approximately fifteen minutes later.

### *Statistical analysis*

The first type of analysis performed was factor analysis. The purpose of using factor analysis was to identify the factors that could be used to explain why students that are studying elementary education have chosen this specific major. In other words the goal was to find the main reasons that account for the desire of third and fourth year students to become elementary school teachers. By finding these factors we could distinguish which factors are the most important and which are not. Before using factor analysis it was necessary to ascertain that such technique could be used. Two of the statistics that were used are the Bartlett's test of sphericity and the KMO. The values from this analysis supported the use of factor analysis.

The second type of analysis performed was MANOVA. The purpose of using this statistical technique was to test the hypothesis that there is no difference between the population means and the hypothesized values which is the median value of the Likert-scale used in the questionnaire. In other words we test the hypothesis that there is no influence on the students, based on the six factors which came out from factor analysis.

## Results

Responses to the questionnaire items were factored using the principal components analysis with varimax rotation. Six factors were retained based on the Scree test (Cattell, 1966), and they accounted for 63.3 percent of the variance. The rotated factor loadings are shown in Table 1. The first factor was clearly the most important, since it accounted for 18.3 percent of the variance in the six factor solution. All of the items in this factor with loadings greater than 0.50 concerned the students' ideas about the following; love of teaching, love of the teaching/learning process, love of working with young children, and inborn talent for teaching. This factor was therefore called 'internal motives'. The second factor accounted for 15.3 percent of the variance and included items describing vacations, immediate employment, job possibilities, secure job, and fringe benefits, and was called 'job benefits'. The third factor accounted for 9.7 percent of the variance, and the items with high loadings dealt with students' perceptions about the status of the profession and people's valuation of teachers. This factor was called 'status of the profession'. The fourth factor accounted for 8.3 percent of the variance, and consisted of items referring to the students' encouragement by their families to enter this major. This factor was called 'relatives' influences'. The fifth factor accounted for 6.4 percent of the variance and concerned students' ideas about the high salaries, the few working hours, and the possibilities of reaching high steps in the hierarchy of the profession, and was called 'external motives'. The sixth factor accounted for 5.3 percent of the variance and included two items describing the encouragement of the teacher and the teacher as such. This factor was called 'teacher influence'.

The results of using MANOVA indicate statistical significance (Hotelling's  $T^2 = 8.5, p < 0.01$ ) which means that the hypothesis that the population means do not differ from the hypothesised constant is rejected. Since the hypothesis of no difference is rejected the univariate test was used to get some idea of where the difference may be. The results are summarised in Table 2. According to the results shown in this table, it is clear that the factor 'relatives influences' is not significant.

Based on the results of both tables it seems that the students in Cyprus agree to strongly agree that the factor 'job benefits', had influenced them the most to choose the elementary education profession. The factor of 'job benefits' consisted of the following items: long vacations that are available for teachers, job security, immediate employment after graduation, as well as many fringe benefits that are associated with the teaching profession. Statistical significant difference was found with this factor.

A second result shows that the students indicated that they merely agree that they have chosen the elementary education major because of internal motives.

TABLE 1: Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix

Questionnaire items	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	X	s
05 I love teaching	0.89						2.07	0.93
06 I love teaching/Learning process	0.81						2.13	0.91
07 I love working with young children	0.80						1.93	0.91
18 I believe I have an inborn talent for teaching	0.73						2.59	0.91
03 Teachers have long vacations		0.53					1.76	0.89
12 Teachers are employed immediately after graduation		0.86					1.32	0.70
13 Teachers have many job possibilities		0.74					1.57	0.91
16 Teaching is a secure job		0.74					1.54	0.78
17 Teaching profession includes many fringe benefits		0.51					2.02	0.93
01 Teaching is a high status profession			0.78				2.57	0.96
15 People in other occupations value teachers			0.78				2.85	0.96
10 My parents have encouraged me to become teacher				0.79			2.35	1.24
11 A relative of mine has encouraged me to become teacher				0.80			3.48	1.47
02 Teachers earn high salaries					0.62		2.52	1.00
04 Teachers do not have to work for many hours					0.56		3.99	1.21
14 Teachers get promoted easily					0.62		3.73	0.87
08 A teacher of mine has encouraged me to become a teacher						0.86	4.18	1.10
09 I want to model a teacher of mine						0.80	4.13	1.08

TABLE 2: Cell means, s and univariate F-tests

Factors	X	s	Hypoth.SS	Error MS	F	p
F1. Internal motives	-0.81	0.75	116.0	0.56	207.2	.00
F2. Job benefits	-1.35	0.61	319.3	0.37	849.9	.00
F3 Status of the profession	-0.29	0.84	14.6	0.70	20.8	.00
F4 Relatives influences	-0.08	1.17	1.0	1.37	0.8	.38
F5 External motives	0.41	0.69	29.9	0.48	62.4	.00
F6 Teacher influence	1.15	0.93	232.0	0.87	265.2	.00

This suggests that the students have chosen the elementary education major firstly because of the job benefits, and secondly because of internal motives.

The next significant factor was the 'status of the profession'. The students that took part in this study were influenced to a lesser degree by this factor, which includes questions about if teaching is a high status occupation, as well as questions about how highly teachers are valued by society in general. The fourth result shows that the 'relatives' influences' factor is not statistical significant which means that the students are uncertain about the extent to which parents as well as more distant relatives influenced them. The students neither agreed, nor disagreed that they were influenced by this factor to enter the elementary school teaching major. A fifth result shows that the students have disagreed with the factor labeled as 'external motives', which includes the items of high salaries available for teachers, of few working hours, and of easy promotions. Finally the students disagree to strongly disagree that the factor 'teacher influence' has influenced them to choose elementary education as major.

## Discussion

The major purpose of this study was to identify and compare the factors that had influenced students at the University of Cyprus to major in elementary education. The strongest factor that influenced students to major in elementary education was that of 'job benefits'. The next most influential factor for the students were 'internal motives'. The items 'teachers are employed immediately after graduation', 'teaching is a secure job', 'teachers have many job possibilities' and 'teachers have long vacations' were ranked higher than the 'love of teaching

children' and the 'love of working with young children'. This might be because the extrinsic aspects of elementary school teaching positions are so rewarding in Cyprus, that most people associate the teaching profession with those factors (e.g. secure job, guaranteed employment, fringe benefits), instead of associating the profession more with internal motives and with their personal interests. Students in Cyprus are guaranteed employment after graduation, while their teaching position is also secured after two years of teaching. Therefore, it is reasonable for Cypriot students to strongly agree that they have entered the elementary school teaching major because of the job security. In general though the students tend to agree that the love of teaching, the teaching/learning process and working with young children are important elements that influenced them to become teachers.

Another result from the responses is that in general the students were uncertain about the amount of influence of their parents to choose the elementary education profession. This means that some of the students were influenced by their parents to become teachers and some they were not. On the one hand it seems that the parents who influenced the students to become teachers did so because they believe that this profession will be beneficial for their children, especially since there are so many Cypriots with college degrees who cannot find employment in Cyprus. On the other hand the reason that some other parents were not so influential on their child's choice of majoring in elementary education could be because of the independence of the new generation, which is based on their abilities, as well as their knowledge of society.

By reviewing the results of this study, one can see that the students from the University of Cyprus have been influenced mostly by two factors: by the job benefits and by internal motives. It is quite discouraging, though, to observe that the Cypriot students give more emphasis to the factor 'job benefits' and less to the internal motives factor. It is true that by providing attractive extrinsic benefits to candidates who want to enter the teaching major, the most qualified individuals are eventually accepted. However, these motives also manage to attract students that are motivated by intrinsic factors as well, which seems to be the case in Cyprus.

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# THE IMPACT OF MEASURES TO PROMOTE EQUITY IN THE SECONDARY EDUCATION CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS IN MALTA: AN EVALUATION

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**Abstract** – *When the national Secondary Education Certificate (SEC) examination system was established in Malta in 1994 as an alternative to the General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level (GCE O-Level) offered by English examination boards, the opportunity was taken to promote equity among candidates of different attainment levels, gender and social backgrounds. The measures included the setting of examination papers at different levels; the introduction of an element of school-based assessment in several subjects; relatively low examination fees; avoidance of cultural and gender bias in the examination papers, and restriction of registration to those candidates who were either in the final year of compulsory schooling or aged 16 or over. These measures were expected to attract candidates with a wider range of abilities and social backgrounds than those sitting for the GCE examinations, and to avoid cultural and gender bias. These targets had to be reached against a background of scepticism about the worth, credibility and viability of examinations set by a local examination board when compared to the prestigious GCE examinations set by well-established English examination boards. This paper evaluates the results of the first three years of operation of the SEC examination in order to gauge its impact on equity. The analysis is based on examination statistics, examiners' reports and comments on each of the measures. Access and performance in six major subjects (Maltese, English, Mathematics, Physics, and Italian) are analysed by gender and type of school. Some conclusions are offered about the influence of examinations on promoting equity in an intrinsically inequitable education system.*

## Introduction

**F**or over forty years, the external certification of Maltese secondary school students depended almost entirely on examinations set by English examination boards, notably the Oxford Delegacy of Examinations, University of London School Examinations Board and the Associated Examinations Board. In 1987/88, education authorities in Malta decided to phase out the English General Certificate

of Education (GCE) Ordinary- and Advanced-level system and replace it gradually by a locally based system of examinations. The new system was to be built on the foundations of the existing Matriculation system of examinations based at the University of Malta. This decision followed the substitution of GCE O-level with GCSE in Britain as it was realised that the GCSE system would not be suitable for local circumstances (Zammit Mangion, 1992). In particular, GCSE relied heavily on school-based assessment, for which local schools were totally unprepared. Furthermore, its syllabuses were closely connected to the National Curriculum for England and Wales, which differed significantly from the Maltese National Minimum Curriculum that was being developed at the time. Equally important, it was deemed desirable to replace the English GCE A-level system, which led to early narrow focusing on specific fields of study, with an International Baccalaureate-type system, without compromising the opportunity for students to achieve A-level standard in subjects required for further study.

The new system became known as MATSEC (Matriculation and Secondary Education Certificate), with the SEC examinations replacing GCE O-levels and the Matriculation Certificate examination providing the IB-type system instead of GCE A-levels. The innovation was achieved in two stages over a period of eight years between 1988 and 1996. This paper only concerns the Secondary Education Certificate (SEC) system of examinations for 16 year-olds at the end of compulsory schooling, which was developed gradually during the first stage until it became fully operational in 1994. The paper attempts to (a) describe the challenges and opportunities offered by the innovation, with special focus on issues of equity, (b) evaluate the first three years of operation, mainly in order to assess the impact of measures taken to promote equity, and (c) identify patterns and trends that may need to be corrected. For the purposes of this study, equity is understood to cover all stages of the examination: access, the assessment process, the results and their interpretation. This understanding is derived from the analysis of the concept by Gipps and Murphy (1994) who stress that equity is not just equality of opportunity and it is certainly more than equality of outcomes. For them equity 'implies that assessment practice and interpretation of results are fair and just for all groups'.

## **The context of the innovation**

The focus on the change in examination policy may give the impression that assessment emerged as a dominant strategy of educational change, as happened in England in the 1980s (Hargreaves, 1989). In Malta, the innovation served several purposes: political, economic and curricular. In the first place, the setting up of the

new system was essentially a declaration of independence from English GCE examination boards whose syllabuses had practically controlled the secondary school curriculum since 1951. Now, the curriculum fell completely under local control and could be given the direction desired by local educational authorities thus opening new opportunities for educational debate and contestation. In an interview about the new system, the Minister of Education clearly set out the direction that the examinations should take (Cachia, 1991). He suggested that the move away from the GCE examinations, which had become associated with African and Asian countries, should be followed by a move towards a common European examination about which discussions had been taking place within the Erasmus programme. This policy was understandable in the light of Malta's 1989 application to join the European Union. However, the hope of an impending agreement on a common European examination at the secondary school level was clearly misplaced.

Secondly, there was concern about the substantial outflow of foreign currency to pay the GCE examination fees. At the same time, it was realised that many families of capable students could not afford the expensive fees, so that access to foreign examinations depended on family income. A local system of examinations promised to stem the financial drain and become more affordable because it could be administered at a lower cost than a foreign system. Thirdly, the new examination policy was only one aspect of a wide-ranging educational change culminating in the Education Act of 1989 that recast the University of Malta on new foundations, recognised teaching as a profession, and provided for curricula at all levels from kindergarten to post-secondary education. At the secondary level, in particular, the curriculum review made it possible to extend access to the external examination at age 16 to about 80% of the cohort of students and to give some weighting to oral skills in languages and practical skills in some other subjects. There remained, however, the dominance of academic and scholarly knowledge that characterises practically all secondary school subjects (Goodson, 1995). In fact, the National Minimum Curriculum assumed that such knowledge would be suitable for the whole cohort of secondary school students and there was no attempt to strike a balance between academic and scholarly knowledge on one side, and practical and utilitarian knowledge on the other.

## **Challenges of the innovation**

The first challenge of the innovation was to modernise the already existing Matriculation O-level syllabuses in eight subjects that were more suited to local circumstances than the corresponding English GCE examinations. The subjects

included Maltese, Social Studies, Maltese History and Religious Knowledge, which clearly catered for a distinctly Maltese cultural base, and others such as Italian and Arabic, which could reflect better the strong links of Malta and the Maltese language with neighbouring countries and their languages. The examinations in these subjects were already considered equivalent to other GCE subjects for further and higher education. Yet they were in need of modernisation, which actually meant giving the syllabuses a new format with clearly defined objectives, schemes of assessment, content and descriptions of the criteria used for awarding particular grades. The process encountered resistance from practically all the subject committees since their members were unfamiliar with the assessment terms that were used. This led them to think that the suggested changes were unnecessary and would probably lead to a lowering of standards. Eventually, the basic elements of the new structure were accepted, however, the grade criteria, which were meant as an initial move towards criterion referencing, never materialised.

The experience gained in the first step served as a good preparation to meet the challenge of extending the number of subjects offered for examination. In 1990, following pressure by the Ministry of Education to speed up the implementation of the new system, syllabuses for English Language, Mathematics and Physics were drawn up by the two Subject Area Officers for Arts and for Sciences. These were modelled on the corresponding GCE syllabuses used in the schools. With these additions, in 1992 the new system offered all the compulsory subjects - Maltese, English Language, Mathematics, Physics - that were needed for entry to the Upper Lyceum, an academic sixth-form college preparing students for entry to university. The next extension took place under less pressure. Syllabus Panels were set up for twelve new subjects as well as for the subjects already on offer. Wherever possible, each panel had equal representation from the University subject departments and the Ministry of Education, as well as representation from the Private Schools Association. Generally the work proceeded smoothly and produced syllabuses of a fairly standard format, under the direction of the Subject Area Officers, both of whom worked on the innovation on a part-time basis. A third group of subjects was added the next year, so that the full range of twenty-nine SEC subjects were offered for the first time in 1994, two years after the publication of the new syllabuses as required by the regulations. Of course, such an expansion generated a considerable load of administration to cater for the development, approval and publication of the syllabuses, and for the prodigious increase in the number of registrations. Unfortunately, this workload could not be easily absorbed by the purposely set up MATSEC Support Unit because the existing administrative structure for Matriculation examinations was not strengthened in proportion to the increase in commitment, with the result that the administrative staff came under a lot of pressure.

In addition to the administrative constraint, a general air of scepticism accompanied the innovation that increased the stress factor. Schools and the general public aired their concerns through the media, and also some members of the board entrusted with the implementation of the innovation were not sure that it was a wise the decision to substitute foreign examinations with local ones. Doubts were expressed about the credibility of a locally based system of examinations because it was argued that in a small community it was impossible to ensure security and objectivity in marking. Another limitation that was highlighted concerned the availability of expertise in curriculum development and assessment. The innovation entailed a number of tasks such as designing and updating syllabuses, setting and marking of papers, and moderation that needed to be carried out professionally, and it was feared that there were not enough local experts to ensure the quality expected at this level in all subjects. Previously, these tasks had largely been ignored by local educationalists because they were carried out by the English GCE boards. A related issue that was not given much publicity was the question of possible stagnation in the long run. With the GCE examinations, continuous updating was ensured because this happened automatically as soon as the English examination boards changed their syllabuses to address national and international changes in educational thinking. It was not clear how SEC examinations would be updated and how the process of updating would be initiated. Closely linked to the preceding issues was the question of accreditation and international recognition of certification, an issue that featured prominently in public debate. The GCE certificates had world-wide currency and a number of people had used them to join foreign universities and to find employment abroad. With the new system, local examinations would not carry automatic international recognition and it was argued that this would place certificate holders at a disadvantage.

Naturally there were counter arguments and answers to the questions raised but a discussion of them is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice to note at this stage that all the challenges and the actions taken to meet them were very similar to those encountered in other small states in the Commonwealth who at some stage in their political development decided to set up their own local or regional system of examinations as a substitute for English GCE examinations (Bray and Steward, 1998). In the case of Malta, the challenges were met fairly successfully and after four years in operation one can safely conclude that the innovation has taken root. In the words of an independent observer:

'Despite the constraints that size imposes, and the apparent lack of alternatives available to small island groups, Malta has succeeded, beyond



the hopes and expectations of many on the island, to set up, a promising and independent examination structure which has set into motion synergies affecting various aspects of the local education system. ... the new examinations have given the policy-makers the opportunity to be more autonomous in establishing an organic and holistic vision for educational practice on the islands; they have encouraged the development of curricula and textbooks that take local culture and realities into account; they have expanded the professional roles of teachers, who are partners in the assessment of their own students; and they are likely to modify the traditional and deeply ingrained pedagogical culture of magisterial lesson delivery' (Sultana, 1996).

### **Opportunities for equity**

The innovation offered an opportunity for setting up an examination system that was more equitable than the existing one. For many years since it was introduced in 1951 (Vassallo, 1955), the GCE system had provided an excellent service to the secondary education level by supplying syllabuses of the proper level, professional assessment, and widely recognised certification. It was also an equitable system as long as secondary education was highly selective, since GCE examinations were meant for the top 20% of the cohort. This was the case until 1970 when secondary education was extended to all pupils and it was decided that the secondary school curriculum should still be regulated by the requirements of the GCE Ordinary-level syllabuses so that nobody would be excluded *a priori* from reaching the required level (Department of Education, 1972). This situation created a lot of difficulties for teachers, who were not used to teaching a highly demanding syllabus to low achievers, and to the students, who were not intellectually prepared for it and lacked the motivation to face the challenging curriculum of secondary education. Unfortunately, the local education authorities had ignored the CSE (Certificate of Secondary Education) system when it was introduced in England in the early 1960s because at that time it was considered unsuitable for high ability students in the secondary schools. The CSE system, which was meant for the next 60% of the cohort, could have provided a good basis on which to design a curriculum for the average and below average students that filled the new secondary schools in 1970. Yet there was no attempt to tap the potential of the CSE system and the secondary school curriculum in Malta remained under the influence of the GCE until the early 1990s.

## *Accessibility*

The new SEC system promised to redress this inequitable situation in two ways: by making the examinations more accessible, and at the same time more valid and equitable. One of the first decisions was that the new examination should cater for about 80% of the population of 16 year-old students in the final year of compulsory education and thus provide them with an opportunity to qualify for post-secondary education. The implementation of this decision had to take into consideration that secondary education in Malta is multipartite and selective, with students in the state sector attending junior lyceums (grammar schools), general secondary schools, and trade schools (vocational schools), and about one-third of the population attending private schools. Examinations were to be offered in twenty nine subjects covering the whole range of subjects (except for craft and trade subjects) taught in the schools. Despite the administrative constraints, the main examination session in May was to be followed by a supplementary session in September in the four compulsory subjects needed to qualify for the sixth-form college. Of course, the great majority of subjects were still to be examined in English as it was tacitly agreed that the language was essential for post-secondary and higher education. Generally, however, the system avoided cultural bias by setting examinations that reflected the local culture and offering subjects that responded to local needs.

As a further incentive and to facilitate access to the examination, fees were set as low as possible and were calculated to enable the Board to break even, in fact they were less than one-third of the GCE examination fees. This action, however, backfired possibly because education in Malta is free at all levels and books are loaned free of charge to all students in all state secondary schools. Following a students' protest in 1994 which received wide publicity in the press, the fees were lowered further and have not changed since then. The introduction of the new system also offered the opportunity to reduce the widespread incidence of private tuition to coach students to pass examinations before they finish the full course of secondary education, which takes five years. It was quite common for students in the fourth year to take private tuition and attempt a number of subjects at GCE level, and it was even more common for fifth year students to attend private lessons so as to sit for GCE examinations at the beginning of their final year at school and again at the end, if necessary. Besides the considerable disruptions in the schools, this practice led to the perception that unless students attended expensive private lessons they did not stand a chance to pass the examination. This perception was one of the reasons that discouraged students who could not afford private tuition from sitting for the examinations. The MATSEC Examinations Board addressed this problem in 1992 when it decided that only students who had

finished their fifth year of studies or who were already sixteen years old are allowed to sit for the SEC examinations. This measure was well-received by the school authorities and in 1995 it was extended by the Ministry of Education to cover GCE examinations as well (Muscat, 1995; *The Times* editorial Feb. 26, 1995).

### *Validity and reliability*

Following the international trend in similar examinations, the SEC adopted the fundamental principle that the examination should enable candidates to demonstrate what they know and can do rather than expose their shortcomings. This philosophy led to the introduction of papers at two levels of difficulty, and candidates being asked to select the appropriate level for their ability in each subject when they register for the examination. With this provision, candidates were required to sit for two papers in each SEC subject: Paper 1 being a core paper containing questions within the ability range of all candidates; then in the case of Paper 2, candidates select between two versions, Paper 2A or Paper 2B. Paper 2A comprises questions that are more demanding than those of Paper 1, and Paper 2B comprises less demanding questions than Paper 1. Clearly, high achievers in the subject were expected to register for Paper 1 and Paper 2A and qualify for Grades 1 (the highest) to 4 that were allocated for that option. While low achievers were expected to sit for Paper 1 and Paper 2B and qualify for Grades 4 to 7. Anybody not reaching the lowest grade allocated to either combination of papers 1 and 2 was to remain unclassified. This arrangement has many positive aspects, not the least of which is that whatever the option that is selected, all candidates could obtain the lowest acceptable grade for entry to the academic sixth-form college, which is Grade 5. On the negative side, conflicting views were expressed from the very beginning about the possibility that some candidates opting for the higher level (that is, sitting for Paper 1 and Paper 2A) fail to obtain Grade 4 and remain unclassified, while their actual achievement could be comparable to the achievement of candidates who obtain Grade 5 by taking Paper 1 and Paper 2B.

Besides written papers, the SEC syllabuses in all languages introduced an oral and aural component that accounts for about 20% of the global mark of the examination. In the case of another ten subjects, such as Business Studies, Computer Studies, Environmental Studies, Geography, and the sciences, marks given by the teachers for coursework, including project work, fieldwork, and practical work, contribute 15% to the global mark. These innovations enhance the validity of the examination because they assess skills that cannot really be assessed by written papers. They also contribute to the diffusion of teaching methods that promote educationally valuable skills in research, problem-solving

and communication. It is common experience, however, that coursework can be copied and school-based assessments introduce an element of unreliability in marking even in countries where teachers have been purposely trained to use well-defined criteria to make a fair assessment. For this reason, the contribution of school-based assessment has been kept as low as 15% in all subjects. This solution may seem quite reasonable except that the inclusion of coursework assessment also entails a substantial amount of moderation and administration by the Board. This raises the criticism that the administrative 'cost' is too high for such a low contribution to the final grade, forgetting that coursework has other educational benefits that cannot be easily quantified.

## **Research questions**

The foregoing measures have been in operation for three full years, and it is now proper to start evaluating their impact, exploring whether they have achieved the desired aims, and whether they need to be modified to avoid any unintended outcomes. With these purposes in mind, the following research questions have been formulated keeping in mind equity through accessibility, validity and reliability:

- Has the number of candidates sitting for the SEC examination increased over the last three years? Has it reached the desired 80% of the cohort?
- Have the proportions of candidates from Junior Lyceums, General Secondary Schools, Trade Schools and Private Schools changed in favour of the weaker candidates?
- Is the system of differentiated papers 2A and 2B achieving its aim of offering the opportunity to candidates of different attainment levels to show what they know and can do?
- Has the provision for school-based assessment improved teaching and learning, and how reliable is it?
- Do the examination results reflect an equitable examination? In particular, are there significant differences in achievement between boys and girls, and candidates from the state and private sectors?

## **Method**

Answers to the research questions have been obtained by analysing a selection of data collected and published by the MATSEC Support Unit. These include data from registrations, examination results, and Markers' panels reports of at least the

first three years of operation. Only the six subjects for which there were the highest registrations are considered here. These comprise Maltese, English Language, Mathematics and Physics, which are core subjects for all secondary school students, as well as Religious Knowledge and Italian, which are the most popular optional subjects among candidates.

### Registrations

The number of registrations for the six subjects can be taken as a global measure of the accessibility of the SEC examinations. In this case, it is possible to consider registrations for the main May session of examinations of five years, starting from 1993, when the full range of subjects and scheme of assessment was not yet in operation; up to 1997. The data is plotted in two graphs. Figure 1 shows registrations for Maltese, Religious Knowledge and Italian, which had been offered for many years as matriculation subjects and had replaced the corresponding GCE examinations as far back as 1975. Figure 2 shows registrations for the new SEC subjects English Language, Mathematics and Physics, which the candidates could still take separately as GCE examinations. The total number of 16-year-olds recorded in the *Demographic Review of the Maltese Islands* (Central Office of Statistics) for the respective years is also included in both graphs for comparison.

FIGURE 1: Number of candidates registering for SEC Maltese, Religious Knowledge and Italian for the years 1993 to 1997

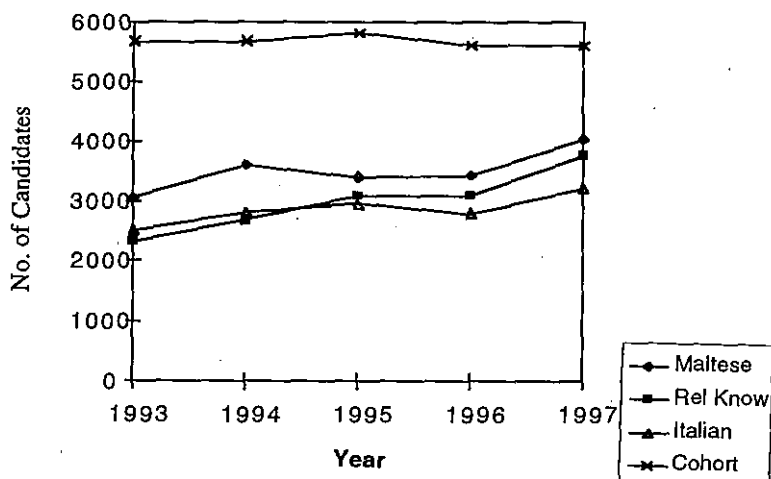
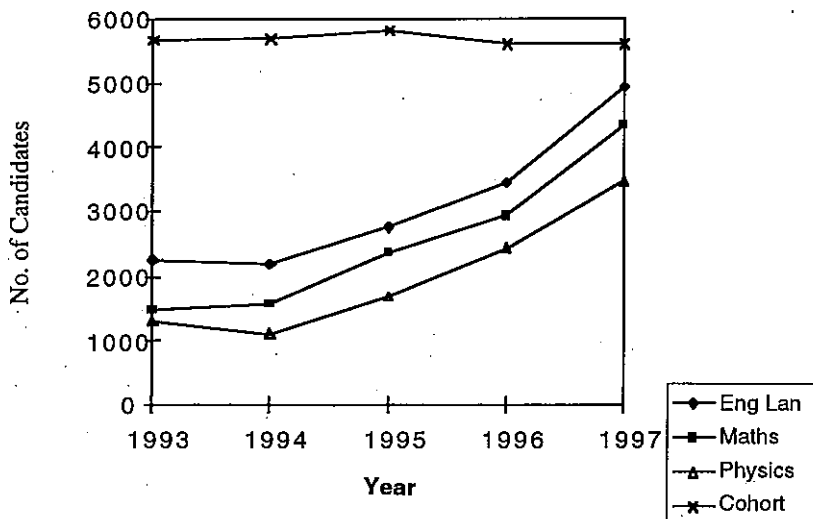


FIGURE 2: Number of candidates registering for SEC English Language, Mathematics and Physics for years 1993 to 1997



Both graphs indicate an increase in the number of registrations, but as expected the growth in the established subjects was smaller because these subjects already catered for a high proportion of secondary school students (Figure 1). In fact, in the case of Maltese, 53.9% of 16-year-olds sat for the subject in 1993 and this increased to 72.2% in 1997. The new subjects (Figure 2) showed a more rapid growth with English Language catering for 39.8% of the population in 1993 to 88.1% of the population in 1997, Mathematics from 26.0% in 1993 to 77.3% in 1997, and Physics from 23.0% in 1993 to 61.9% in 1997.

There may be several explanations for this general growth in the number of registrations in all subjects. One reason, is that more students of a wide range of abilities are becoming interested in obtaining certification which they need for further education and for employment, and the SEC examinations are seen as a challenge which they can face with some confidence. Certainly, however, the standard of the examinations is not lower than that of the GCE examinations, as can be seen from the low pass rates in some subjects. But the fact that students can sit for either Paper 2A or Paper 2B could be encouraging students to attempt the examination. Previously they would have given up studying because they would

have been discouraged by the prospect of sitting for the same paper as students of high academic ability. The remarkable increase in the registrations for the new subjects must also be due to the fact that they have gained credibility and trust, and are now seen as a valid substitute for the GCE examinations. Of course, some of the growth in these subjects may be due to re-sits after a year, especially in subjects such as English for which the failure rate is very high. This means that the figures of registration given as percentages of the population are an over-estimate. Keeping this in mind, it is quite clear that the target of 80% of the population sitting for the examination has not yet been reached, at least in the core subjects and it would be useful to investigate whether the shortfall depends on factors such as gender and type of school.

*TABLE 1: Average percentage of candidates by type of school for 1994-1997*

	<b>Maltese</b>	<b>Eng. Lang.</b>	<b>Mathematics</b>	<b>Physics</b>
Junior Lyceums	47.6	42.6	42.9	51.9
General Secondary	10.5	15.8	13.3	6.4
Trade Schools	2.3	4.0	2.5	0.7
Private Schools	39.7	37.5	41.4	40.9

Taking the number of candidates from the secondary schools and excluding those from post-secondary schools and private candidates, most of whom would be re-sitting the examination, two factors emerge quite clearly and consistently for all the six subjects being considered and for the successive years 1994 to 1997. Firstly, as a general rule more girls than boys sit for the examinations, except for English Language, Mathematics and Physics in May 1996 where, in the population of 16-year-olds, the numbers were almost equal with a slight predominance of boys. Secondly, the number of candidates from the General Secondary schools is small and that from Trade Schools is minimal. This can be deduced from a comparison of the average percentages of the total number of candidates from secondary schools during the period 1994-1996 for the core subjects given in Table 1, and the percentages of 16-year-olds during the same period obtained from published sources that show 53.8% attending junior lyceums and general secondary schools, 16.3% attending trade schools, and 29.9% attending private schools.

The shortfall of candidates from particular types of schools needs to be addressed in order to make the SEC examination more equitable. Action is needed especially in the case of boys from General Secondary schools and students from Trade Schools. Of course, a technical solution can be and should be found for offering a fair and impartial assessment for these students, however, it must not distract attention from wider equity issues, such as equality of access to learning, 'biased' curricula and inhibiting classroom practices. The recent curriculum reform of the Trade Schools promises equality of educational opportunities for students attending these schools (Department of Education, 1993). Its effect should appear in a few years time when the percentage of candidates from Trade Schools is expected to increase.

### *Differentiation*

One of the major innovations of the SEC examinations was the introduction of differentiation between papers in all subjects such that the combination of Paper 1 and Paper 2A was designed for the high achievers and the combination Paper 1 and Paper 2B for the low achievers. This structure emerged from the application of the fundamental principle that the examination should be an opportunity for candidates to show what they know and can do. With differentiated papers, high achievers would concentrate their efforts on the more challenging questions without having to spend time on less demanding ones, while the low achievers would be faced with questions which are still demanding at their level but not so difficult as to discourage them. In other words the system sought to elicit the maximum effort from candidates without distracting them with questions that were either too simple or too difficult for them.

### *Grading candidates sitting for different papers*

This new system raised two important issues and introduced a degree of uncertainty in its operation. The first issue concerns the problem of establishing an equitable procedure for awarding Grade 4, which can be obtained by candidates sitting for different papers. At least two solutions are possible. One is to set out clear criteria for the award of Grade 4 for each subject and applying them uniformly to the performance of candidates, whether they sit for Paper 1 and Paper 2A or Paper 1 and paper 2B. The other solution is a quantitative one which involves a statistical analysis of performance. All candidates are graded provisionally according to the marks obtained in Paper 1, which is common to both options. Then, the average marks of the provisional Grade 4 candidates



in Paper 2A or Paper 2B are added to the range of marks obtained from Paper 1 in order to arrive at ranges of global marks for which a Grade 4 is finally awarded. The second solution is the one that has been adopted by the SEC examination so far.

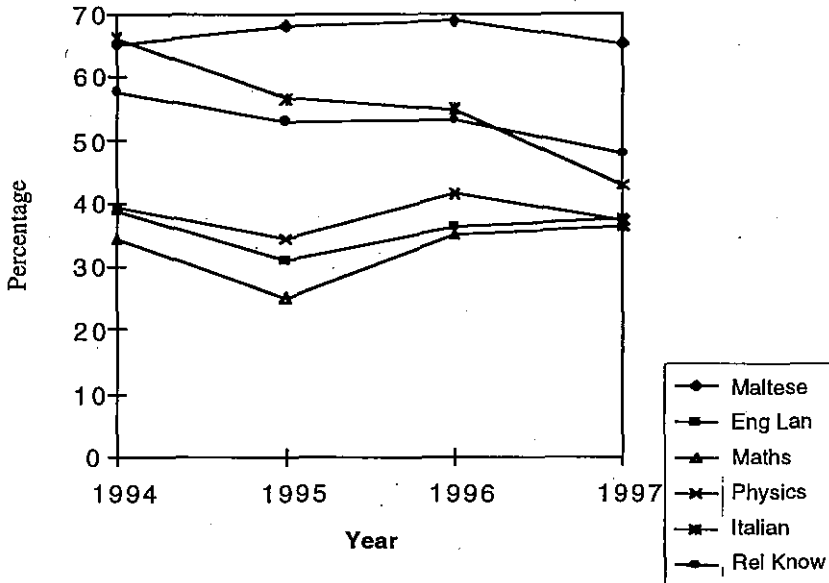
### *Selecting Paper 2*

The second, more important issue concerns how candidates choose Paper 2A or Paper 2B and who should advise them which paper to choose. Naturally, candidates and their parents expect advice and guidance from the teachers, for whom the conditions of the examination are also new. Teachers are generally reluctant to give a clear-cut advice, however, especially because registration takes place about five months before the actual examination. They argue that even though past performance in tests and examinations could give a clear indication as to which option would be more suitable for an individual candidate, the crucial period of preparation between registration and examination has a decisive effect on the candidate's performance, and as it is not possible to predict the effect, it would be inopportune to advise about the choice of Paper 2A or 2B. Despite these objections, some schools decide for their students by advising them to register for a particular option either because they think that the reputation of the school could suffer a loss of status or because they have a clear idea of their students' potential. Either way, it is not certain that candidates choose the option that matches their ability in the subject. Moreover, some high achievers may deliberately decide to take the 'easy' route, study less and be content with Grade 4 or Grade 5. By abusing the system in this way, they may be blocking the middle grades and effectively reducing the chances of average candidates from obtaining a Grade 5. This behaviour creates an unfair situation that defeats the whole purpose of differentiated papers. There is also the possibility that candidates' selection of option is based on their self-esteem, which depends on psychological and social factors.

### *Trends in the choice of Paper 2A and Paper 2B*

With these considerations in mind, an analysis of the available data can be carried out in order to find out whether the system of differentiated papers is actually offering candidates of different abilities the opportunity to show what they know and can do as intended. During the years 1994 to 1997, the registrations of candidates for the long established subjects SEC Maltese, Religious Knowledge, and Italian show a different trend from that of the new subjects English Language, Mathematics and Physics (Figure 3).

FIGURE 3: Percentage of candidates opting for Paper 2A in SEC Maltese, English Language, Mathematics, Physics, Italian and Religious Knowledge



The trends show that in SEC Maltese, every year about two thirds of the candidates (67% on average) register for Paper 2A, the difficult paper. In Italian, registrations for Paper 2A dropped from 66.2% in 1994, to an average of 56% in 1995 and 1996, to a low of 42.8% in 1997. The same downward trend is observed for Religious Knowledge as registrations for Paper 2A fell from a clear majority of approximately 58% in 1994, to about 53% in 1995 and 1996, down to a minority of 48% in 1997. In the new subjects, a minority of candidates register for Paper 2A in all subjects and the proportion of candidates is fairly constant, about 37.6% in English Language, 35.2% in Mathematics, and 39.4% in Physics, except for 1995 when these values were all less by an average of 7%.

There may be several explanations for the observed trends. One interpretation is that candidates for the new subjects realised from the very beginning that Paper 2A is meant for high achievers and only between 35% and 40% believed that they can obtain at least Grade 4 in English Language, Mathematics, and Physics. Candidates sitting for Italian and Religious Knowledge are also becoming used to the idea that Paper 2A is meant for high achievers, and that average ability candidates stand a better chance of obtaining a useful grade for further education

by sitting for Paper 2B instead. This realisation has probably been brought about by a simple analysis of the published examination results. The majority of candidates sitting for Maltese persisted in believing in their ability to obtain a good grade by sitting for the difficult paper. Of course, this belief is also based on the perception of difficulty of the various subjects, which is gained during the course of studies at school and reinforced by the actual performance in the examination.

Another interpretation is that quite a few high achievers are opting for Paper 2B, the easy paper, because they do not want to take the risk of remaining unclassified if they happen to perform badly on Paper 2A. This interpretation is particularly applicable to the decreasing trends observed in Italian and Religious Knowledge, especially as these subjects are not offered in the supplementary session in September. For these subjects, a failure in the May examination can only be remedied by re-sitting the examination a year later. The same interpretation can be applied to the new subjects, as high achievers may be 'playing safe' by opting for Paper 2B. In the case of these subjects, there is no definite trend in the choice of papers. More importantly, however, there is no indication of the proportion of candidates one would expect to sit for the difficult paper. There is therefore no way of assessing whether there is a shortfall of candidates sitting for Paper 2A in any of the subjects just by analysing registrations. An estimate of the proportion of candidates one would expect to sit for Paper 2A can be obtained *a posteriori* by an analysis of the raw scores obtained by candidates in Paper 1 (the core paper) and comparing it with their scores in Paper 2A or 2B. This analysis would show up not just the shortfall, if any exists, but also whether each individual candidate made a wise option of Paper 2. Such a statistical analysis has not yet been undertaken but the Markers' panels have expressed their opinions about the issue in the reports they submit after each examination session.

#### *Markers panels opinions about differentiation*

When the choice of Paper 2 was first offered in 1994, the Mathematics report commented that 'the restructuring of the examination (Paper 2A and Paper 2B) did not have any ill-effects on the registration and the candidates' performance'. Furthermore 'the 32.8% opting for Paper 2A was in the right direction'. The English Language panel estimated that 'about 10% who took Paper 2B would have performed equally well had they selected [the more difficult] Paper 2A', but 'by and large, candidates made the right choice [of Paper 2]'. The Physics panel were not so optimistic as they reported that 'a significant number of students did not make the right choice of Paper 2A and 2B'. Similarly, and more vehemently, the Italian panel remarked that on account of the 'illogical division of Paper 2 into two

alternatives', they experienced 'the unfairness of seeing 158 candidates who opted for Paper 2A and failed to get a Grade 4 going Unclassified when their level was equal to those who got a grade 5 the previous year', and 'actually those who have been deprived of Grade 5 in Paper 2A are not inferior to those who have obtained Grade 5 through Paper 2B'. They thought that this was 'a gross injustice and the candidates and their parents would be furious if they knew about it'. They also called for an immediate remedy by means of a revision of the grading system.

A year later, in 1995, when on average the proportion of candidates opting for Paper 2A dropped by about 7% in five of the six subjects, the Markers' panels commented favourably on this development. The Physics panel remarked that 'candidates acted more wisely in the choice of paper in this session'. A similar comment was made by the Italian panel though they added that 'there will always be borderline [candidates] who could just make it or not'. The English Language panel noted that 'In Paper 2A, 81.3% obtained a grade between 1 and 4 within a fairly normal distribution curve, indicating that the candidates, on the whole made the right choice of paper'. This result is remarkable when one considers that only 35.7% of all candidates managed to obtain a grade between 1 and 5. Yet the panel went on to remark that on closer scrutiny it appears that 'relatively good' candidates are probably 'playing safe' - that is they are choosing 2B as the easier paper and settling for a Grade 4 in this paper rather than attempting to get a better grading on 2A ... One noticeable effect of having potential '2A' candidates sitting for the 2B paper [is] that the grading scheme for the 2B paper had to be pushed somewhat on the 'high side' - thus minimising, to some extent, the chances of real 2B candidates of obtaining better results, or, at least, results which adequately reflect their performance.'

In the next session of examinations, it was the turn of the Markers' panel of Religious Knowledge to hint at the same inequitable situation when they remarked that 'a good number of candidates who obtained Grade 4 in Paper 2B could have made at least the same grade in Paper 2A'. Also in 1996, the panel for Italian was still worried that about 100 candidates out of those who opted for Paper 2A and remained unclassified could have qualified for a Grade 5 were it possible for the panel to award that grade.

The analysis of the data and markers' comments about differentiation between candidates by means of two versions of Paper 2 show that:

(i) the pattern of choice is stable in the case of Maltese and the new subjects English Language, Mathematics, and Physics, while candidates are still adjusting to the new system in Italian and Religious Knowledge;

(ii) markers complain that the system is not equitable for some candidates opting for Paper 2A who remain unclassified even though they deserve Grade 5;

(iii) markers also complain that the system is also not equitable for a number of candidates opting for Paper 2B who are 'pushed out' of Grade 5 by other candidates who are 'playing safe'.

## **Assessment by teachers**

### *Oral and aural examinations*

One of the aims of introducing oral and aural examinations in all language examinations was to emphasise the communicative nature of language by highlighting the importance of listening and speaking skills and showing that they deserve to be assessed as much as reading and writing. Before the SEC examinations, oral tests were held in foreign languages only but now they have been introduced in Maltese and English as well. Generally, the assessment consists of a part which is marked by the Markers' Panel and another assessed by class teachers recruited by the MATSEC Board to conduct the examination. This system facilitates moderation since the marks obtained by individual candidates in the two parts can be compared and moderated as necessary.

Reports by the Markers' Panels show that generally the aims are being reached, though it has been noted that the class teachers tend to give inflated marks for reading and conversation skills, which they assess. Some extracts from these reports support this general conclusion. In the 1994 SEC English Language examination, candidates obtained a median score of about 12 marks of 15 in listening comprehension, which was an exercise in which all papers monitored and moderated. In picture interpretation and role play, candidates obtained between 5 and 7 marks out of 10, although some only managed to obtain 2 or 3 marks, indicating a deficiency in oral production. In 1995, in the same subject, the Markers Panel noted that by and large class teachers performed their assessment with credit, yet there was a discrepancy between marks given by the official markers for listening comprehension and the marks for picture interpretation and role play given by teachers. The latter tended to give higher marks. Overall, the results in English Language showed that some 80% of the 16 year olds who sat the examination could understand and speak English without any serious breakdown in communication.

A similar situation was noted by the Markers' panel for SEC Italian. Their report for the May 1995 examination explained that the listening comprehension exercise was less easy than previous years because candidates had shown that they were capable of tackling stiffer material. Few candidates obtained less than 5 out of 10, but the overall score showed that some of the teachers involved in the

assessment were too lenient in marking the reading and conversation tests. This observation was followed with the valid suggestion that teachers needed more training to help them to apply criteria that reflect the expected levels of attainment.

### *School-based assessment of projects, fieldwork and practical work*

The introduction of school-based assessment in the SEC examinations was a complete departure from GCE examinations, which were based solely on written papers. Considering that a few years previously, GCSE examinations were rejected mainly because they incorporated a substantial element of school-based assessment, the innovation did not encounter any serious objections. Headteachers and teachers accepted the change and expressed their agreement with it when members of the MATSEC Board visited schools. They felt that the element of practical and project made a valid contribution to learning, and the extent of its contribution to the final mark (i.e. 15%) was prudent. Some schools with poor laboratory facilities immediately took action to upgrade their facilities. Other schools which did not have laboratories took action to provide decent facilities for their students without complaining. There was, however, a negative reaction from the Malta Union of Teachers (MUT) which could have wrecked the new examination system. In March 1993, the MUT noted that the changes were made without consultation and agreement with it and without proper preparation of the teachers. Moreover, the union argued that teachers in state schools were being asked to do extra work which was not part of their normal duties. For these reasons, the union warned teachers not to tackle any work connected with MATSEC examinations before there was agreement between the University, the Department of Education and the Union (MUT, 1993). The agreement was reached in November 1994 when it was decided to consider the assessment of projects and practical work as part of normal school work. As a consequence of this decision, it was agreed to exclude set practicals and reference to criteria for assessing the work from the published syllabuses since the schools would be responsible for them. Teacher Assessed Practical Score (TAPS) forms that recorded the marks for work carried out by the pupils, which were meant to be signed by the teachers and stamped by the school were also to be withdrawn. Following this agreement, schools sent in their marks and members of the Markers Panels visited the schools about four weeks before the SEC examination to moderate the candidates' work. This system has worked without serious hitches since 1995.

The results of the school-based assessment show that most of the marks fall in the range 12 to 14 out of a maximum 15 marks. There are, however, differences between schools regarding the level of the practical work that is set and the quality

expected. Clearly, school-based assessment is an area which requires further development in order to ensure that the educational benefit derived from the active participation of students in learning is not marred by inconsistent standards and unreliable marking. Some of the issues that need to be addressed include clarification of criteria for assessing and marking the work, professional development of teachers as assessors, and a definition of the role of moderators and their interaction with teachers. In particular, it should be widely recognised that 'moderation depends on the achievement, by discussion and negotiation within a group, of a socially constructed consensus about how work is to be valued and criteria interpreted' (Radnor and Shaw, 1995). The MATSEC Support Unit then has to act accordingly by organising activities during which discussion and negotiation can take place. In this way, the moderation process will not remain a one-off, end-of-year judgement but develop into a dialogue between moderators and teachers. Besides promoting equity and reliability, this process should lead to teacher development with a backwash effect on teaching (Harlen, 1994).

### **The candidates' performance**

Equity in the examination presumes that there is no discrimination among candidates except on the basis of merit. In particular, there should not be any differentiation on the basis of personal attributes (e.g. sex, colour, ethnic background), religious belief or social class. In Malta, there are practically no differences in colour, ethnic background and religious belief, but it is important to assess whether the SEC examinations are producing unexpected differences in performance by gender and provenance from different types of school. Gender differences in various subjects can be compared with results from international studies (for example Keeves, 1992) and local research. The analysis of any differences on the basis of provenance takes into account candidates from state schools and others from private schools. This analysis must bear in mind that both sectors include schools that accept only students who pass a selective examination at the age of 11+. The state sector also includes schools for candidates who do not pass the selective examination, and the private sector also has schools for students who need not sit for an 11+ examination. Generally, there is also a difference in social class between students in the different sectors, with students in private schools coming from a higher social class.

The analysis is based on the published results, which are given as Grades 1 to 7 or Unclassified, and not on the actual marks obtained in the examination. For the purpose of computation, grades are translated into points, with 7 points for Grade 1, 6 points for Grade 2, and so on, while Unclassified is considered as zero points.

TABLE 2: Examination Results by Gender

		Male			Female			
		1994	1995	1996	1994	1995	1996	
Maltese	X	3.407	3.827	3.330	X	3.930	4.280	4.027
	SD	1.980	1.770	1.849	SD	1.767	1.517	1.641
	N	1247	1380	1422	N	1583	1700	1713
					***	***	***	
English	X	2.530	2.233	2.170	X	2.394	2.627	2.439
	SD	2.077	1.977	2.170	SD	1.987	2.175	2.240
	N	607	837	1232	N	803	975	1284
						***	**	
Maths	X	3.033	2.952	3.694	X	2.688	2.545	3.252
	SD	2.101	1.854	1.861	SD	1.706	1.712	1.838
	N	426	693	1163	N	504	774	1138
		**	***	***				
Physics	X	2.456	2.722	2.913	X	2.896	2.638	2.839
	SD	2.041	1.905	1.787	SD	1.867	1.898	1.739
	N	340	587	1056	N	347	638	1037
					**			
Italian	X	3.472	3.579	3.492	X	3.351	3.448	3.196
	SD	2.249	2.047	2.120	SD	2.250	2.148	2.022
	N	996	1075	1107	N	1245	1295	1261
			***					
Rel Know	X	3.121	3.642	3.243	X	3.132	3.480	3.623
	SD	2.026	1.986	2.107	SD	1.895	2.015	2.047
	N	902	1094	1162	N	1294	1479	1559
		*					***	

NOTES:

1. X = Mean Score, SD = Standard Deviation, N = Number of candidates
2. Only the results of t-tests for differences between mean scores which reach statistical significance are recorded. The significance is indicated by means of asterisks underneath the group with the higher mean score, such that  $p < 0.05$  is denoted as \*,  $p < 0.01$  as \*\*, and  $p < 0.001$  as \*\*\*.



TABLE 3: Examination Results by School Sector

		State				Private		
		1994	1995	1996		1994	1995	1996
Maltese	X	3.553	3.864	3.614	X	3.925	4.390	3.853
	SD	1.911	1.606	1.813	SD	1.815	1.666	1.703
	N	1716	1835	1865	N	1114	1245	1270
					***	***	***	
English	X	1.968	1.993	1.742	X	3.452	3.131	3.135
	SD	1.712	1.854	2.000	SD	2.250	2.247	2.243
	N	950	1084	1495	N	460	710	1021
					***	***	***	
Maths	X	2.608	2.472	3.048	X	3.218	3.104	3.970
	SD	1.761	1.629	1.633	SD	2.056	1.937	1.986
	N	567	851	1234	N	363	616	1067
					***	***	***	
Physics	X	2.595	2.377	2.577	X	2.843	3.078	3.213
	SD	1.887	1.802	1.556	SD	2.109	1.956	1.916
	N	457	698	1108	N	230	527	985
						***	***	
Italian	X	2.876	3.109	2.915	X	4.021	3.912	3.745
	SD	2.193	2.043	1.889	SD	2.157	2.088	2.162
	N	1206	1194	1171	N	1035	1176	1197
					***	***	***	
Rel Know	X	2.941	3.365	3.128	X	3.378	3.797	3.936
	SD	1.866	1.903	2.058	SD	2.031	2.108	2.022
	N	1260	1477	1600	N	936	1096	1121
					***	***	***	

NOTES:

1. X = Mean Score, SD = Standard Deviation, N = Number of candidates
2. Only the results of t-tests for differences between mean scores which reach statistical significance are recorded. The significance is indicated by means of asterisks underneath the group with the higher mean score, such that  $p < 0.05$  is denoted as \*,  $p < 0.01$  as \*\*, and  $p < 0.001$  as \*\*\*.

The mean scores and standard deviations in the six subjects under consideration for 1994 to 1996 are presented in two tables. Table 2 presents results by gender and Table 3 shows results by school sector. Differences between groups are investigated for statistical significance by means of t-tests. When significant differences emerge, they are indicated in the tables by means of asterisks placed under the groups that have the highest mean score. The analysis also includes a two-way analysis of variance to determine the strength of the effects of gender and school sector and any interaction effects between the two variables (Table 4).

### *Gender differences*

The results in Table 2 show that there are gender differences in examination performance in all subjects. Some differences are consistent and follow the expected trends, others are either sporadic or run counter to international trends. The significant differences in Maltese and English are always in favour of girls, which agree with international trends that show the girls' superiority in verbal abilities. However, in a study of scholastic achievement of Maltese secondary school students in the first three years of state junior lyceums (grammar schools), Borg (1996) only found a significant difference in favour of girls in Maltese but no difference in English by the end of the third year. In SEC Mathematics the differences are undoubtedly in favour of boys, again in general agreement with international trends. This result is also in contrast with that obtained by Borg (1996). This is not surprising since his sample consisted of younger students in state schools only. In Physics, Italian and Religious Knowledge there are only sporadic differences, so a reasonable conclusion would be that there are no consistent gender differences in the subjects. The result in Physics runs counter to general international trends but is in agreement with local results (Borg, 1996; Ventura, 1992). These have shown that since the early 1980s, when Physics became a compulsory subject, the performance of girls was not very different from that of boys with a slight difference in favour of boys in the pass rate at GCE O-level. With the SEC Physics examination, girls have managed to close the gap.

### *Differences by school sector*

The differences by school sector are consistent and decidedly in favour of candidates from private schools in all subjects. The results of the two-way analysis of variance (Table 4) confirm that the main effect contributing for differences between groups of candidates is due to school sector and not to gender differences.

Various explanations may be given for these differences, but these can only be hypotheses which need further investigation. An important factor that could account for the differences is that the populations of private schools and state schools are different as regards ability, motivation, resources at school, and support from the home environment. Another factor may be that private school candidates are better coached for the examination at school and with the help of private tuition. A third factor could be that more private school candidates sit for Paper 2A and consequently obtain better grades, which then boost their mean score. Conversely, there may be equally able state school candidates who prefer to 'play safe' and sit for Paper 2B, which enables them only to obtain Grade 4 at best, thus lowering their mean score. Differences in self-esteem and expectations may be driving candidates to register for the paper which is not matched to their ability in the subject. The strength of these factors need to be investigated before one concludes that the examination is favouring candidates from private schools. An understanding of the factors allows the examination system to take action to alleviate the inequitable situation already prevailing in the schools, but it cannot eliminate it.

## **Towards equity**

The search for equity in educational assessment procedures is complex and at times elusive. The preceding account of the development and work of MATSEC raises very many dimensions of the equity in assessment debate. Although this case study explores in some detail developments within the unique context of this small state, there is much that can be derived from it and applied to other contexts. In conclusion, it is therefore appropriate to highlight the equity issues, which have been discussed in this historical and analytical account of MATSEC's activities to date.

The study shows that difficulties exist in addressing fairly the local needs, context, and knowledge of students through large scale systems of assessment. In this case these have been countered by the creation of a local examination board whose prime mission is to provide syllabuses and examinations with high local validity and relevance. The new examinations move away from an 'elite assessment system' towards one that attempts to offer access, relevance and appropriate assessments to the wide range of students studying within the local context. Linked to access is the question of the cost of assessment, which in this case has been kept as low as possible in order to prevent discrimination on the grounds of wealth and poverty. Alongside the concerns of access to the assessments, the study also considered issues related to the access that the

TABLE 4: Two-way Analysis of Variance by Gender and School Sector of Examination Results in SEC Subjects for 1994-1996

Subject		Gender Effect		School Effect		Gender X School Eff.	
		F value	signif.	F value	signif.	F value	signif
Maltese	'94	55.874	***	56.836	***	0.864	n.s.
	'95	60.933	***	128.668	***	1.106	n.s.
	'96	127.959	***	47.094	***	27.118	***
English	'94	1.799	n.s.	190.392	***	7.949	**
	'95	17.445	***	165.947	***	5.230	n.s.
	'96	10.558	***	312.197	***	3.521	n.s.
Maths	'94	7.743	**	18.531	***	0.002	n.s.
	'95	19.560	***	35.506	***	0.497	n.s.
	'96	34.768	***	126.008	***	13.417	***
Physics	'94	8.768	**	6.018	*	0.427	n.s.
	'95	0.622	n.s.	41.950	***	0.680	n.s.
	'96	0.949	n.s.	70.445	***	0.007	n.s.
Italian	'94	1.711	n.s.	157.540	***	3.155	n.s.
	'95	2.354	n.s.	88.508	***	0.750	n.s.
	'96	13.692	***	83.566	***	1.049	n.s.
Rel Know	'94	0.018	n.s.	30.318	***	10.474	***
	'95	4.137	*	25.893	***	2.287	n.s.
	'96	23.595	***	144.969	***	2.786	n.s.

The significance of the F-values is indicated by means of asterisks, such that <math>0.05</math> is denoted as \*, <math>p<0.001</math> as \*\*, <math>p<0.001</math> as \*\*\*, and non-significant values are noted as n.s.

qualifications may give to further educational and employment opportunities. The world-wide currency of examination results represents another equity issue.

Students can be disadvantaged in examinations by not being clear enough about what they need to do to succeed. In this case, steps were taken to make the assessment objectives and standards clear to potential candidates. In local examinations, students can be discriminated against by examiners, who may know them or their schools and colleges personally. Fairness in marking and grading is another highly important equity issue addressed in this case. Finally, the study shows that examinations can focus upon a narrow range of achievements, disadvantaging students whose main achievements lie outside this range. The provision of coursework opportunities and alternative assessment methods have been considered as an approach to modifying the discriminatory effects of examinations.

MATSEC's history has been a short one, when compared to many national examination boards. It is clear, however, that much has been learned and achieved, not least in relation to addressing the question of equity in assessment.

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# **POLICY AND MODEL ANALYSIS: THE CASE OF SOVIET IMMIGRANT TEACHER RE-TRAINING IN ISRAEL**

IRIS GEVA-MAY

**Abstract** - *This paper presents an evaluation study of the re-training programme for immigrant science teachers from former USSR (FSU) that took place in Israeli universities and teacher-training colleges for the first time during 1990-1991 following the mass immigration from FSU. The main criterion for this evaluation was the degree to which the re-training programmes catered to professional, social and cultural inherent affecting factors and met the aims of the re-training policy. On the basis of this study, a list of policy recommendations is offered. The re-training considerations and the models identified in this study might be applied in countries where major social changes, such as immigration or recession, occur.*

## **Introduction**

**I**n 1989-1991, the mass immigration from former USSR (FSU) brought a large number of academics to Israel. According to the publications of the Israeli Center of Statistics, in 1991, out of 400,000 new-immigrants, 160,000 were academics. Four and a half percent were teachers from different fields of expertise. The absorption needs of the new immigrants on the one hand, and on the other hand the needs of the Israeli school system for teachers, especially in science and technology, led to the initiation of special teacher-training courses in several teacher-training colleges and universities. The overall number of new-immigrant teachers in this pilot teacher re-training project was over 1,200. The main aim of the policy that led to the initiation of this project was to enable the new immigrant teachers to find employment; in so doing, it also aimed to facilitate social absorption and to reinforce the education system so that it could benefit from their experience and professional skills.

This teacher re-training policy was initiated and financed by the Divisions of Teacher-training and Immigrant Absorption of the Ministry of Education and Culture. The training courses were designed by each of the institutions of higher education individually according to its own academic teacher-training philosophy in the particular subject matter, and according to their institutional requirements for conferment of a teaching certificate. At the end of the re-training course the



scientists were expected to obtain a teaching certificate similar to that received by Israeli students attending the same department.

Six random sample institutions were involved in this study: two university Schools of Education and four Teacher-training Colleges, each in a different geographical area of the country. The Schools of Education offered teacher-training programmes to teachers of physics and of chemistry; one of them also offered programmes in electronics and mechanics; two of the colleges offered mathematics and physics programmes; one offered teacher-training in technology, and finally another college offered a programme for elementary-school science teaching.

Such a re-training programme had not been previously attempted in Israel, and in the academic year 1990-1991 it was considered a pilot project. Therefore, the Ministry of Education and Culture decided to commission an evaluation study for purposes of both accountability and formative feedback.

The analysis of the re-training models evaluated in this study were meant to provide decision-makers with feedback information concerning the degree to which the re-training programmes helped to implement the re-training policy. Therefore the focus of the study was on the impact of the course on teacher re-training and on appropriate preparation for coping in the new school-system. The main variables operating within such a teacher re-training context were identified with methodological expertise and to pedagogical/content-matter knowledge as a springboard for professional integration; the socio-cultural aspect of the re-training related mainly to change of status (socio-occupational considerations) and to preparation for teacher socialisation.

### **Immigrant teacher re-training: affecting factors as evaluation variables**

The projects presented in this study are referred to as re-training programmes because of the major adaptation patterns the immigrant science teachers needed to adopt in respect of their profession. These go beyond mere teacher-training and involve affective factors ranging from sociological and cultural to professional and methodological (Geva-May, 1996). The degree to which these affective factors-cum-variables, were catered for at the re-training programme level and prepared for future professional attainments served as our criterion for the potential success of this re-training enterprise.

#### *Socio-occupational considerations*

Socio-occupational considerations should be of major importance when proposing re-training and hence related professional status change. In this case,

the re-training of teachers in their own profession implied a shift from the distinctive career patterns identified in studies related to the teaching occupation. More than other professions, the teachers' occupation follows a career pattern characterised by an orderly path of horizontal stable movement (Wilensky, 1962; Form and Miller, 1962) where experienced teachers usually move within their own network towards the improvement of the school environment: teachers change schools until the institution in which they work suits their professional, social or personal needs. This type of change means betterment of work conditions, prestige, power or other awards (Wilensky, 1962). In the case of the immigrant science teachers, the re-training process implied following a different path characterised by a starting-point low professional status and by future employment in institutions that do not necessarily suit expectations or teaching experience.

This study looked into the manner by which the programmes managed to alleviate possible feelings of frustration or unease connected with going down the occupational ladder. Interviews with programme directors showed that they made serious attempts at finding adequate jobs for their trainees, although this was not their responsibility. The trainees expressed their appreciation for the sense of 'one among equals' imparted by the lecturers, and the respect, consideration and support with which they had been welcomed (see *Findings* below).

### *Teacher socialisation*

Another important aspect of effective absorption into any new professional system is that of socialisation ability. Re-training programmes, therefore, should consider means of bridging the gap between the immigrant mentality and socialisation patterns in the old country and in the new one. Since teaching requires more than knowledge of the subject matter and methodological techniques (Lacey, 1977), effective teaching behaviors depend also on an understanding of attitudes, values, norms and beliefs which underlie teaching behavior (Berliner, 1986) particularly in a new society. If a teacher is not sensitive to these cultural components s/he is likely to be alienated from her/his students (Silberman, 1970) and this may become, in time, an impediment in effective teaching. Therefore, it follows that re-training courses in teaching should make a special case for facilitating future socialisation in schools - possibly by a series of activities meant to throw light on the mentality and behavior of Israeli students and peers, immersion in schools over long periods of time, and so on.

The socialisation aspect of re-training bears particular potential difficulty in view of the custodial socialisation patterns generally held by FSU teachers. Research touching on the socialisation patterns of immigrant teachers in Israel

(Silberman, 1990; Horowitz, 1990; Geva-May, 1996) points to a comparatively custodial orientation in the case of FSU teachers. For instance Horowitz's study suggested that Soviet teachers teaching in Israel indicated a more custodial attitude, as opposed, for example, to teachers who immigrated to Israel from North or South America. Custodial orientation was identified with the traditional school, which is autocratic, maintains order and provides a tightly controlled setting, where a distance is kept between teacher and students, and in which the teacher is the provider of information and the guardian of discipline and order. The problem, in the case of this re-training project, lies in the fact that the Israeli school environment strongly supports a humanistic/naturalistic approach (Willower, 1965; Oliver and Butcher, 1962) which allows flexible status roles, learning through experience and self-discovery, and encourages self-expression and less strict codes of behavior. For example, other studies undertaken in Israel point out that a major problem faced by the FSU teachers was discipline and that this was the result of the clash between the socialisation codes of the students and those of the teachers (Horowitz, 1990; Geva-May, 1993).

Since developing awareness and sensitivity to new norms it was an important pre-requisite to adequate performance in terms of effectiveness and student achievements (Ryan, 1960; Morrison and McIntyre, 1980), managing to cater for this development was considered an important prerequisite. As such it was considered an equally important criterion in our evaluation.

Yet, socialisation being a long and complex process, adults in mid-life may have difficulty in their future professional life to adapt to the new gestalt or develop societal sensitivity. We estimate in this evaluation study that a higher degree of exposure to activities that foster such sensitivity, should facilitate future socialisation.

### *Professional considerations and stages of expertise*

In teaching, professional mastery has always been considered a problem particularly in science teaching (Henry, 1947; Helgeson, Blosser and Howe, 1977; Shulman, 1986). Efficient teaching requires primarily mastery of subject matter (Schwab, 1978; Shulman, 1986). It should be correct, rich in relationships, organised by a conceptual model of the domain and transferred to the students by a person who is able to translate her knowledge into teaching. In this respect, as the new immigrants' profile shows (Table 1) the background experience of the immigrant teachers could be a good indicator for their future success in the new school system. On the other hand, 'own content-matter knowledge' (in Schwab's terms, 1978), and methodological patterns that the new-immigrant teachers bring with them, being deeply rooted and supposedly difficult to change, may present

difficulty in the design of the re-training programmes. This aspect connects with the issue of teaching expertise discussed below: although the immigrant teachers might be experienced, some of their former approaches and methodologies might not be what is currently adhered to in the West. The manner in which the deconstruction and methodological updating were dealt with in the re-training programmes served as another criterion for evaluation.

Nevertheless, the discrepancy between past experience and the requirement to use new pedagogical tools in the new science classroom may lead to an inevitable lack of the necessary mastery or 'artistry' (Schon, 1978) in some acceptable teaching techniques used in the West. This, in addition to the socialisation difficulties and awareness of mentality and Israeli students' behavior patterns, places the immigrant teacher, at least in the beginning, in the position of a beginner teacher at the classroom management level.

Recent literature concerned with the first year of teaching considers this period particularly difficult for any new teacher, whether native or immigrant. It is a major cause for teachers' resignation, lack of motivation, burnout and eventual dropout. A number of reports and studies concerned with attempts at institutionalised support for non-immigrant new teachers showed significant positive results (Armstrong, 1983; Farber, 1984; Goodman, 1987; Hulling-Austine and Emmer, 1988; Odell, 1988; Amir and Tamir, 1992; Geva-May, 1993; Geva-May and Dori 1997). Future long-term professional absorption may therefore be facilitated by provision of appropriate support during the first year of teaching. The ability to take this factor into account in the retraining design served as another criterion for programme and policy potential success.

## Study method

The study was undertaken at six institutions of higher education and comprised 292 immigrant science teachers. These represented about a third of the immigrant teacher population taking these courses in Israel in the first year of re-training policy implementation.

The findings provided formative information for the decision makers on two decision levels: on the macro-level it was concerned generally with the implementation of the re-training policy and with the programmes' *potential* contribution to integration, and benefit to the Israeli school system; on the micro-level it was concerned with the suitability and efficiency of each of the six programmes in preparing the immigrant teachers for the new environment and for providing appropriate guidance towards professional integration. The feedback received as to the efficiency and suitability of this first attempt at re-training was

meant to provide data for future teacher re-training courses, as indeed it did. The findings also allowed inter-institutional exchange of ideas of a formative kind, i.e., what components of the various courses better served the purposes of the re-training either at the methodological or at the future assumed socialisation level and could be taken up by the other institutions. Since the research has not been followed up, this study cannot provide data concerning the impact of the courses on the *actual* social absorption in the school system, i.e., degree of employment after certification or performance in schools. Such future research is recommended.<sup>1</sup> This study was intended as no more than a formative evaluation of the re-training courses undertaken in Israel as part of the professional and related social absorption policy for the immigration wave at the beginning of the 1990s and with implications for future implementation in similar circumstances. The variables and the related criteria for efficiency and suitability used in the questionnaires and interviews have been drawn from the variables identified as affective factors influencing immigrant-teacher absorption (see *Evaluation Tools* description below).

The evaluation model adopted followed the Phi-Delta-Kappa Committee model and included three stages (Stufflebeam *et al.*, 1971): identification of decision-makers' information needs, collection of data, and finally provision of analyzed data to the parties concerned. The information needs pertained to the effectiveness and contribution of the re-training courses to potential professional absorption and to potential contribution to the school system. The evaluation tools devised for this purpose referred to questions of efficiency and suitability. The criteria applied referred to the degree of efficiency and suitability with which the re-training courses could cater to the problematics of immigrant re-professionalisation. Examples are: what support was given to find a job; what new methodologies were acquired; mastery of Hebrew; exposure to the school system and to Israeli students' mentality; interaction between course lecturers and teacher trainees; gaps, if any, between the needs of the trainees and the amount of exposure (weekly hours) in subjects of importance such as Hebrew, methodology, psychology, and practice teaching; visits to gain acquaintance with the country and its people; trainees' attitudes towards the general and particular level of the programme; and their rapport with its lecturers and organisers.

Feedback questionnaires administered to all the immigrant teachers and to all the course directors were used to obtain factual information about course components, i.e., acceptance criteria, course titles and subject taught, time allocation for each subject, evaluation criteria, lecturers' credentials and qualification for teaching new immigrants, and so on.

The attitude questionnaires administered to the new-immigrant teachers were concerned with the degree to which the courses answered their present and future

professional needs. The questions pertained to the contribution of the various courses and to their efficiency. They consisted of statements on a four-point Likert scale, ranging through strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree. Care was taken to use the kind of language that the new immigrants would be able to understand yet without oversimplifying the statements in a way that would affect the message implied. The questionnaires administered to the immigrant participants, the programme directors and lecturers offered a number of parallel statements so that the validity of the statements could be assessed.

A series of semi-structured interviews with all six programme directors and with a random sample population of 21 lecturers and 58 immigrant teachers were designed so as to validate and expand on the informative and quantitative data obtained in the feedback and attitudes questionnaires.

Thus, in accordance to the problematics identified in immigrant teacher re-training contexts above, a number of operational variables were addressed in both the questionnaires (q.) and the interviews (i.). The following are examples of some parallel interrelated operational questions and statements that we asked trainees (t.), lecturers (l.) and programme directors (d.) as regards four main variables of concern:

#### ***Socio-occupational implications:***

- (i.t.) Have you been assisted in finding employment? Is the position offered suitable in your view?*
- (i.l.d.) What attempts have you made in presenting or immersing the immigrants into the Israeli school system? Have they become acquainted with it, in your opinion? How do you know?*
- (i.d.) Has the programme included meetings with teachers, students and teacher training students from other institutions?*
- (q.t.) I don't mind teaching a weak class.  
I will feel very upset if I don't teach in the (Tel Aviv) area.*
- (q.l.) There have been quite a few trainees absent from my classes over the year.*

#### ***Socialisation:***

- (i.t.) Has the course provided you with a better understanding of the Israeli student?*
- (i.l.) Do you attempt to prepare the trainees for the future encounter with the Israeli student? How?*
- (i.d.) In what way has the model designed by your institution acquainted the trainees with the Israeli student and her/his mentality?*

- (i.d.) Has your institution offered trips around the country and meetings with peers on an informal basis?*
- (q.t.) This programme has assisted me to understand Israel and its culture. This programme has assisted me to understand the Israeli school learner.*

**Professional considerations:**

- (i.t.) Do you feel that you have mastered the Hebrew language for teaching purposes?*
- (i.l.) Have you been 'flexible' in your implementation of the course syllabus? In what issues?*
- (i.d.) Will your institution provide teaching guidance in the first year of teaching?*
- (q.t.) I have indeed acquired some new methods of teaching that I had not used before.*
- (q.l.) What were the aims and contents of your course?*
- (q.l.) Have you taught the same topics as in your classes given to native Israeli teacher trainees? In what respect?*

**Stages in teaching expertise:**

- (i.t.) What difficulties, if any, do you envisage to have in your future work at school?*
- (i.t.) How do you assist the trainees in overcoming future potential difficulties in school?*
- (i.d.) What is in your view the percentage of trainees that can start working successfully?*
- (q.t.) My Hebrew is good enough to teach.  
I am not worried about starting to teach in an Israeli school.*

**Study findings**

The findings obtained in this study pointed to a number of factors that could affect the implementation of the re-training policy and its goals. In general, whether at the administrative or at the professional level, the main difficulties were in meeting the socio-cultural rather than the methodological needs of the immigrant teachers.

## Prevalent components in the re-training models

### *Acceptance criteria and required participant profile*

In order to assess the adequacy of the re-training programmes and their match with the re-training policy it was important to find out who the target population was and whether the programmes could adapt their standards to their needs. Participant profile assessment could throw light on the potential contribution of the trainees to the educational system, and in fact, was determined by the institutions' acceptance criteria.

Only 292 candidates were accepted by the institutions involved in this study; 476 others were not accepted. The qualifications of the applicants were particularly high in comparison to those of Israeli teachers aspiring to the same employment positions. The majority of participants held M.Sc. or Ph.D. degrees, and some had publications in their field of expertise (see Table 1). In this respect, it could be accurately predicted that the goal of the re-training policy with regard to reinforcement of the Israeli educational system will be attained. An additional factor of importance in this respect relates to the fact that in most teacher-training institutions a prerequisite for acceptance was also *previous teaching experience*, and a degree or certificate in teacher-training or education studies. The majority of participants in the project were found to have a teaching experience of over ten years (Table 1). However, from interviews with the programme directors and the lecturers it clearly transpired that the trainees needed upgrading mainly as regards methodology, use of computers, and developments and standards acknowledged in the West.

Although none of the institutions required standard achievement in Hebrew, an examination for *mastery of the first language*, i.e., Hebrew, was required by all institutions. All the applicants were supposed to have taken a six-month intensive course of Hebrew offered to all immigrants by the Ministry of Absorption prior to enrolling in this programme. The level of linguistic mastery was mainly assessed during the preliminary acceptance interviews with the applicants. From interviews with the programme directors we learnt that after the first year of experimentation, all the institutions acknowledged the need for entrance exams not only as a criterion for acceptance but also as a diagnostic tool for planning the Hebrew courses in accordance with the needs of the learners.

Age limit as an entrance criterion was the only controversial issue among the institutions. The directors of two of the institutions bluntly pointed out that they believed that above the age of 50, trainees for teaching cannot master the language well enough, the generation gap would be too big to deal with the mentality of the students in the new environment, and the adoption of completely new professional



habits would not be possible. This view was not shared by the other teacher-training institutions. Rather, 'openness', ability to cope with teaching, and willingness to adapt to the new environment, i.e., personality factors, were assessed in personal interviews held with the candidates. Indeed all the programme directors and lecturers interviewed pointed to the unusually high motivation and hard work of all the immigrant teachers, regardless of age.

The following is a table showing the trainees' profile according to institutional acceptance criteria:

TABLE 1: Participant profile according to acceptance criteria (in percent)

Institute	N	Degree			Education Degree	Teaching Experience			
		B.A.	M.A.	Ph.D.		1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20
<b>Weizman</b> Physics and Chemistry	67	-	87	13	100	11	7	24	58
<b>Technion</b> Physics	27	26	59	15	81	20	24	28	28
Chemistry	23	45	50	5	73	17	33	28	22
Electricity	12	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mechanics	18	-	94	6	11	-	-	-	-
<b>Oranim</b> Physics and Mathematics	46	1-	83	7	15	not required			
<b>Yelin</b>	21	24	71	5	not required	33	-	5	62
<b>Minhal</b> Technology	52	-	93	7	50	19	5	3	8
<b>Kibbutzim</b> Physics and Mathematics	29	3	90	7	34	not required			

## ***Re-training programme design — subjects and requirements***

The main concern in this study was the impact of the re-training programmes and the degree to which they succeeded in catering to the trainees' present and future professional needs. Those who commissioned this evaluation study believed that the profile of these programmes and their suitability could predict the feasibility of this re-training policy. The evaluation focused on the re-training models and on their rationales, on major re-training components and on time allocation. In view of the affective factors identified, the following re-training components were considered to be of particular importance: exposure to language and culture, subjects taught, practice teaching and pedagogical and methodological updating.

### ***Academic requirements***

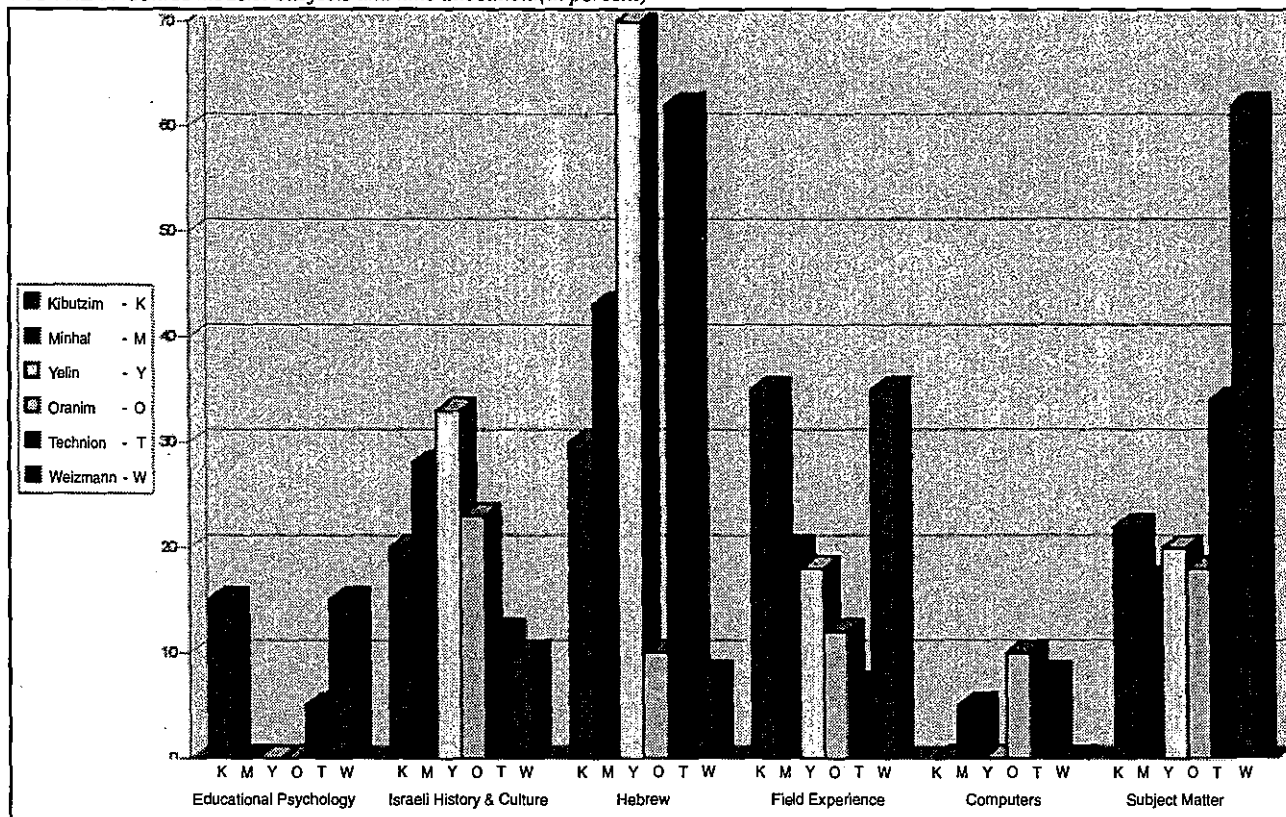
The re-training courses in each of the teacher-training departments were designed according to the individual teacher-training model used for their Israeli students. The academic requirements were the same both as regards subject matter mastery and teaching performance. Additional programme elements were those required by the Ministry of Education and Culture concerning a minimal number of weekly hours for Hebrew language classes and for exposure to the culture, history, and geography of Israel. The degree of emphasis on these additional subjects varied according to the convictions of each training institution. These course components were assumed to assist in familiarisation with the new country's society and culture.

Interviews and open-ended questions in the attitude questionnaires showed that this decision was only partly adequate. Whilst it assured that both Israeli and immigrant trainees receive exactly the same teaching certificate for the same type of teacher training, additional emphasis was needed in the immigrant re-training in order to reach the same target. For instance, the trainees suggested that more Hebrew language and exposure to the school system should have been included in these programmes.

### ***Subjects***

The major subjects taught at all universities, although at different levels of emphasis, were: profession oriented subjects, (i.e., *basic subject matter review* in mathematics, physics, chemistry, mechanics or electronics, *subject matter updating*, and methodology); the *use of computers* for teaching; and *general education subjects* such as introduction to teaching, the education system of Israel,

FIGURE 1: Course models: Subjects and time allocation.(in percent)



social psychology, cognitive psychology and the psychology of the child. In the majority of institutions, a considerably high number of weekly hours (20%-40%) were allocated for *language classes* (Figure 1).

### *First language*

Following the experience of the first year all teacher-training institutions agreed that a considerably larger number of hours should be allocated to the study of the *first language*. The attitude questionnaire pointed to a generally positive feeling of over 50% of the respondents about the impact of these classes for linguistic ability. An obvious correlation can be traced between the number of language hours and the attitude of the respondents (Figure 1 and Table 2). It was recognised that good mastery of the language is a primary and most important tool for teaching, i.e., for professional and for social integration. Interviews with the trainees suggested that an important feature of any future re-training programme for new immigrant teachers should be the acquisition of professional and classroom terminology and student slang, and exposure to listening comprehension. These were not sufficiently catered to by the re-training programmes. A majority of trainees suggested that they did not fear not being understood when explaining in class ('*I could prepare thoroughly at home, look up words in the dictionary, etc.*'), but that they were concerned with not being able to understand their students ('*What if a student asks me a question, and I misunderstand what s/he says?*'). Moreover, the immigrant teachers feared that lack of thorough linguistic mastery might hamper their communication with their students' parents and with their students. All these factors point to a certain degree of anxiety about functioning on the professional and communication levels, and to a deficiency in the preparation for socialisation.

### *Culture*

In all institutions a number of hours per week were allocated to Israeli *history, culture and geography*. These classes were given in Hebrew and the discussions assisted in forming a better understanding of the cultural context of language use. Despite the importance of the topic, some institutions allocated class hours ranging from 4 to 180 only. In the interviews the trainees attested that these subjects were particularly important for integration in the new society and in the school system, as well as for gaining an understanding of the mentality and the behavior of the host professional and social system. The immigrant teachers felt that these courses helped them to obtain a sense of orientation, identity and belonging (see Table 3). The trainees as well as the programme directors stressed

that since socialisation and absorption are of major importance for immigrant re-training, these subjects should be given far more emphasis in any future similar re-training efforts. They also pointed to the particular impact of guided tours, and in the case of one college, a three-day seminar held at a kibbutz guesthouse involving an encounter with Israeli artists, writers and politicians.

*TABLE 2: Trainees' attitude toward programme contribution to mastery of Hebrew (in percent)*

Institute	N	Enough Hebrew Lessons		Hebrew Teaching Mastery	
		agree to a large extent	seldom agree	agree to a large extent	seldom agree
Weizman	2	33	77	54	46
Technion	59	53	47	58	32
Oranim	33	21	79	39	61
Yelin	9	75	25	88	12
Minhal	52	79	21	66	34
Kibbutzim	17	-	100	82	18

*TABLE 3: Trainees' attitude toward programme contribution to knowledge of the host country (in percent)*

Institute	N	Contribution to Exposure to the History of Israel and Its Culture	
		agree to a large extent	seldom agree
Weizman	25	76	24
Technion	59	34	66
Oranim	33	85	15
Yelin	9	100	-
Minhal	52	34	-
Kibbutzim	17	100	66

### *Pedagogy and methodology updating*

Pedagogy, subject-matter related, and methodological updating were considered central components in the re-training courses. From the feedback questionnaires we learnt that the percentage of hours per week devoted to this subject ranged between 17% and 36% of the overall number of programme hours. The *methodology* courses usually followed the pattern used in the regular teacher-training classes of the teacher-training institution. Additional stress was put on acquainting the new-immigrant scientists with books and materials used in schools and with teaching approaches for different learning levels, and for different student populations. In our interviews with the immigrant teachers, and from the information received from their lecturers, it transpired that deductive and inductive learning, cooperative versus individual learning, and group work procedures were aspects of methodology rarely employed by the Soviet teachers in their country of origin. So were evaluation and assessment. In this regard the trainees said that '*in the Soviet school system it was mainly the state that handled the evaluation procedures, and teachers were, on the whole, not required to perform these tasks*'. The interviews held with them suggested that these aspects needed more emphasis, especially as part of practice teaching and involvement in schools:

According to the programme directors, the rationale for emphasising methodology was based on the assumption that the teachers participating in this programme are acquainted only with the subject-matter but not with methodological approaches and educational processes practiced in the western world. With the exception of one institution, (see Table 4) the participants expressed highly positive attitudes towards the contribution of the programme to subject-matter exposure and to teaching techniques. Trainee attitudes towards the impact of the courses related directly to the extent of exposure, that is, to the number hours allocated for these subjects.

### *Psychology*

Psychology classes were offered by some of the institutions in their curriculum for the regular teacher-training courses. The immigrant teachers reported that they had not been exposed to educational psychology in the former USSR. They regarded the issues raised in these classes as interesting and important for the teaching profession. The attitudinal findings (Table 5) point to the fact that future re-training courses for immigrant teachers should provide a more comprehensive look into the mentality and the social behavior of the absorbing country, which would then enable new immigrants to develop more appropriate tools

TABLE 4: Trainees' attitude toward programme contribution to teaching: subject matter and practice teaching (in percent)

Institute	N	Contribution to Subject Matter		Contribution to Teaching	
		agree to a large extent	seldom agree	agree to a large extent	seldom agree
Weizman	25	72	28	96	4
Technion	59	21	79	86	14
Oranim	33	33	67	35	65
Yelin	9	9	45	100	—
Minhal	52	52	13	93	7
Kibbutzim	17	17	24	100	—

of communication and facilitate their integration. Overall, in the interviews it was strongly recommended that more concern should be given to understanding the social behavior of children in Israeli schools, as well as to the disciplinary practices used in handling problems. In this respect, again, the suggestion given by the trainees was that in parallel to the theory classes, more field practice could cater to this need.

### *Teaching practice*

Initially, according to the directors' feedback questionnaires, the standards for the *teaching practice*, in all institutions, were the same as those expected of the Israeli students, including 42-50 annual hours trainees were required to spend at schools under the supervision of an experienced teacher/mentor (Figure 1). The role of the mentors was to assist the trainees in analysing classes and situations observed, to advise on the planning and the teaching of lessons, and to involve them in school activities. Beyond the field training, this would provide the best opportunity for exposure to and understanding of the professional environment, and with its communication modes and requirements.

The immigrant teachers admitted that:

*'I got ideas and new tools to handle problems in class; it did not always help me';*

*'I learned new methods to deal with discipline problems';*

TABLE 5: Trainees' attitude toward programme contribution to an understanding of educational psychology (in percent)

Institute	N	Contribution to an Understanding of Educational Psychology and Mentality	
		agree to a large extent	seldom agree
Weizman	25	33	67
Technion	59	71	29
Oranim	33	67	33
Yelin	9	48	—
Minhal	52	48	52
Kibbutzim	17	53	47

*'The practice teaching exposed me to a variety of teaching strategies';*

*'The practice teaching helped me a lot in understanding the usefulness and importance of applying different teaching aids such as transparencies and demonstrations';*

*'I worked with the mentor on designing a test and she helped me see where students may encounter difficulties';*

*'I learned to understand that although the Israeli kids are less disciplined they can be handled if they are approached as sensitive and reasonable human beings'.*

The attitudes of the new immigrants towards the impact of the teaching practice, as expressed in their questionnaires and in the interviews, supported the proposition that future programmes should allow for a considerably longer period of time on this activity (Table 3). They argued that an adequate re-training model:

*'should give immigrant teachers the opportunity to participate far more actively in school activities and experiences';*

*'should promote an accurate understanding of the mentality of children in the new country and of appropriate ways of approaching their various difficulties';*

*'should help to internalise everyday language including professional school-language and particularly children's slang';*

*'should offer field experience of the school system hierarchy, requirements and acceptable procedures'.*



All these were believed to allow for the development of socially acceptable communication skills with students, parents and peers.

A related topic raised by all the respondents both in interviews and in the 'Suggestions' section of the questionnaires was the envisaged need and importance for a built-in induction/support programme for the first year of teaching. The respondents perceived this as the best way '*for support*', '*consultations*', '*planning*', '*sharing of frustrations*', '*advice on handling the students discipline-wise*', '*coping with the hierarchy in the educational system: whom to approach for what*', '*handling the parents*'.

### *Faculty training*

When these first programmes were started, only a third of the faculty staff had had previous experience in working with immigrant teachers. In some teacher-training institutions faculty members held weekly meetings '*to share doubts and problems*' but interviews with the lecturers showed that '*this was insufficient*'. Initially, faculty were not required to take any training in order to work with immigrant trainees. Moreover, only in few colleges did faculty members hold PhD degrees. In this respect they were outnumbered by the immigrant teachers. Some of the lecturers and teacher-trainers considered this 'reverse' role situation highly unusual. Although there was a sense of unease among faculty, the academic gap was not an impediment to adequate interaction between the lecturers and the trainees.

Whereas the immigrant teachers did not state this in their interviews, the programme directors declared unanimously that course organisers should strive to employ faculty who hold similar academic degrees to those of the immigrant teachers; mostly they felt that the re-training programme could be more efficient if '*empathy and an understanding of the immigrants' mentality, culture and habits are created for well in advance*' – i.e., if the faculty members are fully ready for the interaction with the immigrant trainees prior to their lecturing in these classes.

### **Summary and conclusions**

The re-training of new immigrant FSU teachers to teaching in their new country was undertaken in a number of colleges and universities in Israel following the massive immigration of 1989-1991. Given the great influx of immigrants from the former USSR, and the large numbers of immigrant teachers, this pilot retraining programme bore particular importance for assessing the efficiency, suitability and feasibility of the re-training policy and recommending

ways of improving its implementation. Six random teaching-training programmes were studied during the first year of the implementation of this policy in order to evaluate its viability.

On the basis of the data obtained, a number of conclusions and recommendations that can be adopted and/or adapted in other similar re-training contexts are offered:

- The aims of the re-training policy were to facilitate social absorption through professional absorption and to reinforce the Israeli educational system. The re-training policy can be considered a feasible proposition provided that certain changes are made at the micro-policy level, i.e., at the level of programme design.
- At the macro-policy level, the motivation, skills, academic qualifications and professional experience of the immigrant science teachers could be considered good predictors for positive integration into the Israeli school system. Given these qualities, adequate components at the implementation stage of the re-training policy had the potential of proving successful when the immigrant teachers started to teach in schools.
- In general, the re-training models implementing this policy proved to be suitably composed. In all the institutions evaluated in this study, they addressed the major operative factors in an immigrant teachers' re-training programme, namely socio-occupational sensitivity, socialisation, language mastery and methodological and pedagogic expertise. Moreover, the recommendations given following this evaluation study were intended to be of formative benefit and improve future re-training courses.
- According to the interviews with the trainees, the majority of immigrant teachers were ready to teach in any type of school, including primary schools, schools in difficult socio-economical areas and vocational schools. No hard feelings were expressed about having to '*start at the bottom of the ladder*' in the school system or in less prestigious schools. They felt committed to their profession and ready to contribute. The great majority were chiefly motivated to becoming involved in the new trend of methodological thought, which was very different from that in the FSU. Hence, it may be inferred that the socio-occupational variable did not interfere with the success of this programme's implementation.
- Furthermore, the willingness of the immigrant teachers to work in schools and in socio-economic areas where teachers of their calibre do not normally teach points to the attainment of the second goal of this policy, namely contribution to the educational system in Israel.

- The issue of teacher socialisation proved to be a major concern for the immigrant teachers. They were mainly worried about being unable to cope with discipline problems and with understanding the mentality of their students. This is why one of the major recommendations they offered for re-training contexts is longer practice sessions with more involvement in schools, and support programmes during the first year of actual teaching in schools.
- In view of the different authoritarian socialisation patterns of the FSU teachers as compared with the humanistic/naturalistic Israeli Western context, the process of adjustment and sensitivity development is regarded as complex, lengthy and personality-dependent. Immigrant re-training programmes need, therefore, to foster involvement in all school activities during long and intensive teaching practice periods, so that immigrant teachers may apply the socialisation codes of the new environment. Particular emphasis should be put on acquainting the trainees with the educational system of the new country. This could be attained through course hours devoted to the subject, as well as through visits to a variety of school types and institutions throughout the country. Only then can immigrant teachers, re-trained to teach in a new country, understand and adopt codes of behavior and communication suitable for the new environment.
- According to the trainees and lecturers interviewed, for more efficient adoption of socialisation patterns, and for better understanding of the mentality of the host society, such a re-training course should also require a minimal number of years in the new country as part of the acceptance criteria. A basic understanding of the new society, its culture and its mentality is necessary a successful encounter with school students.
- All the respondents agreed that the re-training policy has good chances of success if socialisation patterns are put forward in the re-training programmes. This can be achieved by presenting and discussing the geography, history, culture, tradition and mentality of the new country in the context in which the immigrant teachers are going to work. Exposure to the new society and initiated absorption procedures (e.g., new immigrants being invited to the homes of peer teachers or to join extra-curricular school activities, visits to places of interest and longer practice periods) could further potential positive socialisation and social absorption.
- Although age as an acceptance criteria was found to be a controversial consideration, it was not reported to be an impediment either at the learning performance level during the re-training course or at the teaching level in schools during the training period. This feedback information is supported by

Loevinger's Adult Development Taxonomy (Loevinger, 1986). Development and growth are considered to be the outcome of motivation and interest rather than a chronological factor. Indeed, the same sweeping motivation and exuberant involvement was found in the interviews held with a mother and her son taking the same re-training course. Both had the same chances of success.

- On the professional level, re-training programmes for immigrant teachers from FSU should put added emphasis on methodology updating related to school subject-matter reorientation. In addition, they should promote the use of computers and multi-media as a teaching tools and for problem solving and facilitating deduction/induction processes; the Soviet educational system did not highly value these tools and approaches.
- First language mastery and content-matter knowledge should be assessed prior to acceptance and should serve as an evaluation and dissemination tool, as well as a diagnostic means for any appropriate programme planning. In some cases pedagogic content-matter mastery was found lacking, according to the lecturers interviewed.
- Intensive language classes given prior to the beginning of regular courses, as well as throughout the programme, can facilitate the socialisation and absorption process. Emphasis should be put on the teaching of professional language and on learners' slang. Listening comprehension activities to improve this skill in the first language should be provided more extensively.
- The first year of teaching, whether for a new-immigrant or Israeli-born teacher should be regarded as a period of adjustment and transition, and during this period possible shortcomings in classroom management should be identified and dealt with in the re-training period. Professional teacher-training literature suggests support programmes for beginning teachers to assist them in their work and prevent dropout. The same post-training considerations should apply even more to the immigrant teachers than to native beginning teachers, because immigrant teachers need counseling on basic acceptable ways of coping with class management, problem solving patterns, and communication styles inherent in the mentality and social patterns of the new country. Immersion in the school environment for longer time periods during the teacher-training programme can also provide the immigrant teachers an opportunity to become acquainted with student language and slang, and can facilitate the acquisition and internalisation, through use, of the professional language theoretically learnt.
- The decision to offer the same type of teacher-training instruction and assessment to immigrant science teachers as to native students in the teacher-

training departments was considered suitable. In this way the immigrant teachers could not be discriminated against when seeking employment.

- Particular attention should be paid to acquainting the immigrants with the mentality and social behavior of the host country. If this is done at the micro-level of the re-training programme design, the macro-goals of the re-training policy will have more chances of success. On the other hand, lack of appropriate preparation for personal confrontation with students, parents and peers, may jeopardise the whole enterprise.

In view of appropriate re-training models at the policy implementation level, and in view of the potential benefit likely to be provided by highly qualified, experienced and motivated immigrant science teachers to the school system, this re-training policy seems to have attained its goals:

1. The courses evaluated adequately addressed the components required in such a context.
2. As such the trainees were given suitable potential tools to perform well in schools.
3. In effect, the high qualifications and experience of the immigrant teachers, as well as their motivation to integrate in the educational system at any level, proved that the aims of professional integration and contribution to the school system were likely to be implemented.
4. It is obvious that when immigrants are given the opportunity to find suitable employment, social integration has a fair chance. It is a known fact that employment and professional integration, in turn, foster social absorption.

True, some of the conclusions reached in this study could have been nicely calculated out by the sensible decision-maker. But this is what studies in social sciences and particularly in policy studies are all about: they combine previous knowledge with common sense and intuition, and validate and strengthen assumptions through objectively gathered data (Weimer and Vining, 1989; Bardach, 1996; Geva-May and Wildavsky, 1997). This was the main purpose of this evaluation study. Moreover, the recommendations and conclusions reached in this study can be considered beyond their local context. The model and its components can be adapted, either at the general macro-policy level or at the micro teacher re-training level, according to the socio-political context in which such a re-training programme is needed. Its implications and conclusions can offer a suitable proposition in the case of any country where migration or recession occurs.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> In other follow-up studies concerned with scientist re-training to teaching, the data obtained showed positive tendencies in this regard (Geva-May, 1993).

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# THE STRUCTURING OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SPACE WITHIN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN AUSTRALIA

YIANNIS DIMITREAS

**Abstract** – *This paper considers the fortunes of Southern European, Mediterranean migrants in Australia throughout this century, from the 'White Australia' regime to the gains made thanks to the Ethnic Rights Movement in the sixties, and to the present economically-inspired focus on catering for migrants from the Asia and South Pacific Rim. It is argued that the neo-corporatist concerns of the Australian government, when global capital dictates privileged relations with supra-national entities beyond the traditional nation-state configuration, have led to reduced budgets for educational programmes that had been set up from the mid-60s onwards to cater for the language and cultural rights of ethnic groups of Mediterranean origin.*

## Introduction

**T**his paper examines how Southern European migrants attempted to contribute to the making of an education system which would cater for their real or imagined cultural ecology and educational curriculum in the context of the modern Australian social space. It argues that the model of multiculturalism adopted by Australia since the mid 1970s and the impact on education of subsequent economic rationale based on increasing privatisation and corporatisation of government property and services, and the general kinds of marketing which characterises modern societies is not exceptional in Australia. This economic rationale, which increasingly leads to the economic integration with the countries of Asia and South Pacific, and the continuing transnational migrations from these countries, are challenges to government and scholarly thinking because they raise serious questions concerning the role and ability of the people of the modern Australian nation state in defining their own national identity and their relations with 'otherness', while the polity finds it increasingly difficult to implement social, educational and citizenship policies of current regional as well as global geopolitical context.

This new economic order has forced Australia to shift from its initial pro-British education based on the European enlightenment model, because the emerging social, and economic reality, needs to be reflected on the state's educational curriculum to enable regional economic integration to occur more



successfully. In light of these challenges, the cultural and language education interests of non-British Europeans and more so of Southern Europeans, are being increasingly marginalised because the marketing mechanisms of the new economic rationale have created new zones of exclusion of 'otherness', forcing many outside the contours of policy making to face the new social and economic reality with scepticism or fear, while trying to accommodate themselves to the developments of Australia's European education. This anxiety has presently been intensified for those who remember the days of monoculturalism under the coalition government which is presently in power once again after thirteen years in opposition.

## Historical background

Although from the beginning of the European settlement of Australia over two hundred years ago the population was multicultural because the nation's settlers came from various parts of Europe, with the increasing migration from the British isles, this country became better recognised as an outpost of the British Empire in the Southern Hemisphere (Borrie, 1954), namely, a monocultural society. This recognition became apparent in terms of the size of British settlement, the ethnic blending that followed through intermarriage between English, Scots, Welsh and Irish, the establishment of a dominant cultural ecology as well as control and exercise of power since the previous century. This picture remained intact until 1947 by which time Australia had managed to operate as a 'melting pot' of cultures, by having largely homogenised its population, with approximately 90 per cent of its population identifying with some kind of British-Australian ancestry (Borrie, 1954; Price, 1963). As a result, Australian cultural hegemony remained strong until about the mid-1960s when the nation's industrial expansion, the European migrations under way *en masse* upset the demographic and cultural balance amongst national groups and generated obvious related differences in the home front.

Until the early 1970s all non-British migrants were expected to enculturate and assimilate in Australia, socially and linguistically. The onus of migrant accommodation and integration within the mainstream Australian society was left on the newcomers themselves with minimal if any government assistance, and with no one to blame if assimilation failed other than the migrants themselves. The notion of assimilation rested on the White Australia policy implemented by the Commonwealth Government in 1901. The same policy empowered the States to apply the so called Dictation Test if they wanted to expel any undesirable or unwanted migrant from the country. This test included the dictation of 50 words

in any language the Commonwealth Immigration authorities regarded as appropriate at the time – albeit, no migrant was by law allowed to speak or teach their language and culture to other people, including their own offspring (Price 1963; Dimitreas, 1995).

Because Australia had a rather small population inhabiting a whole continent with a fairly long coast line which was difficult to guard or defend in case of invasion from Asia, this feeling of insecurity had created fears of foreigners, a xenophobic spirit with lasting effects upon the settlement of immigrants and their space location in Australia whether in literal geographic or educational context. One of the best examples that highlights the Australian xenophobia towards non-British immigrants is better illustrated not by a Southern European example, but by the fate of the German schools during WWI. The German schools, otherwise known as the Lutheran schools, were closed down as a result of the War Precautions Act when Britain declared a war against Germany. Furthermore, during this time, 'Germans were denied the right to vote in the referenda and the right to claim actions of libel and slander' (Harmstorf and Cigler 1985: 122, 127). The xenophobic spirit against non-British however lingered high and British-Australians often did not differentiate against friends and enemies or anyone who did not speak English in public. An example of this has been provided to me in an interview with Stathis Raftopoulos. Raftopoulos, a veteran Greek-Australian businessman and a poet who together with many other Hellenes was serving the Australian armed forces during WWII, on reflection of his experience, recalls an episode with British-Australians connected with the use of the Hellenic language in Melbourne:

'I remember an instance outside Yiannopoulos' bookshop in Lonsdale Street in the city of Melbourne. We were a group of Hellene-Australian soldiers and had formed a circle and were speaking in Hellenic. We all were of Hellenic origin serving in the Australian Army. As we were speaking in Hellenic and also making certain physical communication gestures, another group of British-Australian soldiers was passing by, dressed in khaki similar to ours with the same crown on the uniform ... but because we spoke in Hellenic, they attacked us and we were caught by the arms, although we were all the same kind' of soldier, and all of us were struggling for the same cause, the same purpose (Raftopoulos, *Interview* 10 October, 1988).

Often too, documented in popular media were outlines whose content was highly misleading and provocative. Such media accounts exert even greater concern about foreign languages, whether spoken or written, with the exception of Latin and Ancient Greek. Argus, a Melbourne English language newspaper in

expressing the views of a local body, namely of the 'Australian natives Association' in 1950 wrote:

'Our Association believes that the publication of foreign newspapers is one of the most potent factors increasing and maintaining minority groups. We feel, too, that the teaching in primary schools of any other languages than English, classical Latin and Greek should be absolutely prohibited' (28 January, 1950).

In fact, until 1958, migrant groups faced all kinds of racism and discrimination against their own schools or if they spoke their language in public. Existing non-British schools operated as underground schools or at best were justified by the authorities as Sunday schools which were supposed to be teaching religious catechism (Tamis, 1988).

The social scenery of the Australian landscape changed suddenly in a period of just over twenty years as a result of the post-war mass migration. Hundreds of thousands of new immigrants arrived in the country year after year for over forty years after the war. In the context of these large migrations, Australia received large populations from non-British countries of Europe. For example, approximately 41 per cent of the Australian population in 1981 was associated with immigration (Hugo 1986: 232). Over 3 million migrants arrived in Australia between 1947-1981 and of them only about 85,000 of the second generation were of Asian descent. There was no substantial migration from the Asian region until the 1980s. Furthermore, although the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland were the largest contributors of migrants with over one million people or approximately 37 per cent of all migrants, only 44.7 per cent of the second generation Australians are of British ancestry, the rest are mainly from other parts of Europe with approximately 324,074 of Hellenic origin (figures inclusive of two generations), 534,705 Italians, 107,546 Maltese, and so on. To quote Hugo:

'The impact of Southern European immigration is striking, with over one million Australian being first or second generation Italian or Greek or from what is now [sic] Yugoslavia. Southern Europe accounts for a quarter of all the first and second generation of immigrant population. The next large group comprises people from the continental Western European countries' (Hugo 1986: 231).

As a consequence, by the late 1981, 4 in every 10 Australians were immigrants or children with one or both parent being immigrants.<sup>1</sup>

## The creation of Mediterranean social space

Attempts to create a Mediterranean space in Australian education from the early 1970s to the present time, as we will show further on, continue to enter new and challenging phases. While many argue that non-British children should have the right to learn and maintain their parents' language, government education strategies and schools system and not least the political forum within which this service has been promoted and provided remains a challenge in itself for non-British ethnic population groups.

Historically, the volume of different migrations and settlement along with their residential patterns and cultural activities had an unprecedented social and demographic impact on the Australian landscape. Non-British immigration from Southern Europe became largely evident within the urban industrial centres of the larger cities of Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, with the creation of a fairly specific cultural ecology, suitable to their socio-economic and cultural needs at the time, were highly concentrated settlements in residential neighbourhoods, with their conspicuous features, collective life style and diverse cultural activities, made themselves easy targets for discrimination. These migrations in conjunction with the nation's industrialisation and consumerism which practically conquered Australian life, the myth propagating material affluence for all, the politics of the cold war enhanced by a systematic government and media propaganda spreading anticommunist hysteria and fears of invasion from nearby communist Asia, in conjunction with the increasing private and suburban life style at the same time, forced Australian society to experience an unprecedented social change. According to Alomes *et al.*:

'The reaction against alien 'foreign immigrants' was similar to fears about communism and invasion. Images of deace, or at least dirt and smell, of race and of evil were common in popular perceptions of immigrants' (Alomes, Dober and Hellier 1984: 13).

In light of the changes that followed in the subsequent decade or two, several government reviews addressed questions dealing with immigrant education. Central in the official debate on education remained questions of integrating or Anglicising immigrants and their children through institutional training. Australia remained unwilling to reach any form of compromise by accepting that these different immigrant settlers may have had specific language and cultural needs and aspirations and if denied such rights, they could be forced to return home, something which Australian authorities had not foreseen would occur in large numbers.

Apart from the increasing remigration rate, there where the high levels of failure of immigrant children at all school levels, the disinterest or apathy for schooling for many others, the failure of society to tolerate the cultural and linguistic differences along with the failure of assimilation as expressed by the White Australia policy, the residential 'ghettoisation' of most immigrants residing in the so called 'slums' of the inner or industrial suburbs. Immigrant employment was concentrated in sectors dominated by unhealthy and high-risk jobs. This, together with other factors, created the need for organised community mobilisation to confront the rather indifferent state administration which failed to address the issues affecting the new comers to Australia.

### **Mobilisation for Mediterranean space in Australian education**

Most of the community mass and organised mobilisation which occurred during the 1970s came from churches, some local professionals, from the Left, the labour unions, and, above all, from representatives from the migrant communities themselves. This mobilisation became known in Australia as the Ethnic Right Movement (ERM). It involved the different migrant communities, with the participation of people from the different organisations, and through their mobilisation for 'rights' they attempted to bring to the negotiating table the representatives from the Australian government. The views of the ERM found expression through a document formally launched in 1973, which became better known as the Ethnic Rights manifesto (Storer, 1975; Papadopoulos, *Interview*, 18 November 1993). This manifesto, addressed a multiplicity of labour, educational and cultural rights issues (Storer 1975).

In an unprecedented campaign in the Australian political history, the ethnic communities' leadership struggle for rights found a fairly receptive listener at the time. That was the newly elected Labour Government in 1972 under Prime Minister Gough Whitlam. Labour, in its efforts to win the elections after 23 years in opposition, sensitised itself to demands of Ethnic Rights. Whitlam, himself a popular statesman amongst ethnic communities, responded to the already mobilised ethnic communities for rights because his administration recognised the obvious need for cultural change in Australia through the introduction of fairly radical public policy. He succeeded to show this in practice when he firstly dismantled the White Australia policy in 1972, thus opening the way for consultations with the various ethnic communities. This strategy was to continue until the mid 1970s, in some cases during the 1980s, and in somewhat different form until the 1990s.

Claims for rights by ethnic leadership was a mission of continued struggle involving a strong challenge to the otherwise closed 'gate', so to speak, and at best a bureaucratic attitude to migrant viewpoint. The aim was to open up the bureaucracy to respond to the special migrant needs and thus put an end to their exclusion from the contours of policy making. Furthermore, there were a multiplicity of claims for equal rights which British Australians enjoyed but of which migrants were deprived. For example, there were citizenship rights previously denied to many, language and cultural maintenance rights, welfare and pension rights, and their rights to create and develop a Hellenic or Italian and other forms of Mediterranean space in the Australian education system so far denied to those who were non-British.

In fact, the early 1970s marked the beginning of a whole new era for Australia in addressing questions of the immigrant experience such as identity of 'otherness'. Government administrations found themselves under constant community and professional pressure to define migrant identity appropriately, that is, not as transient images in search of a new identity but as integral identities in their own right according to their own ethnic origin. Consequently, concepts such as 'others' or 'otherness', like the concepts 'migrant' or 'immigrant' were terms which were often used in a derogatory manner aimed at playing down the image of non-British-Australians, those who exercise power and controlled or administered the Australian polity.

Some scholars and ethnic communities' representatives argued that it was unacceptable to lump largely all new settlers from different countries as 'migrants', 'immigrants' or 'New Australians'. The last term was for official use by the government assimilationist policy bureaucrats and politicians for public consumption and often used as a metaphor for discrimination against newcomers. Instead, different national groups of migrants identified as they did in accordance with their ethnicity of origin - because migrants were migrants but never anonymous identities (Dimitreas, 1995). Finally, the terms migrant and immigrant were redefined and given their rather specific connotations as a result of the introduction of the word 'ethnos' (nationhood) in the Australian social science dictionary. Thus, each migrant or national group was defined as ethnic group, with the term ethnicity used interchangeably. The Hellenic term 'ethnos' was imported from the United States and officially coined in Australia by the Labor government's charismatic Minister for Immigration Al Grasby in his inaugural lecture titled 'Family of Nations' in 1973, where a commitment was made to terminate discrimination cause the use of the such words as 'migrant' (Grasby, 1977).

The ERM campaigns for the introduction of Mediterranean space within the Australian education system, was, as I described previously, an issue of recognition of the difference within that space. Its campaigns for the attainment

of migrant education rights maintained a prominent position in debates amongst different ethnic communities throughout the 1970s.

The year 1974 was the highlight for migrant education because, for the first time in national history, the ERM, along with the workers' unions, dealt with migrant education by organising a national conference (Martin, 1978). The conference addressed migrant education, the introduction of ethnic languages<sup>2</sup> and cultures within the curriculum of government schools, both as an issue of right and as an issue of pedagogy. It was argued that such schools provided trained teachers and also students could attend classes during normal day hours, instead of having to spend their evenings or Saturdays studying their parents language when at the same time British-Australian children could do other things, including having time off from school.

General confusion prevailed since the 1970s as to whether the teaching of different ethnic languages and cultures should or should not be part of government schools' curriculum. There was the position of the Right and the position of the Left expressed both within and outside the Ethnic Right Movement. The Left insisted largely in favour of the introduction of migrant (ethnic) languages into government schools, its reasoning based on the view that government schools provided an all embracing inclusiveness for Australian children and, as indicated, could also ensure better quality of professional teaching school environment, all funded by public money. Many – especially from within the Right – argued that non-British children or anyone for that matter, should be able to learn or maintain a language and culture as part of their training in afternoon, after hours and Saturday or Sunday schools (run by immigrants themselves). It was maintained that such schools provided pedagogically more natural social and cultural space for the learning of languages (Southern European or Mediterranean), thus enhancing the development of identity of otherness by strengthening their self image in the context of Australia's cultural diversity.

In fact, from the mid 1970s an increasing number of state schools introduced Greek, Italian and many other languages according to demand (in the early days, there were problems with shortages), staffing and resource availability, attitudinal problems with members of school councils towards the introduction of Mediterranean space in government schools. In addition to teaching in afternoon and after hours schools in general by ethnically owned schools, some state governments introduced and funded the teaching of languages other than English at Saturday schools. In the absence of qualified language teachers, government provision remained such that staffing sufficiency was completed through the employment of University language students.

By the late 1970s, there was a mixed system in operation. Some ethnic population groups, including the Hellenic community, kept teaching Modern

Greek in state or government schools, in private day or bilingual schools and in ethnic schools run by private individuals, lay community organisations, and the Greek Orthodox Church. The tripartite model reflects the nature of the Mediterranean language school education space in Australia. For all its pitfalls, the model provided a rather complex and interesting combination of school choices than any one single school system dominated by the state bureaucracy and cultural hegemony. This system provided greater space for diversity to develop in the nation although such systems may infringe on the quality of education provided or even lead to a rise in school fee costs, unless otherwise careful control mechanisms existed. Such school models are not necessarily existent for all ethnic minority population groups. The reason for this is that some language and ethnic population groups either have minimum cultural and linguistic maintenance or are on the way of almost total assimilation. This is the case for the Germans, Dutch, and the Maltese, for instance.

The views of supporters and critics of one or another school system for the teaching of courses in the best way to maintain ethnic languages and cultures of any given Mediterranean ethnic population group; have largely reflected in the local ethnically owned and controlled newspapers, especially from the 1970s to the present time. Evident in the content of articles and debates is information about the 'great conflict' between ethnic community leaders and the government sector.

The ethnic community leadership had been expressing their preference for or against the establishment of day time bilingual schools run privately by diverse ethnic communities or such individuals, while many, especially the Left favoured the incorporation of L.O.T.E. (Languages Other Than English) in government schools. The implementation of L.O.T.E. policy is a matter of careful planning and the co-ordination between the various L.O.T.E. providers - government mainstream schools, the Victorian School of Languages (VSL) and after hours ethnic schools (Languages Other Than English in Government Schools, 1995). According to a Victorian government report released in 1995, for example,

'Eighteen languages were taught in primary schools in 1995, 17 in secondary colleges and 41 through the Victorian School of Languages (former Saturday Schools of Languages). In addition, the Distance Education Section of the Victorian School of Languages provided 7 languages. Fifty-two languages were provided through after hours ethnic schools. Italian, Japanese, Indonesian, German, French, Chinese (Mandarin), Modern Greek and Vietnamese continued to be the languages in the greatest demand in 1995. However, the Directorate of School Education hopes to maintain a breadth of high quality programs and languages and after hours ethnic schools ... After hours ethnic schools were not covered by the survey, but



some idea of their role can be gauged from enrolments. There were 25,550 students attending the 196 ethnic schools funded for 1995' (Victorian Directorate of Education, 1995).

This excerpt indicates that there are at least four Asian-Pacific languages currently taught in Australian schools following the increasing migration to Australia from these countries over the last two decades. As a result of this migration intake from the countries of the Asian Pacific rim, there has been an increase in the emphasis of L.O.T.E in the public school sector on Asian languages, particularly Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian, and Vietnamese.

In addition, as Australia's economic rationale changed by the early 1980s through deregulation, privatisation and corporatisation of the government and non-government sectors, with transactions increasing the Asian-Pacific dependency, so has the shift of L.O.T.E. teaching at government schools. This shift for example is evident in the amount of funds allocated by the Commonwealth Department of Employment Education and Training (DEET) to these four Asian languages in contrast to other European or other Mediterranean languages.

DEET expresses Commonwealth Government's policy on languages through the allocation of funds to different states. Evidence also suggests that over the last decade there has been an obvious funding departure from L.O.T.E. (European), in favour of government interest for Asian languages. This funding is allocated through NALSAS (National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools). NALSAS is a strategy which involves the collaboration of states and the Commonwealth. For example, the government allocated approximately \$8-10 million dollars for the priority language programme in contrast to approximately \$13 million dollars for NALSAS for the two financial years of 1994-1995. Ironically, while the teaching of priority languages programme includes the teaching of ten European languages, their funding has only been \$4 million dollars per year combined. In contrast, the NALSAS includes the teaching of four Asian languages only, namely: Japanese, Korean, Indonesian and Chinese. The last four were separated from priority languages programme and were contextualised as NALSAS, receiving separate and additional funds and treatment with at least four times above the amount of funds provided for any European language other than English.

At the same time, because there is a lack of adequately qualified educators to teach Asian languages, DEET allocates special funds for the retraining of existing teachers attended during evening classes in order to upgrade their qualifications and introduce teaching of a given Asian language at the schools. Teachers have to attend classes once a week, doing something like a crash course for two

semesters. Following completion of the course students receive their certificate, they are then regarded as qualified to teach an Asian language such as Japanese, Korean, Indonesian and Chinese. Subsequently, such teachers could go to their schools and introduce courses on one of the Asian languages in which they have been trained. Although according to a Japanese trained tertiary educator of Japanese language in Victoria,

'the teaching by such staff takes place despite the fact that Asian languages are probably up to three times harder than European languages to learn. DEET has given for example large sums of money for many universities to this purpose, including: Swinburne, Monash, and Melbourne universities in the state of Victoria' (Japanese Lecturer, *Interview*, 13 August 1996).

There are beyond doubt immediate economic and cultural forces in operation encouraging governments to focus on Asia and the Pacific Rim. In the area of education, for example, 80-90 percent of all full fee-paying students are from Asia and these constituted 81,000 foreign students studying in Australian institutions, most of whom were from the nearby countries of the Asian-Pacific region. During 1995 these students imported into the country approximately \$2 billion dollars in export revenue to cover their expenses for courses fees, rent and so on. In addition, 60 percent of all Australian manufactured goods goes to Asia. Likewise, in the services sector too, 60 percent of in-bound international tourism is from Asia (ABS, 1995).

An increasing number of Australian universities establish university schools or such departments and run off shore courses in university centres in countries of South East Asia such as Singapore, Malaysia, Vietnam, and Hong Kong. Among such universities as RMIT, Monash, Victoria University of Technology, University of Western Sydney-Hawkesbury, and La Trobe. Similarly, an increasing number of courses and Asian Studies Centres are established throughout Australia. Again, an Asian studies review published in 1991 (Asian Studies Association of Victoria, 1991:133), shows the recent proliferation of Asian studies centres in Australian Universities in the last three years, rising from scarcity in 1987 to at least 20 by 1990. The Japanese language alone, according to the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies (ANU, 1996) is served in at least 30 out of 38 Australian universities, while 33 offer some sort of Japan-related units.

In line with the foregoing, before the beginning of the decline of the number of enrolments to study one or more of the South European languages began in the early 1990s, there was an increase in the number of tertiary institutions teaching

such languages. For example, the number of tertiary institutions providing teaching in Modern Greek was 1 in 1968 increasing to 14 by the 1980s, either in departments per se or as courses run within such departments. Since the early 1990s however, the number of these departments or Modern Greek and related courses taught within Australian universities are being challenged by a rapid decline in different universities. For example, in the State of Victoria three departments teaching Modern Greek courses are under threat of being closed down over the next few years. These include Deakin University, the University of Melbourne, and also Monash University. Similar trends have been observed in other Australian States.

The increasing shift towards the teaching of Asian languages and Cultures within Australian universities is gaining a corporatist status rather than one which is based on rights of inhabitants of this country who have a European heritage. Everything seems to be calculated in terms of dollars, neo-political rhetoric of regional and international context than purely academically recognised and defined contexts based on Australia's past European cultural or ethnically and scholarly defined heritage, and above all on the grounds of living sizeable communities already established in Australia for many decades.

Australia has obviously made a radical shift in its post-war language policy for two reasons. Firstly, because the nation's economic and geopolitical interest have been increasingly defined in global and more so in regional context. Secondly, because increasing migrations from the nearby countries of the Asia-Pacific countries have inevitably brought this nation, for the first time since white European settlement into very close, cultural proximity with the country's real neighbours.

Placing the debate in broader context, unlike the Asian experience, until today there is not even a single Mediterranean studies course centre in Australia. While there have been an increasing proliferation of Asian research and studies centres operating in the country over the last few years as a result of trade and business links with Asia, there is no evidence to suggest that something related is occurring in connection to countries or Australia's ethnic population groups from the Mediterranean region. Thus, questions arising from the experiences are many, especially in connection with the cultural and historic origin of Australia's Southern European settlers all of whom have without any serious consultation been forced to accept Australia's new economic order as the only way out for their survival.

This means that until the present period of the 1990s, the experiences of Southern Europeans in Australia was the experience of a Southern European microcosm with different national origins in the context of one single nation state, namely Australia. Their efforts towards the creation of Mediterranean space has

been both a real and imaginary reflection of the social tensions, political conflict and economic antagonism found within single nation states of their European homeland prior to and after their migration and settlement in Australia. These tensions were transmitted both consciously and unconsciously across the other end of the world (but without the luxury of the protection provided to them within their own nation state) by individual social actors, with analogous if not more difficulties associated with the efforts of single nation states of the South struggling for rights over the rather materially or industrially wealthier and dominant North within the European Union. The tensions of the debate about North and South or about Centre and Periphery in the EU with its economic and political ramifications, whether real or imaginary, has been central in Australian social sciences. It has remained a great divide in the debate amongst Australian academics and other sceptics throughout this century about the 'quality' difference between the Northern European over the Southern European and other Mediterranean migrants, as that quality is being defined by its critics! In other words, Southern European migrants, whether Hellenes or Italians, Maltese, or Yugoslavs, faced the direct racial, cultural, economic, political and legal hurdles, and the implications which have been evident in European history of colonisation with contemporary implications of the nation-state, with lasting effects for migrants and their children in the future.

Likewise, contemporary developments occurring in regional as well as in global trade and politics, with its regionalising ramifications as zones of trade such as EU or APEC (Asian Pacific Economic Co-Operation), have created new possibilities for nation-states as agents of civil society, especially in the area of labour economics and citizenship. That is, current economic and political developments coinciding as they have with the blurring of the boundaries of the nation-state. These factors are forcing the nation-state to search for new economic markets within and beyond their immediate boundaries within their regional zones, seeking co-operation more fiercely than ever before, with marketing competition increasingly eliminating (in principle) trade restrictions within given regional territories. This leads to increasing economic inter-dependency together with technological advancement which greatly facilitated communication, leading to new types of trans-national labour and business migrations. These otherwise new specialist migrations lead increasingly to new forms of dominance and control over the previous generation of labourers and their skilled or unskilled children, many of whom are of ethnic minority population groups of non-British origin in the case of Australia (who often are not offered employment even if they are well qualified, because first preference is usually given to British-Australians as in the era of White Australia (1901-1972). Today, immigrants and their children are being retrenched or cannot find employment in the era of post-

industrialisation. These developments in conjunction with the new age of labour and forms of monitored migration between nation-states have never been experienced before. They raise questions about the capacity or ability of the nation-state to function as the rational representative of civil society, responsible for providing national education and training for children of diverse ethnic languages and cultures, whether from the countries of the European periphery of the Mediterranean or from any other part of the world for that matter, outside the British Isles.

## Notes

\* This paper was presented at the 17th CESE Conference, held in Athens October 13-18, 1996. The conference theme was 'Education and Restructuring of the European space: Centre-Periphery, North-South, Identity-Otherness'.

<sup>1</sup> To calculate the number of Southern Europeans in Australia or the population of any ethnic group, one needs to take into account the numbers of each ethnic group who came to Australia from different nation states. For example, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) figures of 1981 show 324,000 of first and second generation Greeks. Such calculations, unless added, do not include approximately 35-60,000 Cypriots, 14-20,000 from Egypt, and many others from Turkey, the ex-Soviet Union, Romania, the Middle East and other parts of Europe and the World. In addition, if the third and subsequent generations are taken into account, the number of Australia's Hellenism may well exceed the 500,000 figure. In contrast to such approximate estimates, demographer Charles Price in an article on ethnic strength titled 'The Ethnic Character of the Australian Population' (1988), shows only 360,000 Greeks based on 1986 Census. This figure is justified according to the author (in a telephone communication I had with him in 1993), in the light of the number of Greeks who have returned to Greece since the initiation of post-war migration which is approximately 70,000 people. If however, Hugo's figures above are taken as a base for a pilot calculation, then the number of Greeks in Australia is much higher than the figures provided by Price based on ethnic origin. This may well mean that Southern Europeans and their descendants now living in Australia may in fact be a fairly substantial part of the Australian population above that of the ordinary ABS calculation for one country of origin. Similarly, the figures for Italians and other ethnic origins may be substantially higher.

<sup>2</sup> At this rather early stage of change, as in the case of this conference, the participants did not use the term 'ethnic languages' but 'community languages', that is, actually spoken languages within the Australian social space by immigrants and their offspring. Additionally, as argued earlier, different population communities, were called migrant communities. The term ethnic communities became prevalent after the term ethnic groups became well known in Australia sometime after this conference was held.

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# LES REPRÉSENTATIONS SOCIALES DE LA VILLE CHEZ LES ÉCOLIERS DE DEUX VILLES EUROPÉENNES, D'ARLES ET DE SPARTE: UNE APPROCHE COMPARATIVE

AÈGLI ZAFEIRAKOU

*Resumé – Dans le cadre d'un programme éducatif réalisé en 1994 relatif au développement historique de deux villes méditerranéennes, Arles (France) et Sparte (Grèce), nous avons effectué une analyse des représentations sociales de la ville chez deux groupes d'élèves, âgés de douze ans, qui se sont rencontrés, durant une semaine, respectivement à Arles et à Sparte. L'émergence des éléments centraux des représentations sociales chez chacun des deux groupes d'élèves est mise en rapport avec leurs appartenances culturelles différentes. L'interprétation s'élabore à partir des dessins du plan de deux villes réalisés individuellement par les élèves de chaque groupe. Il s'agit ici d'une réflexion exploratrice dans le cadre d'une recherche en cours.*

## Introduction

**C**omparer la façon dont des jeunes élèves de deux pays européens voient ce que l'on nomme le patrimoine culturel de la ville peut nous aider à éclaircir certains aspects de la coexistence de multiples identités culturelles à l'intérieur de l'espace européen. Par le terme de patrimoine culturel de la ville nous entendons ici non seulement tout ce qui implique dans la ville une valeur historique et archéologique, mais aussi les constructions et créations contemporaines.<sup>1</sup> Comme nous allons le voir, la sensibilisation de jeunes élèves de deux pays différents à leurs patrimoines culturels mutuels permet de créer un espace pour un mode original de dialogue entre ces jeunes sur tout ce qui a trait aux particularités et éléments communs de leurs héritages culturels.

Le choix de faire se rencontrer précisément des élèves d'Arles et de Sparte n'a pas été aléatoire. Ces deux villes ont en effet des caractéristiques communes. Petites villes méditerranéennes – leur population est respectivement de 60.000 et 20.000 habitants – elles sont, toutes deux, situées à quelques dizaines de kilomètres de la mer et construites sur les rives de fleuves historiques, bien que de taille inégale, le Rhône et l'Eurotas. Les deux villes ont un riche passé historique, sur lequel nous ne revenons pas ici. Il suffit de rappeler que le tissu urbain d'Arles remonte à l'époque de sa fondation en 46 av. JC, par Julius César. A partir de ses origines romaines, la transformation spatiale de la ville se poursuit à travers le



Moyen-Age, la Renaissance et les temps modernes dans une continuité remarquable, qui lui donne son aspect fortement organique, en fin de compte peu affecté par des constructions modernes. La genèse de la ville de Sparte est beaucoup plus fracturée, même dans sa topographie. A partir de la période mycénienne jusqu'aux années romaines, Sparte aurait connu une implantation continue aux abords d'Eurotas. Il s'en suit une période d'obscurité (IV-VII siècle) avant que la ville ne réapparaisse durant la période franque et byzantine sous la forme de la cité de Mystra, qui est par contre située aux pieds des montagnes de Taygetos, à une dizaine de kilomètres de la Sparte antique. Progressivement abandonnée et tombée en ruine sous l'occupation ottomane, Sparte même a été refondée en 1834, au bord de l'Eurotas, sur le site même de la Sparte antique. L'Etat grec venait alors de se constituer en Etat-Nation autonome et avait besoin de quelques symboles forts. Cette Sparte nouvelle a évolué sur et à travers même les restes antiques, tandis que des immeubles de béton dominent maintenant l'aspect de la ville.

Si Sparte et Arles se rejoignent donc sur le plan de la richesse de leur patrimoine culturel, l'histoire de leurs formes spatiales a été rythmée d'une façon très différente. Dans le cas d'Arles on remarque une réadaptation continue de ses constructions, sans coupures, ni déplacements de l'espace d'habitation depuis sa fondation jusqu'à aujourd'hui, qui aboutit au visage actuel de la ville où cohabitent et s'entrechoquent des bâtiments et des éléments architecturaux de toutes les époques. A Sparte, on note le jeu d'apparition-disparition, rupture-substitution qui se réalise surtout dans le très large espace d'habitation qui comporte la partie haute de la vallée de l'Eurotas avec le Menelaion, la ville actuelle de Sparte et Mystra. Dans la Sparte d'aujourd'hui, telle qu'elle se présente tout au moins aux yeux d'un visiteur, les traces de ce passé n'apparaissent que difficilement.

Dans les deux cas, la ville intègre des époques diverses, des rythmes architecturaux plus ou moins harmonieux, des techniques de constructions et des intérêts souvent contradictoires et antagonistes. Cependant, en dépit de ces contradictions et de ces heurts, la ville forme le champ de la matérialisation des orientations de la plus large communauté. Ce sont justement ces 'consentements' de la communauté sur la ville, anciennes et récentes, pacifiques et violentes que des élèves français et grecs de deux écoles des villes de Sparte et Arles, ont étudiés en mars et mai 1994.

## **Rencontre et recherche**

Les réflexions que nous élaborons ici, sont formulées à partir d'une expérience d'échange entre élèves français et grecs dans le cadre d'un programme d'échange à caractère éducatif et culturel entre des écoles des pays de l'Union Européenne. Les élèves des classes de la sixième de la Première Ecole primaire de Sparte

(11-12 ans) et les élèves de la première classe du collège Frédéric Mistral d'Arles (11-12 ans) se sont rencontrés à deux occasions pendant une semaine, à savoir à Sparte en mars 1994 et à Arles en mai 1994. Pour l'élaboration et la mise en oeuvre de chacun des programmes, les éducateurs des deux classes collaborèrent avec des archéologues, des architectes, des historiens de la ville et autres professionnels ainsi qu'avec des artistes de chacune des villes.<sup>2</sup>

Notre recherche a été réalisée à Arles comme à Sparte pendant le programme éducatif cité précédemment.<sup>3</sup> Le but de la recherche était d'étudier, dans les deux groupes d'élèves grecs et français la genèse et le contenu de leurs représentations de leur propre ville et de celle des autres. La recherche profitait de conditions pédagogiques remarquablement propices, où justement l'intervention éducative avait pour thème principal l'évolution historique de deux villes. La recherche faisait partie intégrante du programme dans la mesure où les dessins des élèves ici analysés, ont été élaborés au cours du programme éducatif.

L'intérêt d'une semblable recherche est double. D'une part, sur un plan théorique et à l'issue d'autres enquêtes de la Psychologie Sociale sur les représentations de la ville, explorer comment les jeunes se représentent chacune des deux villes et en plus dans quelle mesure les deux groupes les représentent différemment. L'hypothèse est que, avec l'émergence des représentations de deux groupes, certains aspects de leur manière de concevoir un patrimoine culturel soient éclairés, sans qu'il soit nécessairement possible de ramener de particularités ou de différences locales à des traits généralisés. D'autre part, sur un plan plus pédagogique, réfléchir sur des perceptions et des représentations des élèves (mais aussi des autres membres de la communauté éducative), sur leur environnement social, culturel et urbain, peut contribuer à encourager les programmes éducatifs transculturels communs entre les pays européens. En ce sens les résultats de notre recherche peuvent être utiles à la formation complémentaire des éducateurs pour l'élaboration et la matérialisation de programmes éducatifs européens communs.

## Notions théoriques et méthodologiques

Plusieurs recherches ont pour but l'étude des perceptions, des images, des représentations, ou des *mental maps* que les habitants se construisent de leur ville. Ce genre d'études a notamment connu un certain essor durant les années 60, avec des contributions à partir de la Psychologie de l'Environnement. Les réflexions et notions que K. Lynch (1960) formula dans son livre *L'Image de la Ville*, maintenant considéré comme un classique, donna lieu à tout un programme de recherche dans ce champ. Géographes et sociologues de la ville produisirent

également, à partir les années 60, des approches où on prenait compte des rapports physiques et imaginaires des habitants avec l'environnement (Jacobs 1996). Ces approches connaissent actuellement un nouvel essor, mais cette fois-ci plutôt en relation avec la crise de la ville conçue comme une *jungle urbaine* où beaucoup n'arrivent plus à se retrouver ou à construire des liens émotionnels avec leur environnement (de Certeau 1990). Dans le domaine de la psychologie sociale, l'étude de S. Milgram et de D. Jodelet (1976) sur les cartes psychologiques de Paris, prend compte de l'attachement affectif des habitants à la ville globale en relation, entre autre, avec le quartier où ils habitent. Plus récemment, des recherches ont encore porté sur les représentations de la ville chez des groupes sociaux déterminés. K. Noschis (1987) se réfère à un quartier de Venise pour étudier la signification sentimentale du voisinage. P. Amphoux (1994) se concentre sur l'imagination topographique des espaces verts à Lausanne. En Grèce, nous disposons notamment d'une recherche de P. Kosmopoulos (1994), sur la perception du centre urbain de Thessalonique par ses habitants.

Deux éléments, l'un théorique et l'autre méthodologique, qui peuvent être compris comme faisant l'unité de ces travaux, inspirent aussi l'analyse de l'expérience que nous présentons ici. Ces dessins, sont réalisés en deux phases, au début et à la fin de chaque programme éducatif dans les deux villes.

Pour étudier la perception des hommes de leur milieu environnant, la méthode de faire élaborer des croquis de la ville<sup>4</sup> pour les analyser ensuite, a été amplement utilisée par les psychologues de l'environnement, les urbanistes et les géographes, notamment à la suite de la recherche de K. Lynch (1960). D'un point de vue cognitif, son utilisation ne va toutefois pas de soi. Il convient en effet de distinguer entre ce que les gens disent, écrivent ou dessinent sur la ville et ce que sont leurs images mentales ou leurs représentations de cette ville. Il existe un problème quand on veut étudier les représentations ou les images mentales que les gens se font d'un espace, d'un lieu ou d'une ville par le biais d'une demande d'un récit ou d'une représentation graphique. On ne saurait en effet confondre ce que les gens disent ou dessinent avec leurs images ou représentations, c'est à dire supposer qu'il y a un lien direct entre les deux. Car ce qu'ils disent est déjà leur propre interprétation de l'objet extérieur, et c'est ainsi qu'ils la connaissent. En plus, les gens peuvent être mal à l'aise avec les dessins ou l'écriture. Ce ne sont donc que des reflets partiels de leur image. On suppose toutefois une correspondance dans la mesure où si ce n'est pas le reflet, c'est au moins une élaboration mentale, quelque chose interne et non pas extérieure à celui qui les élabore.

Sur un premier niveau, de la figuration ou du discours, il s'agit de l'expression d'une signification, alors que sur un deuxième, l'image mentale ou la représentation exprime la signification attribuée par une personne à un objet

culturellement défini. Les deux niveaux s'influencent mutuellement et à partir de ce point on peut donc s'imaginer que des études relatives à l'un et l'autre soient entreprises.

Dans notre recherche a ainsi surgi le problème de la correspondance du croquis avec les représentations mêmes. Toutefois, comme l'explique Canter (1977), même s'il y a un transfert insuffisant des représentations intérieures sur le dessin, cela ne signifie pas que ce dernier perd son sens en tant qu'outil de recherche. Nous ajouterions, au contraire, qu'il s'agit d'une méthode qui fournit du matériel riche et des indications pour sonder les représentations d'un groupe défini.

Sur un plan théorique, ce qui peut unir les analyses, c'est bien la notion de *représentation sociale*, telle qu'elle a été définie par Serge Moscovici et l'équipe de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, en France. La représentation sociale peut être définie comme l'élaboration d'un objet social par une communauté ou un groupe avec l'objectif d'agir et de communiquer. Les représentations sont *sociales* puisqu'elles portent sur un objet social et surtout puisqu'elles se forment en vertu de la communication entre les membres d'un groupe. Cette définition de la *représentation sociale* est toutefois saisie par des courants très différents de la psychologie sociale en fonction des objets de recherches spécifiques et de la méthodologie adoptée. La méthodologie qui consiste à saisir les représentations sociales est tantôt plus expérimentale et quantitative, tantôt plus anthropologique et ethnographique (Jahoda 1988).

C'est aussi par rapport à la notion de représentation sociale que s'inscrit la présente étude, qui se veut une monographie à double volet (Arles et Sparte). Dans notre recherche, à partir des dessins et écrits des élèves français et grecs, les représentations sociales sont étudiées comme un système de perceptions des idées, des logiques et des images qu'ont l'un et l'autre groupe d'élèves pour un objet socialement défini, à l'occasion le patrimoine culturel des villes d'Arles et de Sparte. Dans la mesure où il s'agit d'une recherche de terrain, elle est qualitative et pour cette raison justement exploratoire.

Plus concrètement, notre étude sur les représentations sociales de la ville telles qu'elles se forment chez des élèves grecs et français est focalisée sur les points suivants:

- a) La procédure de structuration et d'organisation des représentations des jeunes sur la ville.
- b) La présence ou l'absence d'éléments de la ville ayant une signification symbolique particulière.
- c) La place des éléments exprimant la dimension actuelle et moderne des villes.
- d) L'ensemble de ces questions est abordé sous un angle comparatif.

## **Interpréter des dessins**

La présente étude est en cours et comporte plusieurs niveaux d'analyse tant des textes rédigés sur le thème 'Ma ville', que des dessins des élèves. L'analyse des croquis des villes des élèves français et grecs fournit une masse d'informations à propos du contenu, le noyau central, les fonctions ainsi que la dynamique des représentations sociales que forment les deux groupes d'élèves pour les deux villes, la leur et celle de l'autre. Les données de l'analyse seront soumises à un traitement comparatif. Au demeurant nous avons choisi de présenter les résultats des analyses des dessins des élèves qui ont été réalisés au début et à la fin du programme pédagogique et qui concernent seulement la ville de l'autre groupe. Ce sont donc à présent les résultats des analyses des croquis urbains que les élèves français ont fait sur Sparte et les élèves grecs sur Arles.

Deux autres types de matériels recueillis ne sont qu'accessoirement pris en compte ici. D'abord, l'analyse de courts textes sur le thème 'ma ville' rédigés par les élèves français et grecs avant que les uns ne visitent la ville de l'autre. Plus précisément, on a demandé aux deux groupes d'écrire une lettre aux élèves qui allaient leur rendre visite et d'y décrire leur ville. Ensuite, j'ai fait usage des notes de genre ethnographique durant les deux programmes éducatifs qui revêtaient souvent le caractère d'interviews ouverts. Dans ce cas-là, ont été aussi mobilisées des informations qui aident à la compréhension des croquis.

### **Les élèves Grecs dessinent Arles**

Le premier jour de la visite des élèves grecs à Arles, la ville a été présentée à tous les élèves à travers une vue panoramique à partir d'un haut lieu d'Arles, le monument archéologique 'les Arènes'. Les élèves de deux pays ont été initiés à l'orientation et au mode d'organisation du plan de la ville. A cette fin fut aussi utilisée une copie du plan urbain de la ville. Ensuite, les élèves ont fait un tour de la ville en autocar pour avoir une première impression de la ville et de son patrimoine culturel. Après ces deux activités il a été demandé aux élèves grecs et français de dessiner individuellement un plan en couleur de la ville, tel qu'ils l'imaginaient. Aucune précision n'a été donnée sur le genre de dessin à faire, si ce n'est qu'il devrait s'agir d'un plan de la ville. Il leur a été demandé également de nommer par ordre de priorité tout ce qu'ils dessinaient.

Les seuls croquis qui sont ici pris en compte sont ceux des élèves grecs. Leurs 27 dessins représentent donc leur image d'Arles après une journée dans une ville qu'ils n'avaient, sans exception, jamais visité auparavant.

A première vue, on constate que les croquis se concentrent soit sur les dessins des bâtiments, soit les réseaux routiers, soit un mode mixte de présentation. Avec cette mise à plat de la ville, ils s'inspirent très clairement de l'image vue d'un point panoramique, situé aux 'Arènes' ainsi que de celui montré avec le plan de la ville.

L'analyse des dessins des enfants a eu lieu suivant deux paramètres, ou deux guides de lecture. Le premier se réfère au genre et à l'investissement symbolique des bâtiments et des espaces extérieurs qui s'insèrent dans le tissu urbain. Le deuxième concerne le plan morphologique de la ville, c'est à dire l'agencement des routes, la séparation des quartiers, le degré d'intégration et d'orientation donné au plan et plus globalement la manière suivant laquelle a été représenté le tissu urbain. Pour les deux niveaux de lecture, il s'agit aussi de constater et d'interpréter l'absence d'éléments. La relative fréquence de mention d'éléments a été ici considérée comme une trame d'analyse et d'exploration prioritaire.

Pour l'analyse du genre et de la signification symbolique des bâtiments et autres éléments essentiels de l'architecture de la ville, nous avons effectué un recensement des bâtiments, des espaces publics de la ville ainsi que des éléments naturels dessinés par les élèves. Quatre catégories ont été définies: (1) Les éléments traditionnels et archéologiques, en bref ce qu'on appelle traditionnellement patrimoine culturel; (2) Les éléments religieux; (3) Les éléments quotidiens et actuels, y compris les éléments de la fonction publique; (4) Les éléments naturels, le paysage.

En ce qui concerne les bâtiments et les lieux qui rappellent le passé historique de la ville et auxquels ses habitants attribuent une certaine valeur, il ressort de l'analyse de cette première série de croquis, que les élèves grecs les repèrent aisément et mentionnent souvent en priorité des bâtiments dotés d'une telle valeur symbolique. Les Arènes et le Théâtre Romain apparaissent le plus souvent, sans doute parce qu'ils sont le plus impressionnant (les Arènes) ou le plus familier (le théâtre antique). Mais en même temps il n'existe pas une seule référence sur les croquis à la Route Romaine. A première vue peut-être puisque elle est peu spectaculaire, ou encore trop difficile à intégrer dans un plan de la ville, de par sa localisation à la périphérie de la ville. Peu d'élèves dessinent le Musée Réattu qui est un musée d'art moderne, pourtant explicitement désigné lors de la présentation panoramique de la ville et pendant la visite en car de la ville. Une mention particulière y avait également été fait lors de l'excursion de la journée. Ce premier dessin ils le font d'ailleurs dans la salle éducative de ce Musée.

En ce qui concerne les éléments religieux, les élèves grecs semblent les repérer aussi aisément que les éléments précédents. Des églises, marquées du croix comme la Cathédrale St. Trophime et le Cloître St Trophime, sont repérables dans la majorité des croquis. On remarque que le nombre de représentation des églises est supérieur à celui de la Mairie.

En éléments architecturaux actuels de la ville figurent dans les dessins notamment les bâtiments déjà visités par les élèves grecs, comme le collège-lycée Frédéric Mistral, leur hôtel, ou encore des maisons et des rues limitrophes à ceux-ci. A deux reprises les élèves ont dessiné avec humour une cabine téléphonique d'où ils communiquent avec leurs familles. Enfin, à deux cas ont représenté un MacDonald et un immeuble de plus de dix étages. Il s'agit là d'éléments qui peuvent en effet particulièrement impressionner les élèves d'une petite ville grecque de province, où ni l'un ni l'autre n'existent. Reste à comprendre pourquoi on ne les retrouve que dans deux des vingt-sept dessins.

Le Rhône est représenté comme un élément dominant dans le plan de la ville élaboré par les élèves, ce qui correspond assez bien à la réalité. Sa topographie par rapport à la ville est souvent saisi avec beaucoup de vérité. Mais on peut aussi dire que la rivière impressionne les élèves. Eurotas est par rapport au Rhône une toute petite rivière et on ne retrouve, par ailleurs, nulle part en Grèce une rivière d'une telle largeur. La plupart des élèves la dépeignent avec de vives couleurs. Certains élèves notent son nom en français. On constate d'ailleurs plus généralement que nombre d'élèves s'efforcent, avec succès, d'écrire les noms des lieux, monuments ou sites en français.

Hors d'une deuxième phase, qui se déroule le dernier jour de leur rencontre à Arles, il a été demandé aux élèves, français et grecs, de dessiner de nouveau la ville d'Arles et d'indiquer une promenade qu'ils proposeraient à un(e) ami(e) pour lui faire connaître la ville et de marquer par ordre de priorité les lieux à visiter. Avec ce deuxième série de dessins nous visions à relever leur degré d'attachement affectif avec les espaces et les bâtiments de la ville, qu'ils connaissent maintenant depuis une semaine. Il devait aussi permettre d'établir une comparaison avec la première série de croquis et ainsi de faire des interprétations sur la genèse de la représentation de la ville.

Vingt élèves grecs sur les vingt-sept proposent comme point de départ de leur promenade imaginaire le Rhône, qui reste donc omniprésent dans les dessins. Le deuxième lieu de départ le plus fréquemment choisi, est le Musée Réattu. Les élèves de Sparte n'avaient en principe jamais visité de musée d'Art Moderne, ils se sont, donc, familiarisés avec le lieu, puisque nombre des activités éducatives de la semaine y ont été réalisées.

Les autres lieux indiqués sur les croquis des élèves grecs concernent notamment et presque exclusivement les monuments qu'ils ont visité et étudié, notamment le Théâtre Antique, les Arènes, l'Eglise St Trophime et l'Hippodrome. Ceux-ci apparaissent dans un ordre relativement aléatoire. Des préférences individuelles dominent.

Les choix quant à la fin de la promenade imaginée sont aussi relativement différenciés. Quelques élèves choisissent comme point final de la promenade le

point de départ, donc notamment la Rhône ou le Musée Réattu. Les autres choix sont disparates. Dans deux cas la promenade s'achève au Super Marché.

L'analyse des croquis prête à deux autres constats. Premièrement, lors de l'analyse tant des dessins de la 2ème phase que ceux de la 1ère phase, on observe le phénomène de la transposition, notamment au sujet du plan de la ville. Avec ce terme nous désignons la transposition des éléments cognitifs de leurs ville à une autre ville. Ainsi, si Arles est caractérisée par un tissu urbain labyrinthique, dans bien des cas les élèves grecs ont dessiné Arles selon le mode-archétype ippodamien de Sparte. Deuxièmement, dans toutes les descriptions des élèves grecs transparait nettement leur tentative d'utiliser la langue française pour indiquer les noms des lieux et des monuments (ou même leur propre nom) et ils y parviennent pratiquement dans tous les cas. Ce phénomène peut être interprété comme une familiarisation des élèves grecs avec un autre alphabet en dehors du grec, le latin, qui se présente comme une tendance du groupe des élèves grecs à étendre leurs connaissances.

## Les élèves Français dissinent Sparte

La collecte des dessins des élèves français, lors de leur visite d'une semaine à Sparte deux mois après la rencontre à Arles, a été effectuée selon les mêmes critères que celles des élèves grecs. Pour leur interprétation nous avons eu recours aux catégories d'analyse déjà indiquées.

Lors du premier jour de leur visite, les élèves français ont été conduits au dernier étage du plus haut immeuble de Sparte. Avec des plans de la ville à la main, ils ont été confrontés avec le panorama de la ville et ses environs. On leur a indiqué divers points de repère d'ordre culturel (bâtiments, églises, mairie, place centrale) et naturel (montagnes, rivière, direction de la mer) afin qu'ils s'orientent. Avant de faire leurs dessins, ils ont encore eu l'occasion de faire un tour de la ville.

Dans cette première série de dessins, les élèves français représentent Sparte quasi exclusivement à travers des éléments modernes et actuels. Ils ne 'voient' à première vue dans la ville presque rien d'autre que des rues (avec des taxis rouges), des immeubles d'habitations (les *polikatikia*, qui dominent en effet l'architecture urbaine), des palmiers. Il y a une tendance à intégrer dans le dessin des éléments dont ils imaginent l'existence à Sparte où dans ses environs directs, mais qui n'existent pas en réalité: aéroport, port, terrain de golf, piscine, hippodrome. De cette manière ils renforcent leur idée d'une ville plutôt moderne et fonctionnelle. On peut aussi penser que les écoliers français identifient Sparte et son environnement avec une ambiance de vacance, d'autant plus qu'il fait un temps splendide.



Cinq petits français intègrent dans leur plan de Sparte un cimetière et dans un cas deux cimetières. Par contre, ils n'incorporent que très rarement des églises dans leurs dessins, quatre élèves sur vingt-cinq. Un élève dessine un mosqué, qui pourtant n'existe pas à Sparte. Les églises orthodoxes, de par leur hauteur modeste, sont-ils des points de repères visuels peu évidents? Existe-il une difficulté à saisir leur forme architecturale? Enfin, tandis que des éléments archéologiques apparaissent peu, on retrouve dans presque tous les dessins une intégration des éléments naturels, notamment des montagnes, des arbres, palmiers, orangers, et des rivières. Quatorze élèves français donnent dans leur dessin une place importante à la Mairie, sans qu'une mention spéciale y ait été faite au cours de la première journée.

A la fin de leur visite à Sparte, il a été demandé également aux élèves français de dessiner une promenade imaginaire dans cette ville. De l'analyse de cette deuxième série de dessins, ressortent, en bref, les éléments suivants:

1. La représentation de la ville s'enrichit encore d'avantage d'éléments du paysage environnant, comme si les élèves lisaient la ville à travers notamment ses environs.
2. Le point de départ de la promenade imaginée est le plus souvent fixé soit sur la place centrale, où se trouve la Mairie, soit à l'hôtel où ils ont été logés et qui est donc pour eux un des lieux les plus familiers de la ville, l'autre étant les classes de l'école primaire là où ils ont eu des sessions de travail.
3. Le nombre de lieux que les écoliers proposent de visiter est singulièrement plus réduit que celui proposé par les élèves grecs à Arles.

Il y a ici aussi lieu à deux remarques plus synthétiques. Premièrement, la présence du phénomène de transposition, déjà observé dans les dessins des élèves grecs concernant Arles, se répète ici. Pour donner un exemple, même lorsque quelques élèves français reprennent dans leurs dessins les principes essentiels du strict quadrillage qui marque la morphologie de Sparte depuis sa refondation en 1834, ils n'y ajoutent pas moins, à l'intérieur des quartiers, des reflets d'une ville organique, avec des ruelles et sentiers plus sinueux, comme à Arles. Deuxièmement, aucun élève français n'a intégré des lettres de l'alphabet grec dans ses dessins et ils n'ont pas non plus écrit leur nom en grec.

### **Quelques réflexions**

1. La représentation sociale qu'un groupe de personnes forme sur une ville qu'il visite pour la première fois, est influencée par la représentation qu'il porte avec lui de sa propre ville. Les élèves grecs et français, en voyant et en dessinant la ville de l'autre, la lisent aussi, en partie, à travers leur propre ville. Autrement

dit, ils tentent de saisir le nouveau en ayant recours à certains éléments centraux ou principes organisateurs du déjà connu. Cela nous a aussi permis de relever la présence d'éléments absents de leur propre ville, aussi longtemps qu'ils s'imposent d'une manière visuellement forte (le Rhône à Arles; la place centrale ou l'Avenue centrale à Sparte).

2. Dans les deux cas, les écoliers intègrent, à des degrés divers, des éléments du passé historique des deux villes dans leurs représentations de la ville contemporaine. Cela est notamment vrai pour les grecs dans leurs dessins d'Arles, mais on les retrouve aussi dans la deuxième série de dessins des français, une fois qu'ils ont découvert par promenades, visites et travaux pratiques les racines de la ville, qui restaient, au premier regard, largement inaperçues. Rappelons que le programme éducatif qui encadrait les deux rencontres portait essentiellement sur l'évolution historique de deux villes, ce qui impliquait donc un travail d'influence directe, du moins à court terme, sur leurs représentations. Néanmoins, il paraît bien que les enfants ont aussi un 'besoin' plus général de trouver ou d'inventer des éléments historiques de la ville qui permettent de la comprendre dans sa genèse. Que ce 'besoin' de vouloir encrer la représentation de façon historique soit plus fortement senti face à des villes où l'héritage culturel est plus manifeste ou plus direct nous semble évident.

3. Une différence apparaît entre les deux groupes d'élèves en ce qui concerne le repérage et le placement des bâtiments chargés symboliquement et plus précisément de caractère religieux. Les élèves grecs 'voient', 'se rappellent' plus facilement les églises romanes d'Arles, que leurs collègues français les églises orthodoxes de Sparte, ou les églises byzantines de Mystra, étant donné que Mystra entre souvent dans leurs dessins sur Sparte. En revanche, les écoliers français semblent tenir le cimetière actuel de la ville comme un élément incontournable. Dans leur représentation de la ville, il apparaît en effet dans nombre de leurs dessins. Or, ils ne l'ont jamais visité. Les grecs, par contre, ne semblent pas porter un intérêt particulier aux cimetières. Dans leurs dessins d'Arles, ils n'en font mention qu'après la visite du cimetière paleo-chrétien d'Alischamps. A la suite d'interviews nous avons même appris qu'un grand nombre d'élèves grecs ignore le lieu où se trouve le cimetière de leur propre ville. Comment peut-on interpréter ce genre d'éléments? Le repérage facile des églises, traduit-il une présence plus forte d'une instruction religieuse chez les grecs? Le fait qu'ils ne répèrent pas les cimetières peut-il être interpréter comme l'expression d'un souci de la famille grecque de 'protéger' l'enfant de la confrontation avec la mort? Le regard indifférent ou surpris des élèves français devant les églises orthodoxes en Grèce, et en même temps la représentation minutieuse d'un cimetière à Sparte qu'ils n'ont jamais visité expriment-ils une instruction civique que religieuse qui intègre les éléments 'utiles' pour le fonctionnement de la ville et de la communauté?

4. Dans le même sens va la comparaison concernant la présence de la Mairie dans les dessins de deux groupes. Pour les français, la Mairie semble être un bâtiment central et dominant de la ville. Tandis que chez les élèves grecs la Mairie d'Arles ne reçoit pas une telle attention.

5. Une différenciation s'observe également au sujet de l'intégration des éléments contemporains de la ville dans les représentations des élèves. Les élèves français intègrent d'avantage d'éléments quotidiens actuels dans leurs dessins que les grecs. Tant dans les dessins des élèves grecs sur Arles comme dans leurs dessins sur leur propre ville, dominent des références aux monuments historiques et religieux alors que des éléments actuels apparaissent rarement dans leurs dessins. Les élèves grecs semblent donc particulièrement sensibles aux éléments de l'héritage culturel, les "valeurs sûres", comme elles sont imposées par la société, par l'éducation et par la famille. Les français constatent que Sparte actuelle est une ville moderne où la riche histoire est certes présente, mais elle se trouve soit sous la ville, soit loin (Mystra, Menelaion) ou moins loin de la ville (théâtre ancien), mais toujours hors morphologie contemporaine. Dans leurs dessins ils renvoient à la ville, l'image d'une fracture historique bien réelle. Les spartiates, avec leur rapport compliqué avec le passé, trouvent à Arles une ville qui, au moins dans le présent, garde apparemment plus de trace du passé. L'intégration des éléments entièrement neufs caractérise particulièrement les tentatives des élèves grecs qui se servent de l'alphabet français pour noter les dénominations sur le plan imaginaire d'Arles.

Le présent texte ne prétend pas à donner plus qu'un bref bilan d'une recherche en cours. Ainsi, ne sont pas pris en compte dans cette présentation, les autres matériels d'enquête, récupérés durant ces deux rencontres et qui peuvent singulièrement enrichir les interprétations, à savoir les dessins des élèves français sur Arles, les dessins des élèves grecs sur Sparte, les textes écrits par les deux groupes sur les deux villes et les informations obtenues grâce à des entretiens ponctuels avec les élèves sur leurs dessins. Mais avec les matériaux traités ici, nous disposons déjà d'éléments suffisants pour montrer la richesse potentielle de ce genre d'approche méthodologique pour une interprétation systématique et une analyse comparée du processus de genèse des représentations sociales de la ville, ainsi que de leurs dimension symbolique et imaginaire. Ils nous permettent, enfin, de suivre le processus de genèse des représentations d'un groupe défini et d'aborder la question de son identité culturelle.

## Notes

- 1 C'est aussi la définition donnée par la Direction du Patrimoine Culturel, Ministère Français de la Culture et de la Francophonie.
- 2 Ce programme éducatif était financé par l'E.E., la Mairie de Sparte et d'Arles, la Région de Laconie et la Direction du Patrimoine du Ministère de la Culture français. La 5ème Direction des Antiquités Byzantines (à Sparte) lui a également apporté son soutien.
- 3 Dans la mesure qu'il s'agit ici de présenter quelques réflexions théoriques, le contenu du programme éducatif ne sera pas plus analysé. Celui-ci a d'ailleurs fait l'objet d'une présentation lors du colloque de la Chambre Technique de Grèce (TEE) en décembre 1993, sous le titre, 'Ville-Lieux de Mémoire: une expérience pédagogique avec des élèves de Sparte et d'Arles'.
- 4 En Grèce, le terme *xartis-skitso* s'est imposé comme le plus approprié. Cf. P. Kosmopoulos, *op.cit.*

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## FROM THE FIELD

### PEACE EDUCATION IN ISRAEL – ENCOUNTER AND DIALOGUE

DOV DAROM

*Abstract – On the background of deep feelings of animosity, fear and distrust between Jews and Arabs, a number of educational projects are sponsored in Israel aimed at furthering co-existence and peace. This paper is a report of one such project - Children Teaching Children (CTC). The CTC Project is based on a series of face-to-face encounters between two parallel junior high school classes - one from an Arab school, the other from a Jewish school, stretching over a period of two years. The project is based on principles of humanistic education, stressing inter-personal dialogue, experiential learning on affective as well as cognitive levels, furthering values of empathy, acceptance, pluralism and democracy. Some of the outcomes of CTC are described, both on the basis of pre/post measurements, as well as participant observation methods. These outcomes point to considerable changes of attitude in both groups, such as a decrease in feelings of mutual strangeness, alienation and hatred, a better understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the pain it inflicts on both sides, an intensification of feelings of similarity between children and of optimism for the future.*

#### Introduction

**I**ssues of peace and war are not determined in the arena of education. Political, economic, military and even religious interests are far more powerful than 'mere education'. Nevertheless, education can have an impact on young people's ideas, views, beliefs and behavior vis-à-vis questions such as stereotypic thinking, prejudice, delegitimation and even dehumanisation of the 'enemy', violence, the sanctity of human life and others. These are prerequisites of conflict situations and, as such, exert paramount influence on the state of mind of the people involved.

In Israel, some considerable experience has accumulated in the sphere of Peace Education. Ever since its foundation almost 50 years ago – and for many decades before that – Israel has been involved in a severe conflict with its Arab neighbors. This conflict is characterised not only by bloody military clashes and widespread terror, but also by frames of mind in which each side conceives the other as the enemy, as untrustworthy, treacherous, bent on 'our'

total destruction and conceives itself as the victim with the monopoly of truth and justice on its own side.

*It is this polarised 'black and white' mentality that efforts of Peace Education attempt to cope with.*

Let us go back in time a few years, before the courageous and wise leaders in our region - Rabin and Peres of Israel, King Hussein of Jordan and Arafat of the Palestinians – began their dialogue and signed partial or total peace agreements. Before this new and hopeful era, the major contact between Arabs and Jews was inside the borders of the state of Israel. Both groups were citizens of Israel, but nevertheless the atmosphere that prevailed was one of mutual prejudice, suspicion, distrust and hostility. Jewish stereotypic thinking considered Arabs as blood-thirsty terrorists, whereas the major Arab stereotype of Jews was one of brutal soldiers and settlers, denying the Palestinian people their land and independence. These stigmas are closely linked with the double role of Israeli Arabs – that of members of the Palestinian nation and that of citizens of the state of Israel.

Much has been written in Israel on the potentials and difficulties of direct Jewish-Arab encounters. Here are some of the major considerations proposed:

1. Inter-group tension breeds negative psychological frames of mind. Some of their direct expressions are stereotypic thinking, prejudices, attitudes (and behaviors) of discrimination, de-legitimisation of the 'other', hatred (Bar and Bargal, 1995). In an inter-group meeting, Shalvi (1996) said: 'One of the great challenges for education now, for both peoples, is to create a human version of each other to replace those stereotypes. This brings me back to the need for direct encounter, because there is no other way to break down stereotypes.' In the same meeting Landau (1996) said: 'After decades of dehumanisation, the challenge before parents and teachers today, in both Israel and Palestine, is to find ways to re-humanise the former enemy. We need to develop effective pedagogical methods of confronting the negative stereotypes that have developed because of distance and estrangement between the two peoples,' .... 'Simulation exercises and (in mixed encounters) role reversals can be helpful, if facilitated by trained, sensitive group leaders.'
2. Bargal (1992) describes workshops 'for improvement of inter-group relations and minimising prejudice and discrimination'. These are based on theoretical and applied models in fields such as group dynamics, attitude changes in small groups, group therapy, and problem-solving groups (Lewin, 1946; Lippett, 1949; Rogers, 1983).

3. Bar and Idi (1995) wrote as follows: 'The encounter is one of the channels of political education, by means of an inter-group process, that focuses on personal and educational growth of the individual in confrontation with the *Jewish-Arab conflict which involves two peoples (in contrast to the erroneous conception, widespread among Jews, that this is a 'Palestinian problem')*.'

'The aim of the encounter is often described as dealing with the inter-cultural and inter-ethnic conflict towards the development of a pluralistic culture, based on the legitimisation of the Other and on respect for his culture'. (Director General of the Ministry of Education, 1.3.1984.)

4. Bar and Idi (1995) sum up their experiences of many years in the field of Arab-Jewish encounters:
- The encounter is the means not merely to talk about the conflictual issues but to 'live' them directly and concretely.
  - In the live encounter, it is possible to learn (i.e. experience and get to know) what we do not know about ourselves and about the Other, including emotions, attitudes, prejudices, stereotypes (of ourselves and of the other).
  - By means of the various structured and unstructured activities, the participants are exposed to meaningful experiences vis-à-vis concrete individuals in the other group. These confront the individual participant with his/her ability to internalise complex reality.
  - The encounter enables individuals to confront the gap between good intentions, statements and headlines in which they believe and their ability to experience the direct implications (on feelings, behaviour and attitudes) of the complex reality on themselves, their group and the other group. The participant experiences the tension of polarity, which is part and parcel of the ability to live with the conflict: thoughts and attitudes/emotions and behaviour; closing oneself/opening up; similarities/differences; uniformity/pluralism; one-dimensional perception/complex multi-dimensional perception; specific/universal; one-sidedness/mutuality; harmony/conflict; empathic/judgemental; near/far; victim/aggressor; violence/dialogue; powerlessness and despair/hope.

Against such a background, who are the agents for peace education in Israel?

1. The Ministry of Education established the 'Unit for Democracy and Co-existence'. This unit is active in producing curricular material dealing with relevant issues of democracy, peace and co-existence. It should be noted that the Ministry's initiative came after some public opinion research found



considerable correlation among Jewish high-school pupils between high hostility to Arabs and low commitment to principles of democracy.

2. Principals and teachers in high schools in general - and in the more progressive Kibbutz schools in particular - who are inspired by their own commitment to peace and education for peace.
3. A number of special institutions, such as the Van Leer Institute, the Adam Institute for Peace and Democracy, the Jewish-Arab 'Oasis for Peace' school and the 'Kibbutz Artzi' Kibbutz-Movement's Jewish-Arab Centre for Peace at Givat Haviva, whose programme 'Children Teaching Children' I am about to describe.

I became acquainted with this programme in the summer of 1993, when I was invited to facilitate a workshop at the summer meeting of Jewish and Arab teachers active in CTC. We worked together for 8 hours and for me this was a meaningful experience. I met a group of highly motivated people, profoundly committed to Arab-Jewish peace and co-existence, most of them beginning their second or third year in the project.

Ever since, I have been following their work, talking in depth to the project's leaders and recently attending a series of class room-encounters as a participant observer. I am writing this paper as an outside observer of CTC, appreciating their work but not actively involved in the project in any way.

'Children Teaching Children' - or CTC - began in 1987 with two classes. In 1996, it encompassed 28 schools, 38 classes, 80 teachers and 1500 pupils, mainly from junior high schools. This is a two-year programme, based on a series of regular encounters between two parallel classes - one from an Arab school and one from a Jewish school - pupils as well as teachers. These encounters are run on the following lines:

- Meetings of the teachers - once a fortnight for a complete school year (in the wake of an intensive joint learning experience during the summer);
- A short period of work in the original uni-national homerooms - in preparation for the real encounter;
- During most of the school year, the two parallel groups meet each other one week and meet in their separate home rooms the other week, each meeting lasting for two school lessons.

One of the unique features of the programme is the importance it attaches not only to the bi-national encounters but to the processing of the encounter

experience in the children's original homerooms. The present director of CTC thinks that 'the most important steps in reinforcing the lessons of CTC occur in the subsequent homeroom sessions, where the children process their impressions from the bi-national encounter, explore the complexity of their own identity and learn about the other side, while beginning better to understand themselves (Dichter, 1996). Bar and Idi (1995) add that the uni-national home-room sessions enable the children 'to release pressure, to express more freely their feelings of disappointment, anger, and confusion in a climate of support and reinforcement'. I was told by the coordinator of one of the mixed groups, that their joint teachers' group has decided to have bi-national encounters only once a month, which act as a stimulus for the in-depth processing taking place in the three subsequent homeroom activities (Feldesh, 1996).

The objectives of the CTC programme focus on creating personal acquaintance among pupils as well as teachers, promoting deeper awareness of the complexities of the Arab Israeli conflict as well as of each other's daily existence, internalisation of pluralistic values, and deepening the commitment to democratic principles.

It should be stressed that special attention is paid to the educational climate of the meetings. CTC stresses :

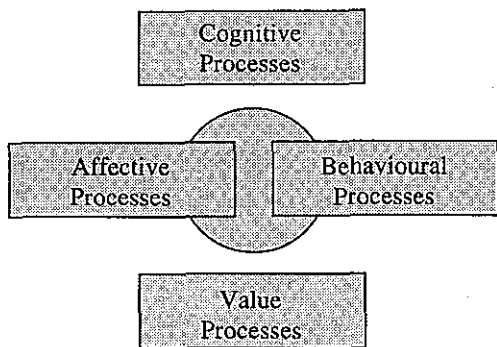
- the promotion of an educational environment conducive to openness and personal growth of both teachers and pupils;
- the development of an inter-personal dialogue within the context of an ongoing conflict;
- the exploration of the two different group identities - one's own as well as the other's - and discovering similarities and differences in a supportive climate. This type of climate enables the participants to have meaningful insights of a personal, inter-personal and inter-group nature.

The programme is based on principles of Humanistic Education (Rogers, 1983; Combs, 1974). It is process-orientated and founded on Dialogue furthering experiential learning, combining personal and inter-personal emotional experiences, cognitive learning experiences as regards the cultural, social and political aspects of the conflict, confrontation with values dilemmas, dealing with values of empathy, acceptance, pluralism and democracy. Fig.1 represents such holistic learning processes, integrating cognitive, affective, values and behavioural domains (Darom, 1988).

The 'curriculum' of the programme is an on-going joint creation. 'The particular curriculum in CTC is to be tailored to the particular schools, teachers and pupils involved. In other words, beyond general guidelines and a given, rather

*FIGURE 1: Holistic learning – Interdependence of processes*

The value of holistic educational processes is derived directly from their humanistic nature. If education is to focus on human beings, then educators must relate to learners in their totality. Humans are not divided into separate compartments; rather, cognitive learning, emotional experiences, values and day-to-day behaviour are deeply intertwined in each learner. These factors mutually influence one another. Any educator who decides to relate selectively to portions of these spheres of humanness is likely to render the educational process less effective.



flexible, framework the programme is created locally in the team-meetings, in response to the needs of the pupils and to incidents within or between the classes. The essence of CTC is the on-going creation of an educational programme based on dialogue between its participants' (Hartman, 1994).

The teachers' meetings are in fact an ongoing workshop, processing the issues, needs and difficulties experienced in the previous childrens' encounters, and planning future meetings accordingly. CTC has resource handbooks but has no 'textbook' (Hartman, 1994). Needless to say, not all teachers can adapt themselves to this open approach to classroom activities. At all stages of the planning process, special emphasis is devoted to issues such as stereotypes and stereotypic thinking, conflict resolution, fears and anxieties on personal and group levels, self image.

What then are the guidelines of the programme?

1. Teachers adopt the role of group-facilitators. This is not always an easy process. It means finding new balances between democracy and hierarchy, between pupils' initiative and those of teachers, between openness allowing freer expression of emotions as opposed to traditional, primarily cognitive studying. (Many teachers – but not all - express their satisfaction at learning new methods and attitudes, which have a positive influence on their teaching far beyond CTC.

2. The on-going teachers' workshop, processing the encounters, planning future activities and deepening their own inter-personal trust and cooperation are the core of the programme.
3. Uni-national and bi-national activities play equally important roles in the total process.
4. The encounters take place in groups smaller than total classrooms. Usually the two parallel classes are each divided into three sub-groups (approximately 12 to 15 pupils) and the actual encounter takes place in the framework of two sub-groups – one from each national group.
5. The programme goes through a number of stages:
  - Introduction to the CTC programme
  - Beginning of acquaintance
  - Deepening of acquaintance
  - Group dynamics
  - Image of Self and Other; stereotypical thinking
  - Emotional barriers - prejudice and fear
  - Conflict resolution
  - Summing up
6. Most meetings are based on structured, experiential activities and their verbal processing. These are complemented by texts, films, as well as games, 'fun' activities and visiting each others schools and homes.
7. Much of the work is done in small groups of 2, 3, or 4 individuals.

There are a number of dilemmas continually facing CTC:

- To what extent should political issues of the conflict be dealt with explicitly? The balance of integrating between the two extremes - emphasis on personal and inter-personal matters as opposed to a study-course in political aspects of the conflict - is not always easy to find.
- Should participation be voluntary or should the meetings take place with classes in their entirety? The first has obvious short-term advantages but what is the point of addressing only the previously convinced. The second alternative is more difficult, but it would bring the message of peace to wider populations in their organic class-rooms.

- How can the language difficulty be overcome? Most Arabs have a considerable knowledge of Hebrew, but only few Jews speak Arabic. If the language of the encounter is Hebrew, all participants understand what is said, but the lack of symmetry between Arab minority and Jewish majority is reinforced.

Finally, let us consider some of the outcomes of these encounters (Bar and Bargal, 1995; Bar and Idi, 1995). In pre- and post-programme measurements as well as comparisons with control groups, the results were as follows:

1. Both sides report an increase in inter-personal acquaintance, knowledge and awareness of relevant issues, and a decrease in feelings of mutual strangeness and alienation. On the other hand there was no significant increase in interaction outside the programme.
2. Both sides gain a more realistic conception of the conflict in its complexity. They report a better understanding of the severity of the conflict, which is painful to both national groups; a significant rise in the legitimization that each side grants to the national aspirations of the other; a growing awareness that each group not only suffers pain but also inflicts pain on the other; a better realisation in the Jewish group that they themselves play an active part in the conflict.
3. A significant decrease was measured in feelings of personal and group hatred towards the other national group.
4. In addition, there was a rise in feelings of optimism towards finding positive solutions to the conflict, a rise in feelings of similarity with the other group and a decrease in misgivings and anxiety as to future encounters between Arabs and Jews.
5. The ongoing CTC programme is more effective in bringing about positive change than programmes conducting one-time encounter workshops, usually lasting for about three days.

These are some of the outcomes on the macro-research level. I should like to add some of my observations on the micro level representing one particular CTC unit.

8th grade children, at the conclusion of the programme were asked 'What did you learn about yourself? What did you learn about others?' Here are some of their answers:

### About myself

'Not to reach hasty conclusions before examining all aspects.'

'To be open to different points of view.'

'That I am able to associate with children from diverse cultural background.'

'That I can freely express my thoughts, as well as understand and even agree with the other side.'

'Not to hate human beings.'

'To listen to opinions different from my own.'

'Some of my prejudices have disappeared.'

### About others

'To break stigmas on others.'

'I have met Arabs with whom I found a common language.'

'Not only Jews suffer pain inflicted by Arabs, but Jews also inflict pain on Arabs.'

'All in all, they are quite similar to us.'

'They are eager for good relations with us (just as we are).'

'They have fears just like us. It is a good feeling that 'we are not alone in this boat.'

'I learned about Jewish women: they are not as free as I had thought previously.'

Some children summed up their learnings in a more poetic style. One girl wrote 'CTC is a flower, and we watered it'. One of the boys came to a very realistic conclusion: 'There is a crack in the wall, but the wall still exists'. One kid said: 'This encounter should only be a beginning. Now I want to meet other groups, such as new immigrants from Ethiopia and Russia, religious youth, and other sectors of Israeli society, that I have – as yet – not encountered.' Some children related to two specially meaningful encounters, both in extremely painful circumstances – one after Prime Minister Rabin was murdered and one after a particularly severe Palestinian terrorist massacre.

At an end-of-the-year summing up meeting, the teachers also asked themselves: 'What did we learn about our pupils? What did we learn about ourselves? What did we learn about our partners?' Here are some of the points that were made:

- The kids are open, eager for new experiences, motivated to meet children 'from the other group'.
- They learned to listen to each other, to accept people different from themselves.
- The personal and inter-personal issues were more meaningful to them than the political issues.
- Relating to stereotypes gave way to relating to human beings. Our own team-work – our creating a real support group – was highly important to us.
- The key to positive relationships – in education and otherwise – is openness and sincerity.

One of the Jewish teachers made this poignant comment. 'Some of our emphases, concepts and norms of behaviour are different from theirs. But then we somehow expect them to be similar to us. For instance at one of the joint meetings at the Arab school, the rooms were not ready, the crayons were not prepared – things that we call 'bad organisation'. On the other hand, the meal they prepared for us, their warm hospitality were just wonderful. At the time I was angry, but in time I have processed my anger and become more accepting. I am learning to accept differences and rid myself of unrealistic expectations for similarity ('they should be more like us').

This expresses a higher level of encounter and dialogue. The present director of CTC, Dichter, told me that the coordinators of CTC are at present working intensively on problems such as these. How can we turn the encounters into in-depth processes of accepting diversity – even antagonism – without which real partnership is quite impossible? How much leadership am I prepared to share? In other words – our aim is no longer mere 'co existence' but real 'co-living'.

There can be two diametrically opposed approaches to peace education. One would be – as one of the CTC activists told me after a visit to North Ireland – along the lines of 'Good fences make good neighbours'. The other is furthering encounter and dialogue, aimed at 'rehumanising' the other side of the conflict. This second direction may be meaningful not only in Israel but in many of the other warring areas on our troubled globe.

Let me conclude with an anecdote quoted by Landau (1996). 'Shuki told a story about his experience in the Lebanon war in 1982, when his unit was ordered to clear a Palestinian refugee camp of PLO fighters. Shuki and his comrades fought their way into the camp, shooting as they went, taking care not to harm civilians. Suddenly two refugees came in their direction carrying an object and yelling at the soldiers. Shuki and his buddies screamed back at them, urging them to get out of the way. Since the two men were only about 20 yards distant, the soldiers could quickly make out that they were carrying a crate of

Pepsi Cola and could decipher their screams as invitations to have a drink. Shuki later reflected: 'If they had been 200 yards away, we would have shot at them and been glad to hit them.' And he asked: 'How far away does a human being have to be before he becomes a target? How close must he be before we see he is human?'

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**Dov Darom** founded the Social Education programme at Oranim and directed it for many years. He taught, coordinated workshops, and wrote on topics such as social education, humanistic education, kibbutz education, classroom climate, interpersonal communication, values education. He was a member of Kibbutz Yassur, the father of five children and grandfather of ten children. Shortly before this article went to press, the editor received a note from Dov Darom's wife with the sad news that her husband had passed away. Shalom, Dov!

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## BOOK REVIEWS

Nawal El Saadawi, *The Nawal El Saadawi Reader*. London, Zed Books, 1997, 286 pp., ISBN 1 85649 513 2 hb, 1 854649 0 pb

Nawal El Saadawi has been a very controversial person for most of her life, not only in her native Egypt but also in the West. This book will not change her reputation, but it should make her views available to a far greater audience than she usually reaches. The book consists of an autobiographical introduction and twenty-two essays arranged in six sections: Gendering North-South Politics; Women and Health; Women, Islam, and Fundamentalisms; Orientalizing Women; Decolonizing the Imagination; and Women Organizing for Change. Many of these essays are speeches given all over the world which have not been previously published. Some essays are articles previously published in newspapers, women's magazines, and academic journals. Some have been abridged, others have been revised, updated and even lengthened. More than half of them were written during the 1990's, and all but one of the others written during the 1980's.

A unifying theme across these essays is the author's call for a New World Order, one which is based on peace, justice, freedom, equality, and democracy for all the states and for all the people in the world. It is a call for and end to all forms of injustice. El Saadawi demonstrates a deep understanding of the international stratification of states and the political hegemony of the United States as well as of the international patriarchal capitalist global economic system controlled by multinational corporations in the North. She also provides great insight into how political and economic exploitation of the South by privileged elites in the North have affected the everyday life of people in the South, particularly in the Middle East and Africa. Structural adjustment programs imposed on poor countries by the World Bank are called "*potential economic genocide*" by El Saadawi because they are "*...breaking down everything that protects the weaker*" and providing "*protection when necessary for the stronger...Double standards have always been used to defend privilege*" (p120).

El Saadawi provides a socialist feminist theoretical analysis which is grounded in the praxis of her everyday life. Her words speak to us as individuals and make sense to us as individuals. She is candid, frank, honest, and scathingly sarcastic at times in her unravelling of many paradoxes to unveil the political and economic interests behind them. She speaks about the need to unveil the minds of people in the North, not just the faces of women in the South. As a psychiatrist and a feminist social activist, she demonstrates command of understanding social reality which

defies the artificial division of it in the disciplines of academia. *"The International Information Order is working together with the International Economic Order to veil the minds of men and women in the South as well as in the North"* (p138). The examples she uses are simple but powerful, such as her recounting of an incident in which her wise but illiterate grandmother was mistreated by an ignorant but supposedly well-educated intellectual; and the paradox of Americans being fiercely patriotic and nationalistic but puzzled that others feel the same way about their own countries — do Americans believe that their country is the only country worth being proud of? She also reminds us that *"women are [portrayed as] bodies without a mind" in the North as well as in the South because "veiling and nakedness are two sides of the same coin"* (p140).

Nawal El Saadawi is exceedingly insightful in her debunking of postmodernist intellectualism. She is scathing in her criticism of intellectuals who use post-modernist identity politics to deflect the focus of analysis of conflicts, particularly in the Middle East, from political and economic exploitation to culture, particularly religion: *"...as often happens, this economic and political conflict remains hidden under the guise of a religious or cultural conflict between the North and the South"* (p140). *"Swords and words are used to divide the people [of the world] in the name of diversity, while the neocolonialists globalize in NATO or in transnational corporations"* (p168). She characterizes such activity as *"a form of cultural fundamentalism"* (p166) and constitutes *"intellectual terrorism"* (p140) and she reminds us that these strategies serve to unify those who are privileged at the top while fragmenting others at the bottom (p121). She reminds us that *"...individual identity or individual responsibility is inseparable from social identity or social responsibility..."* (p166).

*A philosopher who is not an activist in a struggle ends up as an empty shell: as a shelf of books in academia. S/he struggles in closed rooms, using words to fence with other users of words. S/he has a love-hate relationship with poor oppressed women and men who are struggling to live. S/he worships them, calls them the "subaltern", glorifies their authentic identity or culture, but at the same time looks down upon them, considers them as docile or struggling bodies unable to produce philosophy or as local activists but not as global thinkers. S/he abolishes subaltern philosophies and replaces them on the global intellectual scene; s/he becomes the philosopher or the subaltern who knows more about them than they know about themselves.* (p169)

*Both postmodernists and tourists consume the other or use the other as a tool for consumption. To them, everything (including the subaltern) becomes a commodity to be used materially, culturally, or intellectually. Multiculturalism, diversity, cultural difference, religious difference, ethnic*

*difference, authenticity, specificity are the new commodities. The postmodernists even go back to glorifying blood relations, feudal patriarchal family ties and tribal societies. Like pagans, they worship the gods or statues which they have created out of stone or words or images...We Egyptian women are considered ignorant of our culture. We have to be guided by American experts. (p170)*

While in exile teaching at Duke University, El Saadawi felt silenced and marginalized, though in a different way than she had been in Egypt. She writes about the alienation and difficulty of trying to teach creativity and dissidence, which she believes cannot be learned from books or other media. *"The relation between self and others becomes simple and clear when we struggle, but it becomes very complex, very vague, very difficult to understand when we read books or listen to lectures, especially by so-called postmodern philosophers...We are drown in these words; we are suffocated by them. It is a zero sum game of words in which you lose your power to understand"* (p163). *"Thinking that is isolated from real life is not part of the struggle"* (p169). Rather, *"[w]e need to discover new ways of exposing the paradoxes or double meanings in the many new and old words that are endlessly repeated...[which] veil our brains with one myth after another"* (p160). According to El Saadawi, this can only be done through questioning our experiences in everyday life, *"...in the daily struggle against those [exploitative] powers globally, locally, and in the family"* (p160). Declaring that she has been a dissident since childhood, El Saadawi explains that being creative means becoming innovative, *"[d]iscovering new ways of thinking and acting, of creating a system based on more and more justice, freedom, love, and compassion...discover[ing] what others have not yet discovered"* (p160). For El Saadawi, *"struggle"* is dissident when it refers to action, but not when it is just a word, because *"...words do not change the systems of oppression and exploitation at any level"* (p164). She challenges us all to *"...direct a critical gaze at the self as well as at the other"* in this endeavor to liberate ourselves individually and collectively from oppression and exploitation (p165). El Saadawi believes that:

*Dissidence is a natural phenomenon in human life. We are all born dissident and creative. But we lose our creativity and dissidence partially or wholly through education and the fear that we shall be punished here or in the hereafter. We live in fear and we die in fear. Dissident people liberate themselves from fear, and they pay a price for this process of liberation. The price may be high or low but there is a price to be paid. Non-dissident people pay a price, too: the price of subordination. So if we have to pay a price anyway, why not pay the price and be liberated? (p172-173)*

Adult educators will find ample food for thought here in reflecting on their own professional practice as well as on the dialectic between their own privileged positions in academia and the everyday life of most people in their local communities. El Saadawi takes us far beyond the postmodernist critique of critical adult education posited by Elizabeth Ellsworth, Freire's criticism of the ideology of individualism inherent in self-directed learning of modernist critical adult education which idealizes "self-liberation", and Habermas' naive concept of communicative action in the lifeworld. El Saadawi warns us to look beyond the self-serving ideologies of dominant and subordinated groups alike to recognize, understand, and challenge the exploitative social relations each of us experience in the concreteness of our everyday life and to recognize how we are all linked by global hegemonic forces centered in the privileged North.

Thus, education as a social institution is deeply entrenched in hegemonic practices. From kindergarten through post-graduate education, in public as well as private schools, educators are key players in the shaping of students' subjectivities but how many of these educators address the basic unfairness of the complex hierarchical organization of society, let alone their relative privilege in it? El Saadawi challenges us all to confront ourselves.

There is almost no subject left untouched in this collection of essays. El Saadawi is gifted at linking the personal with the public, the individual with the collectivity, the local with the national and the international, and the South with the North. She demonstrates intellectual rigor of analysis without sacrificing the affective understanding of human behavior rooted in real life experiences. In doing so, El Saadawi is able to reach all of us, regardless of our nationality, race, ethnicity, sex, class, religion, education, and occupation. This is, indeed, a book for all of us.

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**Sandra Chistolini, *I Sistemi Educativi nel Sud del Mondo. Mediterraneo e Medio Oriente* (Educational Systems in the South, the Mediterranean and the Middle East), Roma, Editrice Universitaria di Roma – La Goliardica, Roma, 180 pp, 1997, ISBN 88-8066-163-9 (pbk)**

Handling this skinny book, I am reminded of the book review section of a cultural journal that has been quite influential in Italy during the sixties and seventies, *Quaderni Piacentini*. It carried the headline *Da leggere; da non leggere* (*To be read, to be avoided*).

If the title raises expectations: *Educational Systems in the South of the World*, perplexities begin to develop when looking at the size (180 pages, just slightly bigger than those of this journal). Here comes the second line of the title to limit the scope to *Mediterranean and the Middle East*. Going through the introduction, we learn that the current volume is one of a series that will later cover: "*Africa, Asia, Central and Southern Americas, Australia and Oceania*".

Let me remark that "*South of the World*" is first of all a geographical notion. As such it can only refer to the Southern hemisphere. Not a single country located South of the Equator is examined here. The title is therefore inappropriate.

The expression is often used, however – and indeed mostly – as a metaphor opposed to a "North" that means "developed" countries (industrialised, well off, rich...). To be clear and synthetic: the OECD countries, the list of which includes Australia and New Zealand: all but "Northern", belonging to Oceania as much as Fiji, Tuvalu, Vanuatu... The list includes Japan, that I've always known to be an Asian country.

Let's leave it now, and focus on the subtitle. Around the Mediterranean proper there are 23 states (political units that are internationally recognised), plus two micro-states not bordering it but very close to it, plus one that is not internationally recognised. (Why should we not include in the Mediterranean area its protuberance, the Black Sea? This would add another half a dozen states bordering its waters). Confining ourselves to the Mediterranean proper, we find that less than half the countries are examined. Why? The author informs the reader that two previous books have dealt with the 12 (at the time) EU countries and another with 20 other countries of the "*North of the World*" i.e. (quote) "*EFTA, Canada, USA, CMEA*". By using acronyms the author clearly shows she is not referring to geographical notions. Why not use UNESCO criteria, then, to divide the world into regions? Does she know that the European regions would include the US, Canada and Israel? Does she know that there is no "*Middle East*" region? Has she heard of the Arab League, and of ALECSO?

The very notion of “*Middle East*” is all but clear cut (starting from the name itself, that often takes the form of “*Near East*” to refer more or less to the same area).

Looking at the list of countries chosen, the expression “*Arab States*” would have been less inappropriate, though Iran does not belong, however Islamic it is. (It is also true that the Berbers of Maghreb would be entitled to object to the habit of calling their countries “*Arab*”. All conventions are conventional, after all).

Let’s now go deeper into the book.

Among the 21 countries considered, four are presented with a closer look under the bombastic title *Four countries under the microscope*. (If the “microscopic” scrutiny can only produce an average of 20 pages per country, biblio-references included, what sort of tool a decent analysis would require?) *A shared multiethnic educational tradition*. Given that the author is here referring to Egypt, Israel, Tunisia and Turkey, the subtitle is puzzling, to say the least. Provided the same tradition is shared by the four countries (an assumption that would be hard to prove), why not include Cyprus, Malta, Morocco, Lebanon, Yemen... in the same set?

The presentation of each country begins with a “*Historical sketch*”. From these notes I’ve learned a lot! I have learnt, among other things, that during the Gulf war of 1991 Syria was, along with Egypt, a stronghold of the anti-Saddam coalition (p. 27, line 9). That the same year 1991 saw (p. 41, line 2 of the 3rd paragraph) “*the recognition of the State of Israel by the United Nations*” (who was Mr Netanyahu representing on 42nd street New York, in the eighties, then?) and later (September 1993): “*the mutual and official recognition of the State of Israel and the State of Palestine confederated with Jordan*” (sic!!!). Further on (p. 41, lines 4, 5, 6 of the 3rd paragraph) the reader can learn that “*During the 30 years of the British mandate the Jewish community organizes its own educational system, side by side with the Arab school system, as an answer to the partition of Palestine into two independent states.*” (Can anybody help me? So far, naive as I am, I had always regarded the notion of “independent state” as conflicting with that of “mandate” – remember Namibia before the independence, among others? –). I also thought I had understood that Palestinian “unrest” (to put it mildly) started with the Arab refusal to accept the partition into two independent states proposed by the UN half a century ago (November 1947). About Turkey I learned (p 86, 1st paragraph) that “*The attempt of Sultan Selim III (1789-1807) and Mahmoud II (1808-1839) did not succeed in restraining the crash of the Empire (1738-1914)*”. Did anybody ever hear of a crash lasting almost 70,000 days? No doubt there would be excellent reasons to sketch the history of the Ottoman empire as a background to contemporary Turkey. Yet the country as such has only been in existence since the end of World War I, and as a Republic since October 1923.

There would be no point in wasting further energy and time to list the pleasantries galore that we meet in this small book. Academe likes talking about scholarship. Scholarship? Should a student submit a report of this kind, s/he would face a clear rejection (or, in case of examination, a neat F). The ambition of the book being that of belonging to the field of Comparative Education (of which the author is lecturer), a question arises: what is Comparative Education? Should it not show at least the attempt of understanding the reasons behind the differences among things compared, a little bit beyond bare "description"?

Going back to my starting point and remembering *Quaderni Piacentini* the verdict is clear: *To be avoided.*

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**Paolo Freire (ed) with James W. Fraser, Donaldo Macedo, Tanya Mckinnon and William T. Stokes, *Mentoring the Mentor: A Critical Dialogue with Paulo Freire*, New York, Peter Lang Publishing, 334 pp, 1997, ISBN (pbk) 0-8204-3798-0.**

We all know publication dates can be misleading, but this is probably one of Paulo Freire's final books, albeit one he edited with others. I also suspect that most readers will understand it to be one of his final books. I begin with these comments because I think it is a pity that this is the case, even though the final chapter, Chapter 16, by Freire, is, in my opinion, one of the most important pieces he has written. I will return to this point and explain my main reasons later.

I am not going to detail each chapter; I will make general comments about what I consider the 'unfortunate' chapters. I will be a bit more specific about the few excellent, very good or very interesting chapters. Then I shall explain why I think Freire's chapter, 'A Response', is so important.

Chapter One, by Donaldo Macedo, is, in my opinion, very good, especially because he comes very close to saying explicitly that Freire's approach or philosophy (the terms I prefer) applies to all levels and sites of educational and political practice, ie. those practices which aim to serve the purpose of preparing people to collectively create a just and more humane world.

Chapter Two, by Marilyn Frankenstein, which is about learning and teaching mathematics in mutuality, is very interesting. I wish I had a copy of it long ago for learning colleagues (students) to read, at least those who felt there were just some abstract areas in which the educator could not engage in critical pedagogy. Of course, I tried to share my thoughts that I did not think this was right; I wish I had my Marilyn Frankenstein to help my support my thoughts.

Michelle Fine's letter to Freire, Chapter Five, is very moving. It is so very intellectually and emotionally sincere. In the future, I would like to see a more in depth article from her, especially one which deals with the educator's and the learners', i.e. the learning/teaching groups', response to 'reading the world'.

Chapter Ten, by William Stokes, on teacher education, was better than many of the chapters, but it did not go far enough or deep enough to indicate what was his actual understanding of Freire's philosophy is.

James W. Fraser's Chapter, 'Love and History in the Work of Paulo Freire', Chapter Nine, is, in my opinion, excellent. I thought he was the only contributor (except Freire, of course) who expressed himself in a manner that indicated to

someone like me that here was another person who fully embraced intellectually, philosophically, and emotionally or spiritually Freire's philosophical approach to education/ politics/ life.

I also think Asgedet Stefanos' chapter on 'African Woman and Revolutionary Change...', Chapter Twelve, is excellent. The chapter is extremely interesting and indicates how Freire's philosophy can be embraced by researcher, the scholar, who seeks to educate.

The other chapters, I found in general, disappointing. A few did contain useful information on multiculturalism, anti-racism and feminism. But these nine chapters indicated little or no understanding of Freire. In fact, and I shall not name the authors, I thought some of the attempts to discuss Freire indicated a total lack of understanding. I was so shocked by this tendency that I turned to my Oxford English Dictionary to look up the meaning of mentor. I had to be certain my understanding was correct and it was.

Being a citizen of the U.S.A. (absent from there since 1973 ), I feel I can make the observation that Americans, i.e. those from the U.S.A., frequently alter the meaning of a word to suit the purpose of some current trend or practice.

According to my dictionary, a mentor is an 'experienced and trusted adviser'. Of course, Freire always has listened carefully and with humility to any criticism. When he 'problematizes' these, he does so very gently and with great care and love for the person to whom he is responding. I often have thought his 'challenge' has not been heard. What I am getting at here is that this book is mis-titled. With the exceptions I have noted, few of these authors have expressed themselves in such a way that indicates an understanding of Freire which would place them in a position to 'mentor the mentor'; a dialogue with Freire, of course, but you cannot mentor someone whose ideas you do not understand. This is my understanding. Basically many of the authors of the 'unfortunate' chapters do not understand Freire's meaning of oppression in either ontological or epistemological terms. Perhaps they do understand Freire; however this is not indicated in these chapters.

So, why do I think Freire's 'A Response', Chapter Sixteen, is so excellent and important? Space does not permit me to engage in a full discussion of explanation; you will just have to read the chapter. However, I shall state my main reason. For years, I have wondered why Freire is more direct or explicit in his problematising or challenging; I know through my own experience that one can be, without sacrificing care, commitment and love. I realise that my concern often arose from his 'dialogue books', often edited by the other person after hours of taping. Perhaps the challenge was there but never made it into print. I loved Freire's response because it was as direct and explicit as I think he could ever be. I read

his response first, i.e. before the other chapters, in October 1997, and honestly, I wept with joy. At long last, he had written the type of response I had wished for – for so long. Then I read the rest of the book. As I have said, with the exceptions I have cited, I now see what drove him to write Chapter Sixteen in the way he did. The motivation does not matter; I just am very happy he finally did it and so much more in response.

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**Sophia Avgetidou, *Social Relationships and Children's Friendship at Preschool Age. Theory, Research and Didactic Methodology at Nursery School*, Thessaloniki, Kyriakides brothers, Pedagogy and Education, No. 36, pp.238., 1997.**

In this book the author describes and analyses the environment and the procedures through which young children develop social relationships and friendship. The impact of specific educational and cultural contexts on the development of the social relationships is investigated and concrete educational premises and teaching stages are proposed.

Avgetidou moves beyond the description of children's behaviour to the investigation and understanding of the dynamic interaction between the structure and the content of the educational experience and the gradually developed social relationships of the nursery school's young children.

The fact that the book is based on an eight-month ethnographic study of Greek young children's behaviour in two different classrooms of the nursery school makes its discussion meaningful and convincing. The most important finding of the study and the whole book is that the priorities and the values prevailing in the classroom and underlying the everyday interaction during the school work affect the extent and the quality of young children's social relationships. From that standpoint, the emphasis on socialization, autonomy and self-respect in the "open" classroom promoted the development of firm relationships and open interactions among the group's members without any limitations concerning the participation of new members. The cooperative atmosphere of the classroom with its emphasis on the values of justice, sharing, and democratic conflict resolution, affected the quality of the relationships among young children. The relationships were based on consensus, respect and mutual acceptance. On the contrary, in the "traditional" classroom, the emphasis on the development of academic skills and the comparative evaluation of children created a competitive atmosphere which promoted the sense of individuality and the formation of exclusive groups. The limited interaction among children due to the structure of the daily program and the lack of any attempt on the teacher's part to resolve the problems which appeared between children, affected the quality of the social relationships among young children. The children's relationships in the "traditional" classroom were based on the predominance of the strongest and the most powerful children, a fact that led to repeated tension and conflict.

The study's strength lies in the importance given to the perceptions of the young children and the descriptions they provide for the definition of the criteria for the classification of young children's relationships. In addition, the

observation of children's behaviour in their physical environment (their nursery) allowed the conclusions to be drawn from particular facts in a concrete context and not to be imposed as theoretical general laws, independent of the educational and cultural climate and practices.

In the second part, the author highlights the theoretical background and critically revises the literature about the social relationships and childhood friendship, concluding that there is no any agreed upon definition of friendship because the characteristics and the criteria of friendship depend on the theoretical and methodological model used by the researchers.

The book's third part describes the author's eight-month ethnographic case studies in two Greek nurseries. The study included observation and interviews with children, teachers and children's mothers. The final aim of the study and the book, according to the author (p. 14), was two-fold:

(1) to provide detailed information about the development of the social relationships and the friendship among the Greek young children and to stress their importance for their cognitive, social and emotional development;

(2) to propose concrete educational strategies and activities for observation, understanding, and teacher's intervention in the classroom.

The results of the study are presented in the form of a comparison, between the "open" and the "traditional" classroom and stress the importance of the educational experience for the development and the quality of young children's social relationships. The author defines the "open" classroom as one where children participate actively in the decision-making process, reach a consensus in case of disagreement and work cooperatively in non structured groups. Teacher's intervention concerns the process of problem solving. Interaction is encouraged during play and the values of justice, respect and acceptance are cultivated.

In the "traditional" classroom, the teacher preferred the structured and predefined activities. She emphasized the practice of memorization and skills in preparation for work in the primary school. For the most of the time, children were seated at their tables dealing with predefined activities. Positive reinforcement was provided for "successful" work, a fact that enhanced competition among children. Communication developed between children and teacher and not among children.

The study shows that the experience of friendship, fostering firm and positive relationships in an open learning setting, in contrast with friendship as negotiable relationship in the traditional learning setting, is closely connected with the educational experiences in the classroom.

The fourth part of the book carries important implications for curriculum development. The author believes that in order to promote teachers' reflective action and ensure their pedagogical autonomy, researchers must help them reach

their own conclusions concerning teaching practice and everyday interaction with children. For this purpose, she advocates action research in the classroom based on seven steps which lead to the definition of the appropriate activities for the social development of young children: a) recognition and understanding of social relationships, b) understanding of the factors affecting social relationships with emphasis on the educational factors, c) definition of objectives and expectations concerning children's social relationships, d) the teacher as model, e) selection of activities, f) cultivation of social skills according to the needs of children, g) control and evaluation of children's development.

This book raises critical new concerns about children's development and it will be appreciated by researchers, teachers and parents interested in young children's social relationships. The author's attempt to bring research to bear on classroom practice is a valuable experience to be shared with teachers in the nursery school.

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**Ivor Goodson, *The Changing Curriculum. Studies in Social Construction*, New York, Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 211 pp., 1997, ISBN 0-8204-2609-1.**

The book comprises ten chapters and a long introduction (30 pages) by Joe L. Kincheloe. All ten chapters are papers authored by Goodson (three in cooperation with others) which appeared in various journals and publications from 1988 to 1997. This is why we find a repetition of ideas, arguments and examples in the book.

The first chapter "By way of Introduction" is an interview by Ivor Goodson with Don Santor which sets the *leit-motif* of the book, that the curriculum is not the product of a detached exercise and "*a dispassionate and rational decision*" but "*an eminently political exercise.*"

In the second chapter, "Investigating Schooling : From the Personal to the Programmatic", the author explains the personal experience which urged him to study the origins of the social construction of curriculum and schooling. In the third chapter, "Chariots of Fire. Etymologies, Epistemologies and the Emergence of Curriculum", he expresses his disagreement with philosophers (mainly Phenix and Hirst) whose understanding of knowledge as "*fait accompli*" leads to a prescriptive curriculum. He also stresses the need for the study of the social context in which knowledge is conceived and produced and the manner in which it is translated for use.

In the fourth chapter, "Basil Bernstein and Aspects of the Sociology of the Curriculum", he refers to the influence Brian Davies, Michael Young and Basil Bernstein had on his understanding of knowledge during his graduate studies at the University of London's Institute of Education (circa 1969). He rejects the Thatcherite view that the "*national curriculum is a new and compelling revolution in educational provision*" and he underlines the need for the study of the historical facts which led to the national curriculum.

In the fifth chapter, "Curriculum History, Professionalization, and the Social Organization of knowledge: An Extended Paradigm for the History of Education", he points out, from the histories of the secondary school subjects of biology and western psychiatry, a tendency of the professions to move beyond utilitarian and practical aims toward an academic and scholarly form that reflects a high-status and hegemonic definition of knowledge.

In the sixth chapter, "Docile Bodies: Commonalities in the History of Psychiatry and Schooling", he concludes, following a comparison of the development of knowledge in the case of French psychiatry with that of Geography as a secondary school subject, that both passed through three stages:

- a) concern with clients / pupils,
- b) a period where a body of professional / curricula knowledge is developed which substantially influences the nature of professional relationships with clients / pupils, and
- c) a period where the knowledge becomes abstract and the subject institutionalized.

In the seventh chapter, "Curriculum Contests: Environmental Studies versus Geography", he analyses the "border war" between Geography and Environmental Studies and the failure of the latter to acquire the university base which would ensure it the high-status as an academic subject and the accompanying advantages (departmental territories, graded posts, capitation allowances).

In the eighth chapter, "Beyond the Subject Monolith: Traditions and Subcultures", he distinguishes three knowledge traditions: the academic, the utilitarian and the pedagogic, and he explains how knowledge shapes not only the pupils and clients but also the professionals themselves.

In the ninth chapter, "Distinction and Destiny: The Importance of Curriculum Form in Elite American Private Schools", he exposes the falsity of the argument of those who think of the classical curriculum as something "*above social conflict and historically inevitable*" and he explains in some detail how the "*super elaborated code*" of this curriculum shapes the social consciousness of the socially elite students attending prestigious private schools in the USA.

Finally, in the tenth chapter, "On Curriculum Form: Notes Toward a Theory of Curriculum", he refers to the three long existing dichotomies of "mentalities" between the people of lower and higher orders (sensual against abstract, simplicity against complexity and sophistication, and passive against active) and explains how these polarised mentalities were built into the deep structures of the curriculum.

The whole book is a concerted effort to answer the central question which the author asked himself when serving as a teacher in a comprehensive school in Leicestershire. Utterly frustrated by the irrelevance and pedantry of the examination curriculum, he asked himself again and again: "*where the hell, where on earth did this thing come from?*" (p.10). To answer this question, he authored the book *School Subjects and Curriculum Change* in 1983 and since then many other publications.

The conclusion of the book, which recurs throughout, is that the curriculum is not "*a timeless given*", as is usually considered by those who are only interested in curriculum development, but a social construction which, in many cases, serves not the interests of the students but those of the teachers. The secondary school



teachers struggle to attain a university base for their subject in order to ensure for themselves the relevant advantages. This, however, results in an abstract form of knowledge which alienates lower social class students and undermines their chances for success at school.

The book is a penetrating and fascinating analysis of the evolution of secondary school subjects. The author's style of writing is consonant with his view about knowledge. Not only does he not hesitate to use personal notes twice and provide his own biographical background, but when he has to move the personal 'I' to the more conventional style, he calls it "*the disembodied voice of scholasticism*" (p.47).

The book is very useful and challenging for teachers, administrators and university professors of curriculum and pedagogy, especially in countries where the curriculum is "*enshrined*" by parliamentary legislation and what is to be learnt is presented as "*a sacred body of knowledge*". It not only makes possible a new understanding of curriculum and knowledge but it also opens up extensive possibilities for new research. One presumes that politics played a much more important role in these countries than the one played in U.K.

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**Helen Phtiaka, *Special Kids for Special Treatment: How special do you have to be to find yourself in a special school?* London, The Falmer Press, 339 pp, 1997, ISBN 07507 0618 X.**

The literature on pupil behaviour is enormous and stands testimony to the enduring interest in and concern with this issue. It is not uncommon for authors and researchers in this field to base their work upon assumptions about the meaning of such terms as 'emotional and behavioural difficulties', 'maladjustment', 'disturbed behaviour', etc. that are cast about as if their meanings are self-evident and beyond dispute. This lack of critical thinking has produced a 'fix-it' literature which focuses heavily upon supposed child deficits and mechanisms for remediating those deficits.

Helen Phtiaka's book comes as a refreshing alternative view to the banality of so much that has been written on the theme of behaviour. The account she has written is based upon her doctoral thesis and captures the depth of engagement with data that is characteristic of good work at this level. The book concentrates on the experiences of pupils in mainstream and special schools and in this respect it is quite remarkable because so rarely do researchers allow these voices to be heard in their work.

Phtiaka presents us with two in-depth case studies. She argues that behaviour differences between pupils are not in themselves sufficient to justify placement in a special unit.

A more important factor is the degree to which pupils exert control over their situation through their own decision-making. Drawing on a mixture of classroom observation and pupil interviews she identifies two types of 'deviant' behaviour which cut across the mainstream school and the special unit. For one group, it is the pupils' own choices that are important in determining either their transfer to a special unit or their continuation in the mainstream school. For another group of pupils their school careers are more likely to be decided by their schools. The argument that is put forward is derived from an attempt to connect sociological and psychological explanations of classroom behaviour. Whereas the former account for the deliberate use of deviant behaviour as a form of school resistance the latter are considered more appropriate where failure to remain in school is apparently due to a lack of good judgement or self-control.

Phtiaka describes her research as an exploratory study and there are certainly some unanswered questions thrown up. For instance, much more work needs to be done to investigate how schools facilitate or restrict pupil decision-making and thus turn resistance into deviance. The book's conclusion that the most important factor at the end of the day is the pupil's 'intelligence' in managing their situation

is not altogether convincing, not least because it de-emphasizes the power of teachers and schools to apply labels and determine outcomes in ways that address their own needs.

Despite some questions and reservations this is a book that is evocative in its representation of children's 'voices' and it is a book that certainly deserves to be read.

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Anthony M. Schembri and J. Godwin Agius (eds.), *Education for the Elderly: A Right or Obligation?*, University of the Third Age (Malta), Malta, pp. 82, 1997.

This volume consists of papers read at an international conference organised by the University of the Third Age in Malta. The aim of the conference was to "*focus attention on whether the education of the older person was in itself a fundamental right, and consequently to be provided by society, or whether the onus fell more on the older person himself (sic)*" (p.vii).

Three of the first four papers, the ones by Peter Laslett, Kenneth Wain and Alfred Cuschieri, are of a very high calibre. Every adult educator would acknowledge that they constitute a very positive step in responding to the void which is apparent in the literature on philosophical and pragmatic issues regarding older adult education (Lawson, 1992). I am referring here in particular to literature which focuses on the Universities of the Third Age. Peter Laslett, Peter Laslett, being the keynote speaker, builds on a previous publication (1996: Chap. 10) to project the U3A movement as an effort to address inequality in educational opportunities and as representing an important contribution to the restructuring of education. Laslett provides a useful account of the major differences between French and British U3As, assesses the benefit that older persons could get from joining the U3E, and gives an extensive overview of what are the philosophical and pedagogical aims of these universities.

The articles by Kenneth Wain and Alfred Cuschieri are very important when keeping in mind the sparse literature on the U3E in Malta. Both papers outline the genesis of the U3E movement locally and detail the first few days of the University of the Third Age. They describe how the U3E, building on 20 years experience of U3As in Europe, was successful in offering the same level of commitment to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, through lectures and debates led by a natural and legitimate sense of inquiry. It is also interesting to observe that Cuschieri, in noting that 99% of the elderly do not attend the classes provided by the U3E, asked whether the U3E was providing the right type of education. It is in this light that one must highlight the importance of Cuschieri's affirmative answer to the question "*should education for the elderly be made more accessible to those elderly who have a limited educational background?*" Cuschieri's comments surely echo Morris' (1984: 136) assertions, expressed more than a decade earlier, that affirmed that most pander to "*the cultural pretentious of an aged bourgeoisie who had already learnt to play the system*", and thus alienating even further a significant proportion of older people. Wain's

philosophical academic background was highly influential in his explorations of the philosophical basis underpinning U3Es. Wain's paper is also excellent because it is the paper that best attempts to fall within the purview of the conference.

Midway through the proceedings, Alan Roger's paper provides great insight into the potential and limitations of education for older adults. Emphasising that he speaks from the vantage point of someone who is an 'older person', Rogers comments on two major areas, that of 'education with older adults' and the 'modern understanding of adult learning.' In discussing these two concepts, Rogers focused on current educational provision for older persons, with special emphasis on the U3A approach, the dangers of such educational provision, negativism and marginalisation of older persons. These are the barriers to older adult learning that he encountered when researching these two areas.

Unfortunately, as I read through the rest of the proceedings, I noticed that the conference's aim was largely overlooked. I was dismayed by the fact that the papers by Martin O'Fathaigh (summarised in a mere five points), Antonietta Ariotti, Nurit Stavy, the late J.Aquilina, Jean Thompson and Renato P. Verras, albeit providing interesting reflections on education for older adults, failed to address the conference's main question. Ariotti spoke about the characteristics, purposes and objectives of the University of the Third Age project in Turin (Italy) where importance is given to 'being' and not only to 'knowledge.' Stavy's paper, which one finds only in the form of an abstract, was an impromptu speech, focusing on the 'Neot Yishai' Community Centre in Israel. This centre aims to create communication channels between different age groups. Thompson commences her paper by presenting an international perspective on U3As and then focuses on the British contribution to 'later life' education.

I was pleased to read, towards the end of the proceedings, Joseph Troisi's remarks on the structured disadvantages that older women have and still are experiencing in education. Troisi showed clearly how, in educational settings, older women suffer from the double oppressions of ageism and sexism, and showed how older women differ from older men in their experiences and should be considered as a distinct category of older adults. It is unfortunate, however, that he stopped short of placing his comments within a more general socio-political framework – failing to note the unequal income distribution between men and women (Stone, 1997), and, perhaps most importantly, the sexual division of labour which leaves women with the primary responsibility for informal care (Qureshi and Walker, 1988). I do go along with Troisi in arguing that society has a responsibility to contribute towards the emancipation of women by providing

opportunities for them to study in a structured manner. Troisi's paper is followed by Julian Mamo's report which essentially presented a well-informed socio-demographic picture of the changing levels of education in the later years of life. The paper clearly highlighted Mamo's research abilities in demographic issues. I would nevertheless point out that such a paper should have been placed at the beginning of the publication rather than at the end. Prospective readers are advised to read Mamo's essay first.

The last paper is by Renato P. Verras who discussed the aims and objectives of the Open University for Studies on the Elderly (UnAti) situated in Brazil. Verras asserted that the main purpose of UnAti is to develop cultural and intellectual opportunities for older persons through Teaching, Extension and Research.

In conclusion, I cannot but comment that this volume does partly confirm my long standing suspicion of conference proceedings. I have often felt uneasy about books consisting of the proceedings of international or local conferences. While I do not, in any way, underestimate the efforts and professional aims that the hosts have in wanting to publish the proceedings, I am, on the other hand, too well aware that, in most instances, this decision is taken before the editors have the papers in hand. Unfortunately, this tends to result in numerous substandard papers being published due to the fact that the editors lower the standard in order to include as many papers as possible or even to have enough papers for publication.

First of all, I believe that many of the authors are capable of higher level academic papers than the ones included. Moreover, authors (speakers?) often tend not to include references, base their arguments on anecdotal evidence and utter sweeping statements. One other problem is that the papers contain only slight and, in the majority of cases, no references to the charges of elitism and the middle class 'cultural arbitrary', to use Pierre Bourdieu's term (1977), of much U3A provision. We come across gratuitous assertions such as the one by Peter Lasslet who states that older learners "*do not educate themselves for rewards, power or promotion*" (p.7) These are general assumptions. Moreover, the book does not address the potential of U3As in promoting educational activities in residential homes, sheltered housing and day care centres, reaching out to housebound older persons, the immense difficulties that the implementation of the self-help philosophy of older adult education is facing; or else assisting the elderly in forming a political agenda and becoming critically aware of their surrounding environment. However, despite these limitations, the proceedings on the whole, paint the U3As as a dynamic, flexible, accessible adult education movement that is meeting the wants and needs of growing percentage of older adults.

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**Klitos Symeonides and Godfrey Baldacchino (eds.), *Cyprus-Malta on the Threshold of Accession to the European Union. Challenges to Workers and Trade Unions*, Nicosia, Cyprus Adult Education Association/Workers' Participation Development Centre (University of Malta), pp.45, 1996, ISBN 9963-0-4245-7.**

Internationally, trade unions face the complex and multiple challenges posed by rapid globalising tendencies. In the Mediterranean, such tendencies are given an added impulse by the development of the European Union. Whether or not Malta joins Cyprus in the next group of new entrants, all social groups face the consequences of decisions taken by the EU and its institutions; nor can they escape the wider processes of global economic integration in which the EU is both player and victim. This publication, which brings together papers presented at trade union education programmes in Malta and Cyprus, is therefore both timely and relevant.

The EU exercises a real influence over education and training, particularly in the small member states. As well as its action programmes for human resource development (SOCRATES, covering education, and LEONARDO, covering training), the EU directly controls much training spending in the member states through the European Social Fund, and there are significant education and training elements within the EU's research and technology development programme and in a range of other policy areas. And although the concept of social dialogue has lost ground since the retirement as President of the French socialists Jacques Delors, the EU continues to emphasise the integral role of trade unions in vocational training policy.

This collection includes a careful and detailed description by Theophilou Theophilou of the Cypriot government's negotiation with the EU following its 1990 application for membership. Two trade union leaders outline their reasons for supporting Cyprus' application, despite misgivings over the impact of deregulation and the opening up of homemarkets to EU competitors. By contrast, two Maltese union leaders take opposing views. While both Angelo Fenech of the General Workers' Union and Charles Magro of the Confederation of Maltese Trade Unions acknowledge the benefits (including access to the EU's education and training programmes), they also identify potential costs. Fenech, moreover, is sharply critical of the then government's secretive conduct of the negotiations. Leonardo Mizzi outlines the role of the small and medium sized enterprises in Malta and Cyprus, outlining possible strategies for successful competition within a single European market.

In a critical summary of issues raised during the seminars, Godfrey Baldacchino, from the Workers' Participation Development Centre, draws a



number of conclusions which, he argues, might apply to trade unions and workers in other small island states. Baldacchino emphasises the need for a broad and critical approach to worker education. Given the EU's narrow focus in its own programmes upon the contribution of training and education to economic competitiveness, Baldacchino's emphasis upon openness and breadth is highly welcome. It is also important to note that worker educators have created their own transnational networks within the EU, and indeed have received some limited support for their activities from both the SOCRATES and LEONARDO programmes.

Clearly, I found this a useful and stimulating collection, but I have two quibbles. In his otherwise masterly analysis, Baldacchino asserts that Malta and Cyprus will be "*the first ex-colonial territories to join the European Union*". Wrong. That honour belongs to Ireland; other ex-colonial states queuing alongside Cyprus for EU membership include Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic. Secondly, the volume does not acknowledge that Cyprus is a profoundly divided society; the Cypriot participants were all ethnic Greeks, and the only recognition of the division is in the final joint declaration of the Cypriot and Maltese unions, which protests at the Turkish occupation; yet ethnic division and conflict would remain if the Turks withdrew tomorrow.

Nevertheless, the fundamental message of this volume should not be obscured. It is that (in the words of the joint declaration), worker and trade union education are of "*crucial importance*" in ensuring effective participation "*in programmes which promote both enterprise efficiency and competitiveness as well as serve as opportunities for developing skills and knowledge for workers.*" This message should resonate among existing EU members, as well as among other applicant nations where trade unions are, sadly, rather weaker than in the two nations represented here.

*John Field,  
University of Warwick*

## EDUCATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

### CYPRUS

The most important recent educational development on the island of Cyprus is the evaluation study conducted by UNESCO experts. The evaluation touched upon three major issues: pedagogical and methodological concerns, structure of the educational system and personnel administration, and research and evaluation. The evaluation study nurtured heated discussion concerning the effectiveness of the system. In response, the Ministry of Education set up working groups to suggest corrective measures. The Council of Ministers, acting as the island's highest educational authority, is expected shortly to identify and prioritise action towards meeting the needs identified by the report.

**Christos Theophilides**

### GREECE

The most significant recent developments in education in Greece follow the signing of the Treaty of Maastricht, and reached a climax in 1995. The major developments address all levels of education and could be summarised as follows.

- a. Modernisation of curricula, textbooks and media.
- b. New technologies and classroom innovations for the support of the educational process.
- c. Teachers' in-service training.
- d. Educational evaluation - internal and external
- e. Improvement of infrastructure (libraries, audio-visual media, reconstruction of buildings, etc.)

#### *Primary level*

A major development at this level is the 'all day' kindergarten and elementary school which gives the opportunity to those students who need it, to stay in school for about eight hours, engage with creative activities, take optional subjects and receive remedial instruction; other developments include renewal of the curricula in educational practices as well as introduction of new subjects. New subjects have been introduced either permanently as in the case

of foreign language in the primary school or optionally as in the case of consumer education, health education and several other subjects or programs allowing innovative and experimental practices to occur (SEPPE). Concurrently, specialised teachers have been appointed to teach subjects such as music, physical education which were taught in the past by the general classroom teacher. Furthermore, certain laboratories were established for subjects such as physics, aesthetic education (theatre, art, etc.) which, however, do not meet the needs of all schools in each district. The above innovative trends and prospects of the schools in Greece were enhanced by other programmes. Among these is MELINA (the subject took its name from the former Minister of Culture, Melina Mercury) which aims at cultivating the cultural dimension in education especially through art and culture. Since 1992, the goals of European dimension in education were promoted both via classroom practice as well as through participation in various European programmes, such as Comenius, Lingua, Helios, and so on.

In addition, various programmes were implemented to deal with educational inequalities and school failure via compensatory strategies. These include the remedial instruction programme which seeks to combat school failure, the special needs programme (entitled SMEA), which seeks to remedy students' needs cognitively, psychologically and socially, special programmes were also created since 1995 to cater to the needs of gypsy students as well as those of repatriated Greeks.

### *Secondary level*

At this level, one could single out developments such as the creation of the unitary Lyceum, which will gradually absorb all present forms of Lyceum, the evaluation system of education effectiveness (including teacher and school effectiveness), the writing of new textbooks, the reconstruction of the classroom space via the use of new technologies, (i.e. computers, multimedia, SEPPE, etc.), as well as the abolishing of the national examinations establishing thus an 'open' access to the tertiary level, the creation of the schools of 'second chance', the institutionalisation of the national centre for counselling and career guidance.

In addition to the above, other developments include the introduction of several subjects such as: Information Technology, two foreign languages, Career Guidance, Environmental Education, the programmes ALEXANDROS and TELEMACHUS, Health Education, Consumer Education, school network/partnership, and participation in European programmes (Comenius, Lingua, etc.).

Not all these initiatives have equally flourished. Among the main causes are considered to be the lack of infrastructure, the heavy bureaucracy, the lack of economic and other forms of incentives for teachers, without whose support educational innovation cannot be carried out successfully.

### *Tertiary level*

At the tertiary level some of the most important developments include the renewal and improvement of undergraduate and graduate programmes of study, the creation of the open university, investment in infrastructural development, and the increase of student numbers. Starting from the academic year 1997-98 onwards, thirty undergraduate and graduate programmes of study were formally set up as part of the distance education efforts of the open university. In the conventional programme of studies, 70 new university departments will be created of which 17 are already established. Up to the year 2000 the secondary school graduates who hold a unitary Lyceum diploma will have access to all the schools and departments they wish to attend at the tertiary level; similar developments have occurred at the post secondary institutes for education and training (IEK) such as the renewal and modernisation of the programme of studies, of textbooks, media and infrastructure.

Last but not least, the teacher appointment system has been abolished and the institutionalisation of the pedagogical and teaching certificate came into effect in 1998 for all teachers (primary and secondary) who were not already appointed.

Finally, it should be noted that in addition to the various developments at the aforementioned levels there are those addressing the modernisation of administration, of organisation and function of some of the educational agencies of the Ministry of Education; these developments are geared towards the direction of educational decentralisation by transferring some of the responsibilities from the centre (i.e. Ministry of Education) to the periphery and local level.

**George Flouris**

## **ISRAEL**

The educational system in Israel is undergoing far-reaching changes. The highly centralised system established by parliamentary legislation in 1949 (Law of Compulsory Education) and 1953 (Law of State Education) is rapidly being transformed into a highly diverse assortment of schools at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels. For over forty years, diversification at the primary level was signalled at most by different kinds of religious commitment.

The laws cited established a system in which there are State schools for people who do not declare for religious education. These schools include the schools in which Hebrew is the language of instruction and schools for those who preferred a (Jewish) religious education were established, and the 'independent' system of schools was founded by religious groups who were not satisfied with the commitments of the State system. Among the schools in which Arabic is the language of instruction, religious schools are private and supported by various Christian orders. On the secondary level these affiliations were perpetuated, but courses of study were diversified to suit the different ability levels of students and to cater to their vocational or academic interests. On the tertiary level, the laws provided for six state-supported universities and about thirty teachers colleges. The picture has changed drastically in the nineties.

On the twofold assumption that children are likely to disclose particular talents at early ages and that it is worthwhile to cultivate those talents, there have been many initiatives for diversifying primary schools. There are now schools which emphasise studies in the arts and others which emphasise scientific subjects. In addition there are frameworks for fostering interest in Jewish studies from a non-religious standpoint and schools which place training for sports as their priority. This tendency is strengthened in the secondary schools which are usually multi-tracked. Courses in the humanities and in the sciences enable students to continue with studies at a university or at a polytechnic. In addition, there are opportunities for vocational training, in courses which prepare students for the job market. The most wide-ranging changes, however, are on the tertiary level. Within the state system, many of the teachers colleges have been accredited to distribute B.Ed. Degrees to their graduates. In addition, there have appeared many private institutions, most of which are associated with recognised institutions of higher education in Europe and the U.S.A.. They award Bachelors' and Masters' degrees to students who fulfil the requirements set by their sponsor institutions. This development is of major importance, first of all, because the branches of foreign universities provide avenues of study for students who are seeking efficient (shorter) paths to an academic degree. Some of them would not normally qualify for study at the State universities under the current requirements. Secondly, the degrees which are allotted by these institutions are recognised for purposes of professional grading, the basis for determining salaries in the public sector.

The wide-ranging changes noted above have been introduced piecemeal, in every case for reasons considered legitimate on the local and on the national level. It will be of interest to trace the social and political consequences which undoubtedly will follow in their wake.

**Devorah Kalekin-Fishman**

## MALTA

The educational situation in Malta is currently marked by a number of initiatives that focus mainly on the compulsory school attendance age, namely for pupils between the age of 5 and 16 years. At the primary school level, the campaign to encourage literacy has led to the declaration of 1998 as the Year of the Book. The most recent Census has shown that an unexpectedly large number of students is leaving the primary and secondary school levels illiterate or semi-literate, despite the overall improvement in provision. Another campaign has focused on bullying in schools, with fora being organised among teachers, parents and students to deal with such anti-social and negative behaviour. A major development is the submission of a draft revision of the 1988 National Minimum Curriculum to the Minister of Education and National Culture. This draft will now be discussed by educational partners, who should react positively to the attempt that has been made to give more importance to mastery than to coverage, to provide more opportunities for creative work, and to stress the value of different learning strategies and on-going review. Finally, the movement towards de-centralisation has accelerated through the directive issued to all educational communities to come up with their own School Development Plan. This identifies educational priorities that should be achieved over a three year period, as well as the strategies and structures that must be put into place in order to reach these goals. While teachers and school administrators were the main participants in the development of their school plan, in some cases parents were also invited to contribute their ideas and suggestions to the discussion.

**Ronald G. Sultana**

## PALESTINE

The Palestinians took over authority in education from the Israeli occupation authorities in the West Bank and Gaza in late August 1994. A Palestinian Ministry of Education (MOE) was set up at that time to manage and develop the educational system. The Ministry of Education is still facing the challenge of providing access to formal education for all new incoming children while improving quality of teaching and learning. The student population is around 800,00 students and growing at a yearly rate of more than 6%. Some Gaza schools have already slipped into triple shifts, while 80% of the schools there operate on a double shift basis. While there are no schools in the West Bank operation triple shifts, more schools have started operating double-shift basis

(20% of the total). Although the issue of population growth and the need for family planning are not in its domain of work, the MOE believes that these are important issues to be raised in the curriculum and in school activities.

Related to its policy of Education for All and to equity in access to schooling, priority in school construction has been given to females, especially in remote areas. Furthermore, the Minister at the beginning of the school year 1997/98 inaugurated two makeshift schools for the Bedouin. This is the first school year in which schools for the Bedouin have been established in their areas of residence.

To improve quality and relevance of school education, work is still underway on a number of fronts within the MOE. The Ministry has embarked on an important process of drafting its first five-year plan for the development of the educational system. A good first draft outlining the principles directing its work, its educational vision, its strategic objectives, the five major areas of work and the proposed projects has already been finished. Further elaboration of the plan is taking place and it is expected that it needs six more months to be put in detailed form for discussion with stakeholders and donors. It is hoped that, through a project with IIEP at UNESCO funded by Italy, consensus building among Palestinians on the educational vision and the five-year plan will be achieved leading to the drafting of a Master Plan for Palestinian education and an Education Act.

The Palestinian Curriculum Development Centre (PCDC) has finished and published a proposed comprehensive plan for the first-ever Palestinian curriculum. The MOE translated this proposed plan into a detailed plan of action whose implementation is due to start at the beginning of 1998. It is expected that the first Palestinian textbooks for grades one and six will be used in schools in the year 1999/2000. Textbooks for the rest of the grades will be produced in phases and are expected to be completed by the year 2004.

In-service training of teachers, administrators and educational supervisors has received a lot of attention during 1997. The focus is on encouraging a student-centred approach in schooling and on empowerment of teachers. It is planned that in-service training will be decentralised. Directorates in the various districts should be able to satisfy their training needs with very little technical and organisational help from the central Ministry. But since the need for training during the coming years will increase, due to the introduction of the Palestinian curriculum, it is envisaged that local universities, NGO's and other institutions will play an important role in pre- and in-service training programs.

The MOE has made good progress in developing its EMIS and its capacity for planning. With support from a number of donors, and in co-operation with

the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, it has now detailed and reliable educational statistics in published form and on computer for internal use. It is now using the available data for creating educational indicators and for policy analysis and formulation. The MOE still needs to develop its capacity in these areas for the purposes of producing the five-year plan, its implementation and longer-term planning.

**Maher Hashweh**

## **SLOVENIA**

The most recent educational reforms in Slovenia have been prepared by experts of different political provenance, and are regarded by some educationalists and politicians not as a national project which had passed the parliamentary procedure but rather as an arbitrary project of the current minister of education and his liberal democratic party. With 2002/3 as the target year for completion of reforms, it is felt that many important issues have been neglected and the focus of the heated debate is again and again concentrated on topics like religious education, moral values, and the importance of the 'non-liberal' orientation of the school system.

During the last year a lot of work has been done by different boards which have to produce new curricula for subjects at all levels and for all types of schools. First drafts were evaluated by teachers and by selected schools, and after that the boards revised the programmes of study according to comments and suggestions received. Second drafts will be evaluated in 1999.

**Mirjam Milharcic-Hladnik**

## **SPAIN**

At the end of this century, the Spanish education system continues to be affected by factors originating in society itself. The most important of these are demographic evolution, the degree of importance given to democratisation and participation, and the change from a centralist state to a federal one. In any case, it is important that the system remains open to these influences but also that its reactions to them be moderate, without forgetting its own interests and values. An ambitious reform has been set in motion since the beginning of the 80s, under Social-Democratic governments and now managed by the Conservative Party, unable to change it by its lack of majority at the Parliament. However, there is doubt as to whether the reform, which affects



the whole educational system, will be completed, for it depends on specific, detailed financing. Without sufficient resources the changes will be merely cosmetic or terminological or rhetorical, and may indeed even be counterproductive.

Comprehensive education has been broadened and intensified, including two more compulsory years of schooling. However, it seems that not enough importance has been given to social inequality and the degree to which it is present in Spanish society. Comprehensive schooling will be severely limited by this and a minimum guarantee of correct operation is only possible if schools are given more human resources and infrastructure.

Dualism in compulsory education is being consolidated in the Spanish educational system between the public education and the so-called 'concertada' schooling (mostly formed by former private and religious schools, which now belong to the public school network since the State takes care of the salaries of teachers in these schools); this is producing at the present a major source of social exclusion established by the own system itself, in spite of other sources of this kind such as race, gender and so on. As a general thought, the 'concertadas' (maintained) schools are providing better education according to the parent's social mentality, although there is no substantial research done which proves the better quality of their instruction and teachers.

Overall, education in Spain is insufficiently financed (the percentage of GNP spent on education still fails to reach the European Union average). The historical backwardness of Spanish education has only been corrected regarding rates of school attendance. Financing must be increased if we are to achieve the quality of education corresponding to the rate of development of the country. Fourteen years of Socialist government failed to solve this problem and now it seems that once again policies of reduction in social spending are coming into force. Finance in education should therefore be carefully studied and investment selected with care.

The renovation of Vocational-Technical Education (Formación Profesional) is a priority, for the first time perceived as a national issue. The faults common to the whole system are most noticeable here: excessively theoretical teaching, low quality through lack of finance, scant connection with social needs. Improvement of this sector would lead to Bachillerato and university being streamlined, a reduction in youth unemployment and a solution to the traditional lack of specialised labour and medium-level technicians. This can only be attained by involving the relevant sectors of society, in particular, the world of business and industries.

Insufficient attention has been paid to the teaching staff. Their initial teacher education has not been adequately modified and continuous training is

not contemplated with decision. However, the attitude and mentality of teaching staff and its working conditions (under the 'working structures' of Spanish schools) are key factors in the success of any reform and for the quality of the education system as a whole.

**Miguel A. Pereyra and Diego Sevilla**

## **TUNISIA**

Educational research in Tunisia is quite recent: the first department in educational science was established in 1991 at the University of Tunis 1. The *Tunisian Review of Educational Science*, published bi-annually, provides a good overview of developments in this field.

Educational research is mainly dealt with at the *Institut Supérieur de l'Éducation et de la Formation Continue* (ISEFC), a college that is concerned with educational and continual training, and at the *Association Tunisienne des Recherches Didactiques* (ATRD), a non-governmental organisation.

The ISEFC, which is based at Tunis 1 University, delivers a master degree and a post graduate-diploma in educational science, with a specialisation in subject methodology ('didactiques des disciplines'). It has a laboratory of experimental pedagogy that has five groups of researchers.

The ATRD is a knowledgeable association that works with researchers in education offering them an opportunity to organise seminars, colloquia and symposia. These activities are generally organised with the co-operation of Tunisians academic authorities as well as foreign universities. ATRD organises a great assembly once a year. In November 1998, for instance, it will organise, together with Tunis 1 University and Sherbrooke University (Quebec), an international symposium on didactics.

**Ahmed Chabchoub**

## **TURKEY**

Many internal and external observers would agree that the most important educational development in Turkey in 1997 was the extension of basic education from 5 years to 8 years. Although the Basic Education Law was legislated by parliament in 1973, subsequent governments for the past 25 years have simply overlooked the law because of somewhat political but mostly financial reasons. For the time being, the Turkish Government is in the process

of loan negotiations with the World Bank to finance the reform. The bulk of this money will be spent primarily for infrastructural needs (constructing new school buildings) and the remaining for curricular changes, technology and training needs. Of course, such a reform in the educational system has direct implications for teacher training institutions, which are under the aegis of the Higher Education Council. Considering the fact that the reform created a considerable shortage of teachers (it is estimated that 190,000 teachers will be needed in the year 2000) for the grades 1 through 8, the Ministry of Education and the Higher Education Council have collaborated to restructure the pre-service teacher training institutions to satisfy this pressing need. The new teacher training system will be effective as of September, when radical structural and curricular changes in teacher education institutions will be put into place. For example, some departments have been eliminated, new departments have been created, the training of teachers for the grades 9 through 11 (what was called the senior high school in the former system) has been shifted to the graduate level, and the entire curriculum for each department has been revised on the basis of the needs of the country as well as in response to recent developments in each field.

**Hasan Simsek**

## CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENTS

### **'L'Histoire et l'Avenir de l'Éducation Comparée en Langue Française en Europe et dans le Monde'**

The international symposium is being organised by the Association Francophone d'Éducation Comparée (A.F.E.C.) to celebrate its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary and to commemorate the 150<sup>th</sup> year since the death of Marc-Antoine Julien. The symposium will be held between the 27<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> May 1998, at the Carré des Sciences, 1 Rue Descartes, 75000, Paris. Further information can be obtained from the AFEC Secretariat, C.I.E.P., 1 Avenue Léon Journault, 92311 Sevres Cedex, France. Tel. 01.45.07.60.12; Fax: 01.45.07.60.01.

### **'Universities in a Digital Era - Transformation, Innovation and Tradition: Roles and Perspectives of Open and Distance Learning'**

The EDEN (European Distance Education Network) annual conference will be held at the University of Bologna, Italy, between the 24 and 26 June 1998. Further information can be obtained from the EDEN Secretariat, Technical University of Budapest, H-1111 Budapest, Egrý J.u.1. Hungary. Tel. +36 1 463 1628; Fax: + 36 1 463 1858; e-mail <eden@khmk.bme.hu>

### **'On the Threshold'**

The 4<sup>th</sup> International Symposium on Technology Education & Training will be held in Cape Town, South Africa, between 27 June and 1 July 1998. Further information can be obtained from the WFTO Symposium Secretariat, Cape Technikon, P.O. Box 652, Cape Town, 8000 South Africa. Fax: +27(21) 45-4940; E-mail: nbeute@norton.ctech.ac.za

### **'State-Market-Civil Society: Models of Social Order and the Future of European Education'**

Eighteenth CESE (Comparative Education Society in Europe) Conference, 5-10 July 1998, Groningen, The Netherlands. Please address all correspondence to: Secretariat, c/o Vangroep Sociologie, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Faculteit der Psychologische, Pedagogische en Sociologie Wetenschappen, Grote Rozenstraat 31, 9712 TG Groningen, the Netherlands. Tel. +31.50.363.6283; Fax. +31.50.363.6226; E-mail: cese-org@icce.rug.nl  
Internet site: <http://www.icce.rug.nl/~cese>.

### **'Higher Education Close Up'**

An international conference will be organised between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> July 1998, at the University of Central Lancashire, Preston, England, by the SRHE. Further enquiries can be addressed to Helen Taylor, Centralan Consultants Ltd., University of Central Lancashire, Prston PR1 2HE. Tel. 01772 892251; Fax: 01772 892938; e-mail <h.m.taylor2@uclan.ac.uk>

### **'Education, Equity and Transformation'**

Xth World Congress of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies, hosted by the South African Comparative and History of Education Society, at the University of Cape Town and University of Western Cape Town in Cape Town, South Africa, from 13-17 July 1998. Conference chairperson: Dr. Crain A. Soudien. Please address all correspondence to: The WCCES 1998 Congress Co-Ordinator, School of Education, University of Cape Town, Private Bag Rondebosch 7700, Cape Town, South Africa. Tel. +27.21.650.2768; Fax. +27.21.650.3489. E-mail: cs@education.uct.ac.za

### **'Celebrating Similarities and Managing Differences'**

The 3<sup>rd</sup> BUTEX (British Universities Transatlantic Exchange Association) International Conference will be held at the University of Plymouth, England, 21-23 July 1998. Further information can be obtained from Annette Kratz, Head of International Office, Keele University, Staffordshire, ST5 5BG, U.K. Tel. +44.1782.584008; Fax: +44.1782.632343; E-mail <aaa07@ admin.keele.ac.uk> Guidelines for submission of papers can also be found on the BUTEX website at <http://www.niss.ac.uk/education/butex>

### **'Africa at the Millennium: Challenges and Opportunities in the Development of Human Capital'**

An international conference will be organised by the Africa Institute of Management and Education (AIME), between the 29<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> July 1998, in Johannesburg, South Africa. Queries should be directed to the Conference Secretariat, Mamphono Khaketla or Hendrik Botha, Private Bag X 3335, Cresta, 2118, South Africa. Fax: 011-782-3757; e-mail <educate@azaliah.co.za>; Website: <http://www.azaliah.co.za>

### **'Imagine, all the Education...The Visual in the Making of the Educational Space through History'**

Twentieth Session of the International Standing Conference for the History of Education, 15-18 August 1998, at the Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium. Further information can be obtained from Professor Dr. M. Depaepe, Chairman ISCHE XX, KU Leuven, Vesaliusstraat 2, B - 3000 Leuven, Belgium. Tel. +32.16.326202; Fax: +32.16.326200; E-mail: marc.depaepe@ped.kuleuven.ac.be

### **'Teacher Education in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century'**

The 23<sup>rd</sup> Annual Conference of the Association for Teacher Education in Europe (ATEE) will be held between the 24<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> August 1998 at Mary Immaculate College, Limerick, Ireland. Further enquiries should be addressed to the Ms. Sheyla Ryan, Secretary to the Organising Committee, ATEE - 1998 Conference, Mary Immaculate College, Limerick, Ireland. Tel.+353.61.314588; Fax.+353.61.313632; e-mail <sheyla.ryan@mic.ul.ie>

### **'British Educational Research Association Annual Conference' (BERA 98)**

27-30 August, 1998 at the Queen's University of Belfast. All abstract submissions, booking forms and other enquiries about the meeting should be addressed to: BERA 98, IFAB Communications, Department of Biology, University of York, PO Box 373, York YO1 5YW, U.K. Tel. +44(0)1904 432940; Fax: +44(0)1904 433029. E-mail: <biocomms@york.ac.uk> Up to date information can be accessed on the world wide web at: <http://www.york.ac.uk/depts/biol/web/symposia/bera.htm>

### **'The Fourth European Conference on Educational Research'**

The 4<sup>th</sup> ECER conference will take place in Ljubljana from the 17 - 20 September 1998. Further details can be obtained from EERA Academic Secretary, c/o SCRE, 15 St John Street, Edinburgh EH8 8JR. Tel. +44.131.557.2944; Fax: +44.131.556.9454; E-mail: <eera@scre.ac.uk> Up to date information can be accessed on the world wide web at: <http://www.ecer98.com>

### **'Doing Comparative Education Research: Issues and Problems'**

The Inaugural Conference of the British Association of International and Comparative Education (BAICE) will take place between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> September 1998 at the University of Reading, England. Enquiries should be

addressed to Professor Keith Watson, Department of Education Studies and Management, The University of Reading, Bulmershe Court, Earley, Reading RG6 1HY. Tel. 0118 9318866; Fax: 0118 9352080; E-mail <J.K.P.Watson@reading.ac.uk>

**'Postures épistémologiques des chercheurs et/ou formateurs en didactiques des disciplines'**

The International Symposium is being organised by the Association Tunisienne de Recherches Didactiques in Tunis, between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> November 1998. Further information can be obtained from Professor Ahmed Chabchoub, 43 Rue de la Liberté, 2019 Le Bardo, Tunisia. Tel. (216)(1)564.727; Fax: (216)(1) 568.954.

## ABSTRACTS

### ANCIENT GREEK *LOGOS*: AN INVITATION TO HISTORICAL-COMPARATIVE DISCOURSE ON EDUCATION

PELLA CALOGIANNAKIS

Cette étude a pour but la présentation de certains aspects concernant la rencontre méthodologique et épistémologique entre le discours historico-comparatif moderne sur l'éducation et le discours historico-comparatif grec ancien, le *logos*. Cette rencontre va ouvrir une voie nouvelle dans le domaine de l'éducation comparée concernant surtout son historicité, sa méthodologie et son épistémologie. Une telle approche essaie de montrer que le discours historique moderne sur l'éducation comparée n'est pas loin du concept de l'ancien *logos* en tant que processus de raisonnement et de recherche.

#### Περίληψη

Η παρούσα μελέτη σκοπό έχει να διερευνήσει μερικές όψεις του σύγχρονου ιστορικο-συγκριτικού παιδαγωγικού λόγου σε σχέση με τον αρχαίο ελληνικό ιστορικο-συγκριτικό λόγο σε επιστημολογικό και μεθοδολογικό επίπεδο. Ο συσχετισμός αυτός του αρχαίου και σύγχρονου ιστορικο-συγκριτικού παιδαγωγικού λόγου θεωρούμε ότι αποτελεί μία νέα προσέγγιση/πρόκληση στο χώρο της Συγκριτικής Εκπαίδευσης, ιδιαίτερα σε ό,τι αφορά την επιστημολογία και τη μεθοδολογία της. Αυτή η προσέγγιση στην πραγματικότητα επιχειρεί να δείξει ότι ο σύγχρονος ιστορικο-συγκριτικός παιδαγωγικός λόγος δεν απέχει ως αποδεικτικός και ερευνητικός λόγος από τον αρχαίο ιστορικο-συγκριτικό στοχασμό.

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تقديم بعض جوانب التلاقى المنهجي والمعرفي للخطاب التاريخي - المقارن المعاصر عن التربية مع المبدأ العفلائي (الوجوس) التاريخي - المقارن اليوناني للتدبير . وهذا التلاقى سوف يبرز تحديا للبحوث في مجال التربية المقارنة تتعلق في القلب مع الجوانب التاريخية والمنهجية والمعرفية لهذا المجال . وسيسعى هذا التوجه لتوضيح أن الخطاب التاريخي المعاصر عن التربية المقارنة لا يختلف كثيرا عن عملية التفكير والبحث بواسطة مفهوم المبدأ العفلائي (الوجوس) القديم .



## JOB SATISFACTION, STRESS AND COPING STRATEGIES AMONG MOROCCAN HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS

NAIMA BENMANSOUR

Cette étude explore le stress, la satisfaction dans le travail et les stratégies de lutte contre le stress parmi un groupe de 153 enseignant(e)s marocains qui ont répondu à un questionnaire. Les résultats ont indiqué que 45% des enseignants sont satisfaits de leur métier. L'examen des facettes de satisfaction dans le travail ont montré que les enseignant(e)s sont plus satisfait(e)s des relations avec les élèves et les collègues et sont le moins satisfait(e)s de leur statut social. Les résultats ont aussi révélé que plus de la moitié des enseignants rapportent un niveau de stress élevé, et qu'il existe une relation négative entre le stress et la satisfaction dans le travail. Les enseignant(e)s ont évalué l'intensité et la fréquence de 18 sources de stress, et ces deux mesures ont donné des résultats similaires. L'analyse de facteurs des sources de stress a révélé quatre facteurs: *problèmes reliés au programme, problèmes reliés aux élèves, problèmes reliés à la classe, et surcharge de travail*. L'analyse de facteurs des 16 stratégies de lutte contre le stress a révélé quatre facteurs: *action directe, action mentale, action émotionnelle et action physique*.

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى إبراز صورة عن الضغط، الارتياح في العمل، وكذا كيفية التعامل مع الضغط، بالنسبة لعينة من 153 أستاذا مغربيا. أظهرت نتائج الاستمارة المستعملة أن 45 % من الأساتذة يرتاحون إلى عملهم. أما فيما يخص بعض الأوجه المعينة من الارتياح في العمل، فإن الارتياح الأكبر عند الأساتذة يكمن في التواصل و التعامل اللذان أقاموهما مع التلاميذ أو مع الزملاء. كان ارتياحهم أقل ما يمكن فيما يخص مكانتهم الاجتماعية و صرح أكثر من نصف عدد الأساتذة أنهم يتعرضون للضغط في العمل. أما الضغط و الارتياح في العمل، فيرتبطان عكسيا. أعطى الأساتذة نقطة في سلم الضغط بالنسبة لاشتداد و تردد 18 عنصر و أبرز القياسات نتائج مشابهة. تم القيام بتحليل حول المكونات الأساسية و تم استخلاص أربعة عوامل و هي : المشاكل المرتبطة بالبرامج و المشاكل المرتبطة بالتلاميذ و المشاكل المرتبطة بحجرة الدرس و المشاكل الناتجة عن كثافة العمل. أما تحليل العوامل فيما يخص 16 كيفية للتعامل مع الضغط فقد أعطى أربعة عوامل أطلق عليها الاصطلاح التالي : الفعل المباشر و الفعل الذهني و الفعل العاطفي و الفعل الجسماني.

# WHAT INFLUENCES STUDENTS TO CHOOSE THE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION MAJOR: THE CASE OF CYPRUS

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Le but de cette étude était d'identifier et de comparer les facteurs qui ont motivé des étudiants de troisième et quatrième année de l'Université de Chypre dans leur choix de la profession d'enseignant d'école élémentaire. L'échantillon était composé de 176 étudiants en éducation élémentaire pendant l'automne 1995. Ce questionnaire a été distribué à tous les étudiants qui faisaient partie de certaines classes d'éducation élémentaire choisies au hasard. Les réponses aux points du questionnaire ont été divisées en catégories en utilisant l'analyse des principaux composants avec 'rotation varimax'. Six facteurs ont été retenus, qui correspondaient à 63.3% de la variance. Le premier facteur prenait en compte 18.3% de la variance dans le groupe des six facteurs. Les points, à l'intérieur de ce facteur, dont les résultats étaient supérieurs à 0.50 concernaient les idées suivantes des étudiants: aimer enseigner, aimer le processus enseignement/apprentissage, aimer travailler avec de jeunes enfants, et avoir un talent inné pour l'enseignement. On a appelé ce facteur 'motifs internes'. Le second facteur représentant 15.3% de la variance regroupait des points décrivant les vacances, l'emploi immédiat, les possibilités d'emploi, la sécurité du travail et les avantages accessoires, qu'on a appelés 'avantages liés au métier'. Le troisième facteur représentait 9.7% de la variance et on l'a intitulé 'le statut de la profession'. Le quatrième facteur, avec 8.3%, s'appelle 'l'influence familiale'. Les 5<sup>e</sup> et 6<sup>e</sup> facteurs, 6.4% et 5.3% respectivement, sont 'les motifs externes' et 'l'influence du professeur'.

Ο σκοπός αυτής της έρευνας ήταν να βρει τους παράγοντες που επηρεάζουν τους τριτοετείς και τεταρτοετείς φοιτητές του Πανεπιστημίου Κύπρου να επιλέξουν το διδασκαλικό επάγγελμα. Το δείγμα αποτελείτο από 176 φοιτητές που φοιτούσαν στο Τμήμα Επιστημών της Αγωγής το χειμερινό εξάμηνο του 1995. Το ερωτηματολόγιο δόθηκε προς συμπλήρωση σε όλους τους φοιτητές που είχαν εγγραφεί σε συγκεκριμένες τάξεις και είχαν επιλεγεί με τυχαία δειγματοληψία. Τα δεδομένα που έχουν συλλεγεί αναλύθηκαν με τη στατιστική τεχνική παραγοντική ανάλυση. Οι βασικότεροι παράγοντες ήταν έξι και ερμηνεύουν το 63.3% της διασποράς. Ο πρώτος

παράγοντας ερμηνεύει το 18.3% της διασποράς. Ερωτήσεις με παραγοντικά βάρη μεγαλύτερα του 0.50 αναφέρονται: στην αγάπη για τη διδασκαλία, στη διαδικασία της διδασκαλίας/ μάθησης, στην αγάπη για την εργασία με μικρά παιδιά και στο έμφυτο ταλέντο για διδασκαλία. Ο παράγοντας αυτός ονομάστηκε "εσωτερικά κίνητρα". Ο δεύτερος παράγοντας που ερμηνεύει το 15.3% της διασποράς περιλαμβάνει ερωτήσεις που αναφέρονται στις διακοπές των δασκάλων, στην άμεση εργοδότηση, στις δυνατότητες που έχει το επάγγελμα, στο εξασφαλισμένο επάγγελμα και άλλα παρεμφερή ωφελήματα. Ο τρίτος παράγοντας ερμηνεύει το 9.7% και ονομάστηκε "αξία του επαγγέλματος". Ο τέταρτος παράγοντας ερμηνεύει το 8.3% και ονομάστηκε "επίδραση συγγενών". Ο πέμπτος και έκτος παράγοντας ερμηνεύουν αντίστοιχα 6.4% και 5.3% της διασποράς και ονομάστηκαν "εξωτερικά κίνητρα" και "επίδραση δασκάλων".

غرض هذه الدراسة هو تحديد ومقارنة العوامل التي دفعت طلاب المستنن الثلاثة والرابعة بجامعة قبرص على اختيار مهنة التدريس بالمدراس الابتدائية. وقد طُبق استبيان الدراسة على جميع أفراد العينة المتكونة من 176 طالبا يدرسون التعليم الابتدائي خلال فصل خريف 1995، والمسجلين في مواد اختبرت عشوائيا. تحليل الانجابات عن مفردات الاستبيان لدى للاحتلال بستة عوامل فسرت 63.3% من التباين. فسر العامل الاول 18.3% من هذا التباين، وتطلعت مفردات هذا العامل والتي كانت يحمل اكبر من 0.5 بالفكر الطلاب حول حب التدريس، وحب عملية التعليم | التعلم، وحب العمل مع الاطفال. والموهبة النظرية للتعليم، ومسمى هذا العامل 'الدوافع الداخلية/ الذاتية'. وفسر العامل الثاني 'مكاسب العمل' 15.3% من التباين وضم مفردات تصف العطلات، والتوظيف الفوري، وفرص العمل، والعمل الآمن، والمكاسب الاضالفيه. اما العامل الثالث الذي سُمي 'مكافأة المهنة' فقد فسّر 9.7% من التباين، بينما فسّر العامل الرابع الذي سُمي 'تأثير الاقارب' 8.3% من هذا التباين. وفسر العاملان الخامس والسادس 6.4% و5.3% من التباين على التوالي وسُميا 'الدوافع الخارجيه' و 'تأثير المعلم'.

## THE IMPACT OF MEASURES TO PROMOTE EQUITY IN THE SECONDARY EDUCATION CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS IN MALTA: AN EVALUATION

FRANK VENTURA  
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Quand le système d'examens national 'Certificat d'éducation secondaire' (SEC) a été établi à Malte en 1994 pour remplacer le Certificat Général d'Éducation de niveau ordinaire (GCE - 'O' Level) offert par les commissions d'examens anglaises, on a saisi l'occasion pour promouvoir l'équité parmi des candidats aux niveaux d'acquisition, sexe et milieux sociaux différents. Les mesures comprenaient l'organisation d'épreuves d'examens à différents niveaux,

l'introduzione d'un élément d'évaluation fait à l'école dans plusieurs matières, des droits d'inscription aux examens relativement faibles, la décision d'éviter les partis pris liés à la culture du sexe dans les épreuves d'examens, et une restriction d'inscription pour les candidats qui étaient dans leur dernière année de scolarisation obligatoire ou âgés de 16 ans ou plus. Ces mesures devaient attirer des candidats ayant une plus grande étendue de capacités et de milieux sociaux que ceux qui passaient les examens GCE, et devaient éviter les partis pris liés à la culture et au sexe. On a dû atteindre ces buts avec en toile de fond du scepticisme au sujet de la valeur, la crédibilité et la viabilité d'examens établis par une commission d'examen locale comparée aux prestigieux examens GCE établis par les commissions d'examens anglaises solidement établies. Cette étude évalue les résultats des trois premières années du fonctionnement de l'examen SEC afin de jauger son impact sur l'équité. L'analyse est basée sur des statistiques d'examens, des rapports d'examineurs et des commentaires sur chacune de ces mesures. L'accès et la performance dans six matières par sexe et type d'école. Quelques conclusions seront offertes au sujet de l'influence des examens dans la promotion de l'équité dans un système d'éducation intrinsèquement inéquitable.

Meta f'Malta twaqqfet is-sistema ta' l-eżamijiet għaċ-Ċertifikat ta' l-Edukazzjoni Sekondarja (ĊES) fl-1994 bhala alternattiva għall-eżami tal-General Certificate of Education (GCE) ta' bordijiet Ingliżi, instabu mezzi biex titrawwem l-ekwità ma' kandidati ta' kapaċitajiet, sess u klassi soċjali differenti. Fost il-miżuri li ttiehdu kien hemm l-issettjar ta' karti ta' livelli differenti, l-introduzzjoni ta' marki għal xogħol li jsir fl-iskola f'diversi suġġetti, rati aktarx baxxi ta' hlas għall-eżamijiet, it-twarrib ta' xaqlib jew diskriminazzjoni kulturali jew fuq bażi ta' sess fil-karti ta' l-eżami, u l-fatt li thallew jersqu għall-eżami dawk il-kandidati li kienu fl-aħhar sena ta' l-iskola obligatorja jew li għalqu sittax-il sena biss. Minhabba dawn il-miżuri wiehed kien jistenna li jersqu għall-eżami kandidati b'firxa ikbar ta' abbiltajiet u minn wesgħa ikbar ta' ambjenti soċjali meta mqabbla ma' dawk li kienu jersqu għall-eżamijiet tal-GCE. Dawn il-miri riedu jintlahqu fost xetticizmu dwar is-siwi, il-kredibbiltà u l-pratticità ta' eżamijiet lokali meta mqabbla ma' l-eżamijiet prestigjużi tal-GCE ta' bordijiet Ingliżi stabbiliti. Dan l-istudju jevalwa r-riżultati ta' l-ewwel tliet snin ta' l-eżamijiet għaċ-ĊES biex jżen l-impatt li kellhom f'dik li hi ekwità. Għal dan il-ghan sar analiżi ta' statistiċi ta' l-eżamijiet, ta' rapporti ta' l-eżaminaturi u ta' kummenti dwar il-miżuri li ttiehdu. Għalhekk sar studju tan-numru ta' registrazzjonijiet għall-eżami u r-riżultati tal-kandidati fl-ikbar sitt suġġetti (il-Malti, l-Ingliż, il-Matematika, il-Fizika, ir-Reliġjon u t-Taljan) sew mil-lat tas-sessi u sew mit-tipi ta' skejjel li minnhom ġew il-kandidati. Fl-aħhar, l-istudju joffri xi konkluzjonijiet dwar l-effett ta' l-eżamijiet biex irawmu l-ekwità f'sistema ta' l-edukazzjoni li minnha nifisha mhix ekwitabbli.

عندما أُسّس النظام الوطني لامتحانات شهادة التعليم الثانوي (SEC) في مالطا سنة 1994 كبديل للشهادة للعلمة للتعليم - المستوى الاعتيادي (GCE O - Level) التي تلتزمها هيئات الامتحانات الانجليزية ، اُتتهزت الفرصة لتعزيز المساواة بين المتكلمين للامتحانات بالنسبة لمختلف مستويات التحصيل والجنس والخلفية الاجتماعية. وشملت التدابير وضع اوراق الامتحانات لمختلف المستويات ، وإدخال عنصر من التعليم المدرسي في عدة مواد ، ورسوم امتحانات منخفضة نسبيا ، وتجنب الاحياز الجنسي والتقلي في اوراق الامتحانات ووحصر التسجيل للمتكلمين الذين ا ما كانوا في السنة النهائية من التعليم الالزامي او كانت اعمارهم 16 او مافوق. كان من المتوقع ان هذه التدابير ستجذب مترشحين يمثلون مدى اوسع من القدرات والخلفية الاجتماعية من اولئك المتكلمين لامتحانات GCE ومستجيب الاحياز التقلي والجنسي . هذه المستهدفات كان يجب تحقيقها في ضوء خلفية من الفتح حول قيمة وموثوقية ومكثافية تطبيق امتحانات وضعت من قبل هيئة امتحانات محلية عند مغادرتها بامتحانات GCE المتميزة المعدة من قبل هيئات الامتحانات الانجليزية الراسخة. وتكتمل هذه الورقة نتائج السنوات الثلاثة الاولى من تطبيق امتحانات SEC للقيام تأثيرها على المساواة. وقد بُنى التحليل على احصائيات الامتحانات وتقارير وملاحظات الممتحنين عن كل تدبير. وحُلّت فرص دخول الامتحانات والانداء في مواد رئيسية ( اللغة المالطية - اللغة الانجليزية - الرياضيات - الفيزياء - اللغة الايطالية ) بالنسبة للجنس ونوع المدرسة. وقدمت الدراسة بعض النتائج عن تأثير الامتحانات على تعزيز المساواة في نظام تربوي غير منصف في جوهره .

## POLICY AND MODEL ANALYSIS: THE CASE OF SOVIET IMMIGRANT TEACHER RE-TRAINING IN ISRAEL

IRIS GEVA-MAY

Cet article présente l'étude d'une évaluation des programmes de renouvellement de formation des professeurs de science ayant immigré de l'ancienne Union Soviétique. Ces programmes ont été développés dans des universités israéliennes et dans des collèges d'éducation pour la première fois en 1990-1991 après la grande vague d'immigration de l'ex-Union Soviétique. Le critère principal de cette évaluation est de mesurer l'efficacité de ces programmes dans la réalisation des objectifs de la politique de réinsertion, étant données certaines variantes décisives, comme les variantes professionnelles, sociales et culturelles. Cette recherche offre des recommandations qui peuvent être adaptées et appliquées dans d'autres pays qui connaissent des bouleversements sociaux importants dûs par exemple à l'immigration ou au chômage.

מאמר זה מציג מחקר הערכה של תוכניות הסבה של מורים למדענים מברחיי"מ לשעבר אשר התקיים באוניברסיטאות ומכללות לחינוך בפעם הראשונה ב-1990-1991 בעקבות ההגירה ההמונית מברחיי"מ לשעבר. הקריטריון העיקרי של הערכה זו היה המידה שבה תוכניות ההסבה לקחו בחשבון את המשתנים המשפיעים- המקצועיים, החברתיים והתרבותיים- והשיגו בכך את המטרות של מדיניות ההסבה.

על בסיס מחקר זה, מוצגת רשימת המלצות מדיניות. השיקולים והמודלים שזוהו במחקר זה, יכולים להיות מיושמים במדינות בהם שינויים חברתיים משמעותיים מתרחשים- כמו הגירה או אבטלה.

#### خلاصة البحث

هذا العمل يعرض بحث تقييم لبرنامج اعادة التمرين الخاص بمعلمي العلوم من القادمين الجدد من الاتحاد السوفيتي سابقا" الذي اجري في الجامعات الاسرائيلية وكليات اعداد المعلمين للمره الاولى خلال 1990-1991 في اعقاب الهجره المكثفه من الاتحاد السوفيتي سابقا". المقياس الرئيسي لهذا التقييم كان مدى تطرق البرنامج للعوامل المؤثره ان كانت مهنيه، اجتماعيه او ثقافيه ودرجة تطرق البرنامج الى سياسة اعادة التدريب . استنادا" على هذا البحث اقترحت لائحة توصيات بالنسبه لسياسة البرنامج.

النماذج والاعتبارات لاعادة التدريب التي عرفت في هذا البحث يمكن تطبيقها في دول حيث تكثر بها تغيرات اجتماعيه مثل قدوم او هجره.

#### مؤشرات البحث :

علماء، قادمون جدد، اعادة التدريب، سياسه، تطبيق، تنشئه اجتماعيه، استيعاب، مشاكل مهنيه، سن، عقليه، ثقافه، تدريب المعلم، نماذج، تعليم العلوم، تحديث المضمون، تحديث اساليب التعليم، علم النهج، تطبيق التعليم.

## THE STRUCTURING OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SPACE WITHIN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN AUSTRALIA

YIANNIS DIMITREAS

Cette étude examine le sort des migrants sud-européens et méditerranéens en Australie au cours du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, depuis le régime 'Australie blanche', en passant par les gains obtenus grâce au mouvement pour les droits ethniques des années soixante, jusqu'à la tendance actuelle inspirée par l'économie qui s'occupe des migrants de la couronne Asie et Pacifique Sud. L'idée débattue est que les préoccupations néo-corporatistes du gouvernement australien, à une époque où le capital global dicte des relations privilégiées avec les entités supra-nationales au delà de la configuration traditionnelle nation-état, ont conduit à des budgets réduits pour les programmes éducatifs qui avaient été mis en place à partir des années soixante-cinq pour s'occuper des droits linguistiques et culturels des groupes ethniques d'origine méditerranéenne.

تدرس هذه الورقة ظروف هجرة جنوب أوروبا المتوسطيين في استراليا خلال هذا القرن من قبل نظام " استراليا البيضاء " من المكاسب التي حصلت بفضل حركة حقوق الاقليات " في المستعمرات والترحيل الطائفي المتأثر اقتصاديا للتهوض بالمهاجرين من منطقة اسيا وجنوب المحيط الهادى وتبين هذه الورقة ان انتماء الحكومة الاستراليه " بالثقافة الجديدة " ، حيث يملى راس المال العلمى علاقات امتيازية مع المؤسسات اللوطنية (Supra-National) فى غير متناول تركيب النوله -الانسه التقليدى ، اذ الى خفض ميزانيه البرامج التربوية التي وضعت منذ منتصف الستينيات لتوفر الحقوق اللغويه والثقافيه للاقليات من اصول متوسطية .

## LES REPRÉSENTATIONS SOCIALES DE LA VILLE CHEZ LES ÉCOLIERS DE DEUX VILLES EUROPÉENNES, D'ARLES ET DE SPARTE: UNE APPROCHE COMPARATIVE

AËGLI ZAFEIRAKOU

In 1994, an educational programme looking into the historical development of two Mediterranean towns, Arles in France, and Sparta in Greece, was set up in order to analyse the social representation of the urban space on the basis of the drawing of two groups of students aged twelve. These students met each other for a period of a week, first in Arles and then in Sparta. In particular, the pupils were asked to make a drawing of the town plan of Arles and Sparta. The emergence of the central elements of the social representations by each of the groups has shown that the latter are linked to the pupils' own cultural heritages. The results presented here are initial and exploratory reflections of an on-going research project.

Μελέτη στο πλαίσιο εκπαιδευτικού προγράμματος σχετικά με την ιστορική εξέλιξη δύο μεσογειακών πόλεων Αρλ-Γαλλία, Σπάρτη-Ελλάδα. Στόχος ήταν η ανάδειξη βασικών στοιχείων των κοινωνικών αναπαραστάσεων ομάδας μαθητών της έκτης Δημοτικού για την πόλη τους και την πόλη του άλλου. Η αναπαράσταση που έχουν οι μαθητές της μίας πόλης αποτυπώνεται έντονα και στην αναπαράσταση που διαμορφώνουν για την άλλη.

وُضع في سنة 1994 برنامجا تربويا ينظر في التطور التاريخي لمدينتين متوسطتين، Arles في فرنسا و Sparta في اليونان ، لاجل تحليل التمثيل الاجتماعي للفضاء المدني اعتمادا على رسومات مجموعتين من التلاميذ أعمارهم اثني عشر سنة . وقد قابل هؤلاء التلاميذ بعضهم البعض لمدة اسبوع ، في Arles اولاً ثم في Sparta ، وطلب منهم تحديدا رسم مخطط لكل من المدينتين . أبرز التحليل ارتباط العناصر الرئيسية للتمثيل الاجتماعي من جانب كل مجموعة بالتراث الثقافي للتلاميذ . تمثل النتائج المقدمة في هذه الورقة أفكار أولية وإستكشافية لمشروع بحثي قائم .

## PEACE EDUCATION IN ISRAEL – ENCOUNTER AND DIALOGUE

DOV DAROM

Alors qu'en toile de fond règnent des sentiments profonds d'animosité, de peur et de méfiance entre les Juifs et les Arabes, un nombre de projets éducatifs sont parainnés en Israël avec pour but la promotion de la co-existence et de la paix. Ce document est un rapport sur un de ces projets - les enfants enseignant aux enfants ('Children teaching Children' -CTC). Le projet CTC est basé sur une serie de rencontres face à face entre deux classes parallèles de Collège - l'une d'une école arabe, l'autre d'une école juive, s'étendant sur une période de deux ans. Le projet est basé sur des principes d'éducation humaniste, mettant l'accent sur le dialogue entre les personnes, l'apprentissage expérimental aux niveaux affectif aussi bien que cognitif, poussant en avant les valeurs d'empathie, d'acceptance, de pluralisme et de démocratie. Certains des résultats du projet CTC sont décrits, à la fois sur des bases de mesures faites avant et après le projet et sur des méthodes d'observation des participants. Ces résultats dénotent des changements d'attitude considérables dans les deux groupes, tel qu'une diminution des sentiments d'étrangeté, d'aliénation et de haine mutuelles, une meilleure compréhension du conflit israëlo-arabe et de la peine qu'il inflige des deux côtés, une intensification des sentiments de similarité entre les enfants et d'optimisme pour l'avenir.



על הרקע של רגשות עזים של עוינות, פחד וחוסר אימוץ בין יהודים וערבים, מתנהלים בישראל מספר פרזיקטים שמטרתם לחנך לדו-קיום ושלוש. המאמר הזה סוקר אחד הפרזיקטים הללו - "ילדים מלמדים ילדים" (ימ"י).

ימ"י מבוסס על סידרה של מפגשים פנים-אל-פנים בין שתי כיתות מקבילות בחטיבת הביניים - אחת מבית ספר ערבי והשניה מבית ספר יהודי - לאורך שתי שנות לימוד.

הפרזיקט מתנהל לאורך עקרונות של חינוך הומניסטי, עם דגשים על דיאלוג בין-אישי, למידה התנסותית על מישורים חווייתיים וקוגניטיביים כאחת, קידום ערכים של אמפתיה, קבלה, פלורליזם ודמוקרטיה.

מתוארים פה כמה וכמה תוצאות של ימ"י, הן על סמך מדידות לפני/אחרי והן על סמך תצפית משתתפת. ממצאים אלה מצביעים על שינויי עמדה משמעותיים בשתי הקבוצות, כגון ירידה ברגשות של זרות, ניכור ושנאה, הבנה טובה יותר של הקונפליקט הערבי-יהודי ושל הסבל שהוא גורם לשני הצדדים, עליה ברגשות של דמיון בין ילדי שתי הקבוצות וברגשי אופטימיות לגבי העתיד.

على خلفية المشاعر القوية في العدا والخوف وفقدان الثقة بين العرب واليهود، تعقد في اسرائيل مشاريع تربوية تهدف الى التعايش والسلام. يستعرض هذا المقال تلك المشاريع والتي تحمل العنوان: "أولاد يعلمون أولاد".

تعتمد فكرة مشاريع "أولاد يعلمون أولاد" على عدة لقاءات وجهها لوجه بين صفيين متوازيين احدهما من مدرسة عربية وأخرى يهودية وذلك لمدة سنتين في المرحلة الإعدادية.

تعتمد فكرة المشروع على اساس التربية الإنسانية، مع التركيز على الحوار بين الأشخاص، وعلى التعلم التجريبي على مستوى الممارسة ومستوى الإدراك على حد سواء، وعلى دفع قيم الطموح والتقبل والتعددية والديمقراطية.

هنا تعرض عدة نتائج لمشروع "أولاد يعلمون أولاد". وذلك حسب فحوصات سابقة ولاحقة وحسب ملاحظات مشتركة. تشير هذه النتائج الى تغيير ملحوظ في الموقف بجانب الطرفين: كاضمحلال مشاعر الغربة والكرهية، وتوفير التفهم للصراع العربي اليهودي والضيق الذي يسببه للطرفين، وازدياد مشاعر التفاؤل عند افراد المجموعتين في تصور المستقبل.

# Journal of MULTILINGUAL and MULTICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Editor **John Edwards** (*St Francis Xavier University, Canada*)

The *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development* (JMMD) has generally interpreted its mandate in a broad fashion - virtually all topics treating language and cultures in contact are of interest. Within this broad remit, however, special emphasis has always been given to sociolinguistic issues. Thus we have published papers on creole in Caribbean schools, French immersion, Singaporean literature in English, census issues in India and the South Pacific, language attrition in Australia, minority languages in France, and language shift among Indo-Fijians in New Zealand - as well as more theoretical pieces on language maintenance, shift, planning and vitality.

It is clear that *JMMD* has, over its eighteen years, become a central and valuable outlet for sociolinguistic scholars. This will continue, and we will encourage, wherever possible, not only sociolinguistic studies *per se* but also work in the closely-related areas of the sociology and social psychology of language. As part of the publisher's ongoing efforts to distribute *JMMD* more widely, and to make its contents more accessible to a wider audience, we are glad to announce that, from 1996, the journal has been available on the Internet: details may be obtained from the publisher.

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- \* *Language Shift in the Teochew Community in Singapore* Li Wei. *et al.*
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**The IAIE is an international network of professionals, aimed at the development and implementation of intercultural education.**

Intercultural education would include a critical understanding and awareness of:

- \* intercultural and international understanding
- \* the recognition of and respect for cultural differences
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- \* strategies for equal access to knowledge and the learning processes in order to achieve an equality of outcomes.

Intercultural education is characterized by:

- \* clear policy guidelines for schools
- \* recognition of the value of the knowledge, skills and contributions of all students to the learning process
- \* criteria for a broadly based and accessible curriculum
- \* criteria for optimum interaction processes in the classroom
- \* multilingualism

The main activities of the IAIE include:

- \* Publication of the European Journal of Intercultural Studies
- \* Publication of a Directory with information about all members: addresses, professional interests, areas of expertise
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**Three** complete copies of the manuscript should be submitted, typed double-spaced on one side of the paper. A diskette version of the article (preferably formatted on Word for Windows) should be included with the manuscript. It is essential that the full postal address, telephone, fax and email coordinates be given of the author who will receive editorial correspondence, proofs and offprints. Authors should include a brief autobiographic note. To enable the refereeing procedure to be anonymous, the name(s) and institution(s) of the author(s) should not be included at the head of the article, but should be typed on a separate sheet. The surname of the author/s should be underlined.

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