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IN EDUCATION

Christoph Wulf (Ed.)

Education for the 21st Century

Commonalities and Diversities

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European Studies in Education

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Christoph Wulf (Ed.)

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Commonalities and Diversities

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in connection with:

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European Studies in Education

The political, economic, and social developments in the European Union pose new challenges to education in Europe, where each country has its own system. Under these circumstances, the relation between national, regional, and local traditions on the one hand and supraregional, transnational aspirations on the other must be conceived. The field of education is seeing the rise of new issues, responsibilities, and research requiring scholars from different European cultures to work together.

European Studies in Education constitutes an international forum for the publication of educational research in English, German, and French. The multilingual nature of this series mirrors that of Europe and makes it possible to portray and express cultural diversity.

The present volume was written in the framework of the Network Educational Science Amsterdam (NESA), in which more than 30 European and a few non-European faculties and research institutes co-operate in the area of education.

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Christoph Wulf

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Introduction

Christoph Wulf

Introduction

Globalisation: Antinomies between commonalities and diversities

At present, education within Europe is undergoing major changes. The expansion of the European Union involving ever more European countries means education in Europe can no longer simply be seen as a national undertaking but has become an intercultural task (Wulf 1995). The core question in this growth is how local, regional and national differences and similarities in education will be dealt with. On the one hand, there is a need to maintain cultural differences between the various countries within Europe as one facet of the rich multiplicity of the continent; on the other hand, the political, economic and cultural developments in Europe entail the need for a common approach. In the face of the globalisation of important areas of life as well as world-wide political, economic, and cultural integration the need for such a common approach is greater than ever. In the long term, such developments will increase the tension between the local and the global, with people increasingly seeing themselves as members of a global village with joint responsibility for the fate of the planet, and yet at the same time being unwilling to give up their attachment to a local and national context. In addition, there is also the tension between the universal and the individual which needs to be readjusted in the processes of education. On the one hand, globalisation influences most areas of human endeavour creating similarities across cultural boundaries and, on the other hand, encourages resistance against the levelling of differences in the name of the individual's uniqueness and integrity. Finally, education in the next century is being drawn into the conflict between tradition and modernism or post-modernism: how can one remain open to changes both now and in the future without betraying one's own cultural tradition? How can the various developmental dynamics be related to one another and adjusted one against the other? And which role do the modern media play in this development?

At present, we can distinguish two tendencies within societal development, contrary but at the same time inseparably entwined, which are both central requirements for shaping education within Europe: one tendency is directed towards an increase in *individualisation*, the other towards an increase in *globalisation*. The highly differentiated societies within Europe give each individual the chance to live her/his own life, yet simultaneously force this choice on each individual. The contradictory conditions of present-day socialisation are contained within this requirement: each one of us is supposed to live an individual life under societal conditions, which, however, are not subject to the individual's control. Thus, the demand made is to organise one's own life, with the expectation that one organises it successfully. Each is to choose their own biography; each is to actively create their own life, to construct it, to take up the responsibility for it being a success. In this scenario, tradition plays a subordinate role; what is expected is self-determination and self-realisation.

The ability to reflect and make decisions have become the most important qualities for the way we organise our lives and the decisions we make. Life, nowadays, for the vast majority of people, is a life in a material world without reference to transcendence. Each individual is solely responsible for the difficulties arising in their own situation and any errors made in dealing with them.

On the other hand, growth in individualisation is increasingly determined by the processes of globalisation. The result is a reciprocal relationship: the present-day forms of increased individualisation have become possible through globalisation processes, yet globalisation processes, in turn, require a growth and intensification in individualisation. The demands made by these processes in globalisation and individualisation have a sustained and lasting effect on the education and socialisation of children and teenagers. The commonalities and diversities arising from this are manifold, as are the *unintended side-effects* of the educational processes.

The present-day far-reaching societal change characterised as 'globalisation' is a multi-dimensional process, with economic, political, social and cultural effects, which will alter the relationship between the global and the local, regional and national state level within Europe. In considering this process, we can distinguish the following as the most important changes with regard to education:

Shortage of work: This applies, above all, to less-qualified jobs. The shortage will remain despite the hopes bound up with a change-over to service industries. For increasing numbers of people, the deep-rooted connection between the meaning of life as a social being and work will cease to be viable, and thus it must be re-examined in the context of its historical link to Christianity and the emergence of the structures of bourgeois society. Such a re-examination will also have medium and long-term consequences for education. This, however, is not the only change we are facing. The fixed link between many training programs and particular jobs will dissolve as there is an increasing recognition of and encouragement of key qualifications like the ability to co-operate, reflect, and innovate, coupled with the drive to achieve, with, in addition, strengths in intercultural and media areas. As well as conveying knowledge in specific areas, education will have to contribute more to the development of those qualities which help to shape those constantly growing areas outside the world of work. In order to master the ever-more complex connections between areas of life and work arising from globalisation, there is thus a need for greater, rather than less, investment in education.

The reduction in importance of the nation state: If, within its territory delineated from other European states around it, a nation state has previously been the primary carrier of culture and education, globalisation today leads to a general reduction of a nation state's importance and thus to generally changing conditions for education within Europe. There are a variety of reasons for the loss of sovereignty of the nation state. For one thing, nation states increasingly delegate decision-making to supra-national bodies. This enables them to continue to take part in the decision-making process, though, however, they no longer take the decision alone. The advantage for the nation state lies in the gain in influence on the effects, either Europe-wide or possibly even global, from collectively made decisions. A further reason for the loss of sovereignty is that multinational conglomerates disempower nation states by playing one off against the other in this process. Thus, for example, they develop their products in countries with a high level of technological know-how, manufacture the products in low-wage countries, and pay tax in countries with low tax-rates. Through destroying jobs in the country the company is based in, and through tax-saving measures, the company burdens the state with increased costs for constantly new unemployed while simultaneously the loss of tax paid severely limits the state's ability to produce the financial means needed. The strategy pays off for multinationals in terms of increased profits. However, as a consequence there is a lack of funds available for the areas of education, health and social welfare. Thus, the nation state faces greater difficulties in carrying out its traditional tasks and is in danger of being no longer able to fulfil the functions of integration.

Globalisation leads to *distances being overcome*, and brings with it the knowledge of previously unknown, far-distant cultural and societal areas. These are no longer the discrete territories which go to make up the nation state, with all its borders and border controls since the new media of telephone, television, and computer can travel over vast distances at close to the speed of light: space is shrinking. And only limited means, both financial and temporal, are now needed to overcome distance. Images, the spoken word, and mass tourism all bring the distant into our near environment. The traditional order of space and time, of distant and near, of strange and familiar is becoming destroyed, with new mixes and 'impurities' being created. The *transnational world society* is not to be characterised by homogeneity and simple structures but by *multiplicity, differences* and *complexity*. 'Planet Earth' may well be depicted as mankind's 'Heimat' in space and these images firmly anchored deep in our inner iconography and imagination, nonetheless these images do not say that the Earth is economically, culturally or politically homogenous nor that it is in the process of becoming so. Those theories which argue for the Americanisation of the world (it's 'Mcdonaldisation') are too one-dimensional: neither America nor Europe form the centre of the world. The world has, in fact, many cultural, economic, and political '*transnational centres*' and in these are created various *global scenarios* whether in *technological* or *financial* areas or in *images, communication* or in the *media*.

The loss of importance of national cultures: For our purposes, what is of major importance is the effect globalisation has in the areas of culture and, above all, education. Even today, culture primarily means national culture and as such is bound to one particular territory, a common language with shared traditions and memories, symbols and rituals. Within the framework created by educational establishments like schools, other European national cultures are only apparent in as far as they are connected to the development of one's own culture. In school curricula other cultures serve as a background against which the uniqueness and particularity of one's own culture can be measured, and with it the uniqueness and particularity of one's own nation. One only needs to glance into school textbooks to discover this nation state-centred view of education. It's not as if one still finds other nations seen as stereotypes or enemies (though it may sometimes happen), yet the view of other nations, as a rule, remains limited within a narrow perspective. This is true, above all, for history text-books. It becomes much less evident in language text-books, which orientate themselves much more towards the self-image of the country whose language is being learnt. The increasing importance of regional areas within European countries has led to an increasing tendency to take regional elements into account in teaching; this applies equally to languages, aspects of regional cultural, collective memories, symbols, signs, and rituals. How much regional traditions are represented in school curricula depends on how strongly the organisation of the individual nation state and its educational system is centralised or de-centralised. In the wake of globalisation, school curricula too are confronted with the need to present *new content from other areas of the world*, which makes the orientation of education towards the characteristics of the individual nation state more relative. Can European schools nowadays responsibly afford to ignore Chinese and Japanese history and the self-image these countries have? The same may be asked with regard to Mexico, Brazil and the developments in Africa, which is from a global perspective still the most marginalised continent. However, it is not only topic and subject-matter which are of importance; of no lesser importance is the development of an interest in the foreign, which has appeared in schools in the wake of globalisation.

Glocalisation of cultures: One needs to give up the idea of imagining education in Europe as something which takes place exclusively within an upturned airtight 'container' exactly covering the territory of one single nation state. The various origins, approaches and focuses of a culture are such that it makes more sense to imagine them overlapping with the global, regional and local all interconnected. The term 'glocalism', coined by Roland Robertson, expresses this layering of the global with the local, of the universal with the particular, whereby new forms of cultural and social aggregates are created which are to a great extent autonomous. This overlapping and interdependence of varied cultural elements does not make an independent cultural unity existing in itself, but creates the intense cultural multiplicity in the conditions of our lives through the coming century. In spite of globalisation, regionalisation and localisation of culture and education the differences between Italy and Denmark, Holland and the United Kingdom, Germany and France will remain: the more exactly we try to locate the commonalities, the more we will see the diversities. Yet precisely through the perception of diversities, are commonalities often more likely to emerge. Thus, there will be new mixes of different cultural elements. However, that there will be a unified 'world culture' or a single European culture is most unlikely since no reduction in multiplicity can be expected. The new tasks facing education are to be found within this process: the development of new accounts of the other, new reference points, and new transnational loyalties and alliances. Ecological and peace movements have developed initial forms of transnational associations together with the corresponding actions by segments of the population as, for example, was the case when Shell planned to sink a drilling-platform in the North Sea, or when the French government refused to stop carrying out underground nuclear tests in the South Pacific. New global values and perspectives make possible actions which transcend the borders of individual countries or regions.

Today the processes of globalisation and Europeanisation pervade all areas of life and have increased the complexity of life-worlds and the ways in which people live. They have an influence on the young generation through, above all, new media, new ways of communication, and the world market; these processes make their effect felt across all cultural differences, however great, though what they achieve is *similarity*, not sameness. There would be resistance against an attempt to reduce similarity to sameness in order to smooth over differences, and within this framework one would justifiable try to maintain the value of the integrity and uniqueness of the particular. In view of this development, education has to occupy itself increasingly with the task of supporting young people in meeting the demands which have developed from the enormous expansion of knowledge and help them unfold their personal abilities through knowledge, experiment and experience. Thus, they will be better able to cope with the increased complexity of life and better able to organise and make decisions about their own lives. In this situation, one of the most difficult tasks within education is balancing *the demand for equality of opportunity and the need for competition:* equality of opportunity brings with it the demand for special resources to promote socially disadvantaged children whereas the support needed for life in a competitive society demands the development of skills needed for self-assertion. The former aims at developing solidarity, the later at individuality. These two goals are frequently seen as mutually exclusive, allowing no simple compromises to be made.

Within the social and cultural processes created by globalisation, the increasing contact to and confrontation with the *foreign* becomes more and more important. Success or failure in dealing with the foreign is a decisive factor in determining the quality of life in the European Union and, indeed, its future. In as far as education is supposed to prepare the next generation for the challenge of life under societal conditions which are globally in the process of change, a more intense debate with both the foreign and foreigners belongs to one of the increasingly important tasks within education. Yet what is foreign, and what is familiar? Where do the commonalities and diversities lie when we consider what is foreign and what is own?

What one experiences as foreign is context dependent. The relationship between what is one's own and what is other decides whether something is foreign or not. Foreign and own have no unshifting core, rather they are the product of a relationship. They are formed by historical and culturally specific elements. What is foreign today may later become familiar. The notion of difference determines the experience of the foreign. Differences relativize the familiar. By showing that everything can be different, they point to the contingent character of own and foreign. But experiencing the foreign can only be planned to a certain extent since such moments happen or not as the case may be. The experience of the foreign prevents the assimilation in which the foreign is reduced to my own. The foreign is mysterious and does not allow itself to be colonised or absorbed. If the attempt to do this is successful, the foreign is thereby destroyed since the primary characteristic of the foreign is that it cannot be understood. In ethnology, the same conclusion has been reached after a debate lasting several decades. If the project of understanding is rigorously and forcefully implemented, then there is a danger of the foreign becoming incorporated as one's own. As a result, understanding is transformed into a power strategy. What is able to be understood, is able to be brought under control; what has been understood will be dominated and controlled. Hence, restraint is necessary in dealing with motions of understanding. There is a need to expressly refrain from expanding what is one's own and destroying what is other. If one initially assumes the *basic non-comprehensibility of the foreign*, one creates a space in which one can be occupied with it without having to subjugate it. The better approach, instead of an understanding which holds and possesses, is to think heterologically, to think from the other's perspective, leaving the other untouched and yet allowing approaches towards it.

Learning to live with differences may well be more important in the Europe of the 21st century than it is today. This is much easier when one assumes the integrity and uniqueness of the individual as a discrete entity and resists the temptation to know everything about the foreign and bridge differences with ostensible commonalities. However, a difficulty lies in the fact that such a way of dealing with the foreign makes greater demands on young people and their ability to cope with complexity. Young people have to learn to cope with this challenge which consists of the foreigner being different and through this very difference bringing into question the young person`s psychological stability, often only arrived at with great effort. If they don`t cope, then the transition to violence against foreigners is a frequently chosen alternative (Wimmer/Wulf/Dieckmann 1996; Dieckmann/Wulf/Wimmer 1997). Violence against foreigners becomes the means of maintaining the endangered psycho-social stability. Common defence mechanisms are labelling, ascription of inferior status, and making foreigners into scapegoats. Due to the stabilising function in the psycho-social make-up of young people played by hostility to and hatred of foreigners, it is difficult to work on it and thus minimise it: The projection of negative qualities onto the foreigner is too important for the vindication of self, other and their view of the world. In addition, violent action against minorities and foreigners is also reinforced by the social situation in which many young people find themselves. Such a situation is marked by factors like: leaving school without qualifications; lack of vocational training opportunities; unemployment of other family members; lack of integration in socially accepted ways of living; and the experience of insecurity, senselessness of life, and existential worries combined with inadequate future perspectives. Social conditions such as these carry within themselves the danger of exclusion and marginalisation of a large number of young people and thus produce large numbers of the population living in poverty for longer periods of time.

The main task of education will be to awaken *curiosity* about the foreign and maintain it without sacrificing it to mere superficial knowledge. This is the prerequisite of making an encounter with the foreign more an enrichment and less a threat. One of the most important though most difficult tasks facing education is how to encourage interest in the unknown and develop methods of heuristic learning. When reforms in education are planned, differences in the value of measures achieved in the longer or shorter-term should be taken into account, since what is effective in the short-term is frequently ineffectual in the long-term and vice versa. Thus, education needs to be looked at from the perspective of lifetime learning, which should be planned and applied accordingly. This will itself involve developing a variety of forms of learning. The UNESCO report on education in the 20th century delineates four pillars of learning: *learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together, learning to be.* Although these categories are not saying something new, nonetheless their formulation establishes goals which take into account the inevitable complexity of human learning. Learning ought to be based on living together with others and help to shape communal lives constructively and in the spirit of peace and social justice. Mutual understanding is to be encouraged and skills needed to form one's life productively are to be fostered and developed. Of particular importance among the many types of knowledge is the scientific knowledge required for shaping societal change. The development of the competence to act in various societal areas is to be encouraged. Thus, such demands are directed to the specific skills and needs of the individuals, to their health, memory, reflection, imagination and aesthetic and communicative abilities.

Whoever considers education in the next century runs the risk, as in the UNESCO report, of over-stressing the utopian side of pedagogical thinking and doing. The hope in the *perfectibility* of young people transforms their reality, a reality equally characterised by resistance and *incorrigibility*. A large number of educational reforms have shown that young people are not prepared merely to let themselves be led in the direction which the older generation believe is right for them. In addition, the problem of unwanted side-effects of education ensures that the gap between the utopian hopes and wishes and the reality of pedagogical practice will never be too narrow. Pedagogical theory and practice will forever be confronted with this discrepancy since it lies at the very heart of human existence.

The social changes characterised by the terms of *globalisation* and *individualisation* create new points of reference for education in the coming century. Almost all the articles in this book touch on the questions and problems connected with these new developments, though, however, without expressly developing them as a central theme each time. The focus of this volume on diversities and commonalities points in this direction, indicating conflict formations which are not to be overcome solely through utopian ideas and hoping for the best. Such areas of tension and conflict belong to the basic conditions surrounding the educational reality of the next century in a European Union still in the process of enlarging. To offer young people support in order to enable them to lead a fulfilled and productive life under these conditions must be the task of education both as a science and in application. The aim of this volume is to make a small contribution to that work. One chapter is devoted to each of the following main points:

- History and Theory of Education
- Ethnicity
- Teacher Education
- Youth Care and Special Educational Needs
- Media Based Education
- Women and Gender Studies
- Higher Education

The work here represents a continuation of an international co-operation which has already resulted in joint research results in several areas. Over the last few years such co-operation has proven its value, and it remains to be hoped that there will be a further intensification of co-operative work both within and beyond the existing network. Many of the problems dealt with in this volume would profit from further research within a framework of transnational co-operation.

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I.

History and Theory of Education

Elliot Eisner (Stanford)

Cognition and Representation:

A Way to Pursue the American Dream?

In some ways its an old idea. I'm talking about the idea that the forms we use to represent what we think - literal language, visual images, number, poetry - impact how we think and what we can think about. If different forms of representation performed identical cognitive functions there would be no need to dance, compute, or draw. Why would we want to write poetry, history, literature, and factual accounts of what we have experienced? Yet this apparently obvious idea has not been a prominent consideration in setting curricular agendas in America's schools or shaping educational policy. This article is intended to illustrate the ways in which *forms of representation*, or what are sometimes called symbol systems, function in our mental life and to explore their contributions to the development of mind.

Among the various aims we consider important in education, two are especially so. We would like our children to be well informed, that is, to understand ideas that are important, useful, beautiful, and powerful. And we also want them to have the appetite and ability to think analytically and critically, to be able to speculate and imagine, to see connections among ideas, and to be able to use what they know to enhance their own lives and the desire to contribute to the culture. Neither of these two goals are likely to be achieved if schools are inattentive to the variety of ways humans have represented what they have thought, felt, and imagined nor will these goals be achieved if we fail to appreciate culture's role in making these processes of representation possible. After all, human products owe their existence not only to the achievements of individual minds, but to the forms of representation available in the culture, forms that enable us to make our ideas and feelings public. Put another way, we can't have a musical idea without thinking and representing what we have thought musically. We can't have a mathematical idea without mathematics and neither is possible without a form of representation that affords our ideas the possibility of life. It is the school as a representative of culture that provides access to those forms. It is the school that fosters their skilful use among the young.

Minds, then, in a curious but profound way are made. Their shape and capacities are influenced by what the young are given an opportunity to learn. The curriculum is, given this conception of the genesis of mind, a mind altering device. Decisions policy makers and educators make about what children will be given access to help shape the kind of minds they will come to own. The character of their minds, in turn, will help shape the culture in which both they and we live.

Brains, in contrast to minds, are biological-brains are given by nature; minds are cultural, they are the result of experience and the kind of experience the child secures in school is significantly influenced by the decisions we make about what to teach. As I indicated, as important a consideration as this might be, reflection upon the role that forms of representation play in the creation of mind has been all but neglected in framing curricular policy. We need to remedy that.

Ours is a school system that gives pride of place to the skilful use of language and number; the venerable three "R"s. No one can cogently argue that the three "R"s are unimportant. Clearly, competency in their use is of primary importance. But even high levels of skill in their use is not enough to develop the variety of mental capacities children possess. The three R"s tap too little of what the mind can do. Where do we learn what the mind can do? We learn about its potentialities not only from psychologists who study the mind, but by looking at the culture - all cultures - because culture displays the forms humans have used to give expression to what they have imagined, understood, and felt. Each product humans create symptomizes the forms of thinking that lead to its realisation, each one of them provides testimony of what humans can achieve, each one represents a silent but eloquent statement concerning the scope and possibilities of the human mind, and each one comes into being through the use of one or more forms of representation.

If culture is, as I have suggested, the most telling repository of human capacity, I suggest that we inspect the culture to discover what might be called cognitive artifacts - the products of thought - that we use these products of thought to understand what we can of the forms of thinking that led to each, and that we try in the process to grasp the kind of meaning that each provides. I am saying that it is in the sciences and the arts, the architecture, the music, the mathematics, the poetry and the literature found in culture that gives us the clearest sense of what humans are capable of thinking about, the heights their thinking can reach, and which, in turn, tells us about the kinds of meaning humans are capable of creating. Understanding these achievements can, and in my view ought to, provide a basis for making decisions about what we teach.

Let's turn now to some of the core ideas you will find elaborated in the papers to follow.

First, the form of representation we use to represent what we think influences both the processes of thinking and its products.

Imagine a white horse. Imagine a white horse standing in the corner of a green field who slowly begins to move. As the horse moves it gradually turns from white to a brilliant blue. Imagine as it begins to move from walk to trot, from trot to gallop, large gold wings emerging from its back. Now imagine those wings moving as the blue horse rises slowly into the sky above, getting smaller and smaller and slowly disappearing into a large soft white cloud.

Now imagine writing a poem that coveys to a reader your experience with that image, or a painting that depicts it, or a literal description that describes it, or a set of numbers that represents it--a set of numbers? A problem emerges. Poetry, yes; painting, yes; a literal description, yes. But numbers, in this case, numbers won't do.

This scenario is not an argument against the representational capacities of numbers, it is an effort to demonstrate graphically that you can't represent everything with any thing. What you choose to use to think with effects what you can think about. Furthermore the ability to represent experience within the limits and possibilities of a form of representation requires that you think *within* the material with which you work. When such thinking is effective you convert that material into a medium, something that mediates. Mediates what? Mediates your thinking. The choice of a form of representation and the selection of the material to be used imposes both constraints and affordances. When the material is employed skilfully meanings are made that become candidates for interpretation by the "reader".

Reading a form that carries meaning is by no means limited to those who are spectators, reading the form is required of the maker, by the individual who attempts to use a form of representation to say something. The maker must be able to read the work as it unfolds and through such a reading be able to make adjustments. It is in this monitoring and editing process that attention to nuance becomes especially important and through such attention, when the necessary skills are available, the process is modified to yield a product worth making. In short, the processes of thinking are engaged in the process of making and the process of making requires the ability to see what is going on in order to make it better. When we modify what we have made as result of such inspection we call it editing. The editing process is employed in all forms of representation.

What is particularly important in this process is that the "standards" the maker uses to make judgements about his or her work are often personal or idiosyncratic, that is, the standards for the work, although influenced by the culture, are often sufficiently open - especially in the arts - to allow the maker to depend upon an internal locus of evaluation. Thus, thinking is promoted by the character of the task.

Second, different forms of representation develop different cognitive skills.

Think about what is required to write a poem or to paint a water-colour or to choreograph a dance. What must someone be able to do? What must a child learn to think about in order to become proficient? First of all an idea must be framed that at the very least functions as a launching pad for one's work. Second, the idea itself must be transformed within the parameters of the medium, that is, the child must be in a position to conceive of the idea in terms that the medium permits. Think again about the horse. To render the experience in dance, what we might call choreographic thinking is required. To render it in paint another form of thinking is involved. Dance requires movement, painting the illusion of movement. While both require attention to composition, the terms or conditions of composing in each form are quite different. The choreographer composes through movement framed by a proscenium arch, the artist composes on canvas, a static surface intended to receive a physically static image. The ability to cope successfully with the demands of the former provides no assurance that one will be successful with the demands of the latter. Each form of representation, although both visual, is mediated through its own materials and each material imposes its own demands. And because the demands of different forms of representation differ, different cognitive skills are developed to cope with them.

Let me offer a specific example of one of those demands in order to better appreciate the forms of cognition it engenders. I turn to water-colour painting.

Water-colour painting is an unforgiving process. By this I mean that water-colour requires a directness and confidence in execution that helps one avoid costly mistakes. Unlike working in oil paint where changes can be made by over-painting a section of a canvas, over-painting in water-colour is not a happy solution for correcting unhappy decisions; colours muddy and spontaneity is lost. Thus the person using water-colours must work directly and often quickly and this means becoming sensitive to a wide array of qualities including the weight of the tip of the brush for its weight when charged with colour tells one about the amount of paint it holds and this is important to know because the amount of paint on the brush's tip will effect the kind of image that will flow from it. But that is not all. The kind of image that flows from the brush is also influenced by the wetness of the paper that receives it. The artist or student has to take that interaction effect into account as well.

In these assessments of the conditions of one's work there is no rule to follow and no metric with which to measure weight or to determine wetness. The artist knows through sight and through feel. A unified body and mind must be fully engaged with the material at hand to have a basis for making such judgements.

I have described only a minuscule part of the process of water-colour painting; I have not mentioned any of the formal or expressive considerations that are at the heart of making an art form. These considerations present particularly complex cognitive demands. To regard what is euphemistically called "art work" as " non-cognitive" is to reveal a massive misunderstanding of what such work requires. The task of the teacher is to create the conditions through which the student's thinking about these matters can become more complex, more subtle, more effective. In a word, more intelligent.

Third, the selection of a form of representation influences not only what you are able to represent, it influences what you are able to see.

E. H. Gombrich, the noted art historian was said to have said, "Artists don't paint what they can see, they see what they can paint." Gombrich's point, of course, is that people look for what they know how to find and what they know how to find is often related to what they know how to do. When what one knows is how to measure, one looks for what one can measure. If the only tool you have is a hammer, you treat almost everything as if it were a nail. Tools are not neutral. Forms of representation are tools. They are not neutral. If one sees a city in terms of the poetry one wants to write about it, one seeks in one's travels through the city what has poetic potential. If one searches the city for images to record on black and white film, one seeks images in light and dark. Put colour film in the camera and another set of criteria emerge with which to search the city's landscape. When we emphasise the use of particular forms of representation we influence what counts as relevant.

Fourth, forms of representation can be combined to enrich the array of resources students can respond to.

I alluded earlier to the fact that our schools are deeply immersed in teaching language and number. Focusing on each separately as is often done in school has the benefit of providing for focused attention to a specific task. There is virtue in such a focus when trying to learn something complex. At the same time displays that make available to students ideas couched in visual, verbal, numerical, and auditory forms increase the resources available to the student for making meaning. When resources are rich, the number and avenues for learning expand.

The kind of resource rich environment I am talking about is much closer to the conditions of life outside of schools than inside of them. We live our daily lives in a redundant and replete multi-media environment in which opportunities for iterative forms of learning are common. This means that if we have difficulty learning something one way, there are often other routes that can be taken. Observing pre-schoolers explore the worlds they inhabit through all of their sensory modalities is evidence enough of the variety of ways through which they come to understand the world. Pre-school teachers and kindergarten teachers know this and the environments they create for their students reflect their understanding of the multiple ways through which children learn. These environments also reflect their belief in the importance of providing a wide variety of forms through which their students might represent what they wish to " say".

It is unfortunate that the resource the rich environments that characterises good pre-schools and kindergartens are typically neutralised as young children move up into the grades. We would do better, I believe, to push the best features of kindergarten upward into the grades than to push the grades into the kindergarten. In many ways the good kindergarten displays features that could serve as a model for the rest of schooling. Kindergarten teachers can create such environments because normally - at least in the past - kindergarten is not regarded as "serious" education. As a result kindergarten teachers are able to utilise the central role sensory experience plays in learning, and are free to afford their students many opportunities to find and use forms of representation that stimulate, practice, and develop different cognitive skills.

For older children imagine programs in science, history, and the arts coming together to provide students with a replete picture of scientific, historical, and artistic content; the relationships between discoveries in physics around the turn of the century, the innovations in visual art and music - Picasso's cubism and Stravinsky's "Firebird" for example - with Einstein's work on his special theory of relativity, and all of this occurring during a period in which Freud's exploration of the unconscious was taking place. What would it mean to students to be given the opportunity to experience these connections *through* the representational forms in which they were realised; listening to Stravinsky, seeing Picasso's cubism, reading Einstein's comments on his own thought processes. A curriculum unit designed to introduce students to such material, designed to ground such material in time and in representational form, would multiply the number and types of "cognitive hooks" or forms of scaffolding that students could use to advance their own learning. The enrichment of the environment by the provision of a variety of forms of representation would also increase the array of cognitive abilities that students could develop. The curriculum would become not only a mind altering device, it would become a mind expanding one as well.

There is another issue that also needs to be recognised. This one pertains to matters of educational equity. The selection of the forms of representation that an institution emphasises to determine who succeeds and who does not is related to the fit between the aptitudes of the students and the affordances of the forms they are to use. When the primary game in town is the denotative use of language and the calculation of number, those whose aptitudes or whose out of school experience utilise such skills are likely to be successful; there is a congruence between what they bring to the school and what the school requires of them. But when the school's curricular agenda is diverse, diverse aptitudes and experience can come into play. Educational equity is provided not merely by opening the doors of the school to the child, but by providing opportunities to the child to succeed once he or she arrives. The provision of the resource rich environment I have described is an extremely important way in which genuine educational equity can be achieved.

This way of thinking about the relationship between the development of cognition and the forms of representation through which it is realised has implications for how we conceive of a successful school. In the conception implicit in what I have said the mission of the school is decidedly not to bring everyone to the same place but, rather, to increase the variance in performance among students while escalating the mean for all. The reason I believe this is an important aim for schools in a democracy is that the cultivation of cognitive diversity is a way of creating a population better able to contribute uniquely to the common weal. Look at it this way. If by some magic everyone was transformed into a brilliant violinist, the convocation of all the brilliance among all the violinists on the planet would not make possible the kind of music that equal competencies would achieve if they were distributed among all the instruments; sometimes you need woodwinds, or percussion, or brass. Schools that cultivate the differences among us while escalating the mean for performance in each of the forms of representation provides for the richness of the full orchestra. We do better as a culture when we are not all violinists - even brilliant ones.

Fifth, each form of representation can be used in different ways and each way calls upon the use of different skills and forms of thinking.

We tend to talk about forms of representation as if each on them called upon a single set of specific cognitive skills. At a general level they do. Dance, in contrast to computation or the writing of poetry, makes use of the body in motion; thinking must be realised within the capacities of a moving body. But such parameters are general parameters and within movement itself there are a wide array of options; *how* one chooses to dance, *what* one wishes to express, the *genre* within which one works also imposes requirements that are specific to the particular task to be performed. In the field of painting the pathos expressed in the drawings of Kathe Kollowitz required her to make use off a marriage between mind, emotion, and body that made the power of her images possible; in a sense, her aesthetic centre is located in her guts. Her work is not what one might call cerebral, though surely there are ideas in it. Other artists, for example, the abstractionist Josef Albers was concerned with colour relationships. His paintings deal with what might be called visual vibration. Their source is located in a different part of the body compared to Kollowitz. And when we look at the work of Salvador Dali, other sources become dominant, these in the meanderings of the unconscious. My point here is that as Snow

(1996) has pointed out, many forms of thinking are at play in any single form of representation, even though one may dominate.

What does the forgoing mean for American education? Do the ideas we have examined have any implications for what we do in schools or for the policies we create to guide them? Do they have relevance for how we think about the meaning of education? I think they do and I believe their implications pertain to matters of *process, content, equity,* and *culture*. I address each briefly here.

By process I refer back to where we began, namely with the idea that mind is a cultural achievement, that the form it takes is influenced in significant degree by the kind of experience an individual is afforded in the course of a lifetime. In school, a major locus of experience for children and adolescents is the curriculum. It performs a major function in shaping those experiences. Decisions regarding which forms of representation will be emphasised, which will be marginalized, and which will be absent constitute decisions about the kinds of processes that will be stimulated, developed, and refined. In short, in schools we influence the forms of cognitive competency that students will develop by providing opportunities for development to occur. In education we are in the construction business.

Process is one side of the coin, content is the other. Competency in the use of a form of representation provides access to particular forms experience and therefore to ways of understanding. The ability to read a poem, an equation, a painting, a dance, a novel, a contract constitutes distinctive forms of literacy where literacy means, as I intend it to mean, a way of representing and recovering meaning in the form of representation in which it appears. Given this conception of literacy, a conception far broader than its commonly held root "logos", referring to the word, we ought to be interested in developing multiple forms of literacy. Why? Because each form of literacy has the capacity to provide unique forms of meaning and it is in the pursuit of meaning that much of the good life is lived. Schools serve children best when their programs do not narrow the kind of meanings they know how to pursue and capture.

Equity is a third notion that can summarise the contributions that attention to multiple forms of representation can help achieve. The equity question is related to aptitude differences among students and to the opportunities they will find in schools that make it possible for them to play to their strengths. Equity of opportunity does not reside as some people seem to believe in a common program for all. It resides in school programs that make it possible for students to follow their bliss, to pursue their interests, to realise and develop what they are good at. Of course there will need to be parameters set with respect to what is possible - a school cannot do everything - nevertheless, I am talking about ambitions, desiderata, principles. We ought to try to grasp what may be beyond our reach - or what's a heaven for?

Finally, we come to culture. What kind of society do we want? What kind of life do we want to be able to lead? What kind of place will America become? The quality of life that America as a culture will make possible will not only be a function of diversity of traditions and values, it will be a function of the quality of the contributions rooted in the differences among us. In totalitarian societies, Herbert Read (1944) reminds us, children are to be shaped by schools to fit an image defined by the state. In democratic societies and in those societies seeking to create a democratic way of life, children are helped to realise their distinctive talents and through such realisation to be in a position to contribute to the culture as a whole. The presence of multiple forms of representation in the school is a way to try to achieve that democratic ambition.

Ultimately I believe we need to build a culture reflecting the two senses in which the term "culture" can be used. One sense is biological, the other is anthropological. In the biological sense a culture is a medium for growing things. In the anthropological sense a culture is a shared way of life. Our schools should be cultures in both senses. They should be media for growing things and what they should grow are minds. They should try to achieve that noble ambition through the shared way of life they make possible, a way of life that recognises both the differences and the commonalities among us. Understanding the relationship between cognition and representation and its relevance for policy and practice in our schools is one place to begin. It is also one way to pursue the American dream.

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Historical Anthropology and Educational Studies

At a time in which the fixed points of reference in education have lost their grip and normative uncertainty is widespread, when religious ideas, outdated images of man and social utopias are inadequately suited for the orientation and legitimation of education, the attempt to seek a solution through anthropology suggests itself. Where positions in the history of philosophy that press for social change lose their power, recourse is had to anthropology, which arouses expectations of insights regarding the unchanging elements in human nature. In order that this movement should not lead to an imposition of (conservative) norms, it must also include a self-assessment and critique of anthropology.

All perception, reflection, action and research in education involves anthropological preconditions. When educational thinking aims at the "perfection" of mankind, it necessarily includes anthropological ideas about its susceptibility to being influenced and educated, or its "incorrigibility" (Kamper/Wulf, 1994).

'The close connection between educational theory and anthropology already becomes clear in Kant's "Anthropology from a Pragmatic Viewpoint". Here the distinction is made between a "physiological anthropology", covering that which nature makes out of man, and a "pragmatic anthropology", referring to that which man can make of himself. The human development which is possible within the framework of "pragmatic anthropology" requires the education of man and "the human race" for its realisation. Anthropology serves to provide the norms for education.

Kant's distinction, too, between a "physiological" and a "pragmatic" anthropology, leading to the distinction between a culture marked by natural science and one marked by the humanities, and to which the traditional distinction between "explaining" and "understanding" corresponds, has lost importance in recent anthropology; it is not sufficient to provide a theoretical basis for the methodological foundations of anthropology. For these, the wide variety of anthropological approaches is the decisive feature. In this multiplicity of positions and orientations of method it is quite possible to see a de-materialisation of anthropology. However, it remains controversial how this is to be judged.

The origins of anthropology and educational theory in the 18th century are closely connected with the rise of the bourgeoisie. In the case of anthropology the object of study is man, and in that of educational theory *education*. At the centre of both these disciplines is a general conception of man that became valid for bourgeois society and in whose shaping economics, the legal system and science had a part. The limits of this general conception of man lie in the lack of awareness of its historical and Eurocentric character. In recent anthropology, these limits have certainly been seen and treated (Historische Anthropologie,1989; the series "Historische Anthropologie" 1988 ff.).

Regardless of how the importance of anthropology for education is assessed, the fact is decisive that anthropology is carried out by the object of anthropology itself, i.e. the object of anthropology is at the same time its subject, and this situation leads to an intensification of the complexity of anthropological self-examination, resulting in the insight that man understands himself only partially, but remains incomprehensible as a whole. This realisation radicalises a position that Plessner has developed in Philosophical Anthropology, and which proceeds from the idea that man must be understood as an "open question". This view is linked with a relativisation of anthropological knowledge the consequences of which for educational theory can only be begun to be assessed.

Anthropological self-assessment aims first at uncovering the *implicit anthropologies* of important theories of education, and at making clear their points of agreement and difference. In historical studies, the latent anthropological assumptions in the educational ideas of Comenius, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Humboldt can be traced. An analysis of the various paradigms of educational theory with regard to the different anthropological assumptions they contain is equally revealing. Thus the anthropological assumptions in the educational theory of the humanities are emphatically different from those of empirical or critical educational theory (Wulf 1995). When these are compared with each other, this comparison leads to the question as to the compatibility or incompatibility of the paradigms.

Such analyses expand the spectrum of anthropological reflections in educational theory and make clear the *radical pluralism* in its anthropological preconditions. The relativising of the various notions and models leads to a loss of importance of the question of truth, without, however, reducing this to arbitrariness. Such a re-examination of the anthropological preconditions of educational theory can lead to the revision of fundamental notions held hitherto and to the development of new ones.

Educational Anthropology

Besides the anthropologies implicit not only in theories and methods of education, but also in educational institutions and programmes, an educational anthropology or anthropological theory of education developed during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, comprehending several positions, which have been portrayed in various ways. König/Ramsenthaler (1980) distinguish three approaches: educational anthropology as a discipline of integration, as the establishing of basic educational concepts, together with educational anthropology and ethics. Kamper (1983) divides the field into five approaches: the integral, the philosophical-anthropological, the phenomenological, the dialectical-reflective, and the dialogic. We cannot here expand on the requisite explanation of the fundamentals of these approaches, but it appears possible to classify educational anthropologies hitherto under the following three approaches: educational anthropology as a discipline of integration, as a theory of individuation, and as philosophical reflection.

1. Educational anthropology *as a discipline of integration* (Roth 1966;1971).
   The goal of this approach is the critical incorporation of relevant individual disciplines such as biology, psychology, sociology from the viewpoint of their relevance for educational theory. Roth's studies show a strong emphasis on learning and on the knowledge acquired with the aid of empirical procedures. Critics have seen in this a dissolution of educational theory in an anthropology of learning, or a repository for diverse knowledge of importance to educational theory. Over and above the theoretical incorporation of findings relating to individual disciplines, therefore, a categorical analysis of empirical-educational statements and conclusions in educational philosophy derived therefrom were demanded.

2. Educational anthropology as a *"theory of individualisation".* This approach centres on the question of the susceptibility to educative moulding of the individual, after the manner of homo educandus and educabilis. Derbolav (1980) is concerned with a "draft of a history of the educational constitution of the individual", the development of self-educational anthropology as individual history. Here, a synthesis is to be achieved between philosophical reflection and empirical knowledge. Loch, who published several studies in educational anthropology in the 1960s and 1970s, attempts to develop educational anthropology as a theory of curricular competencies (Loch 1963). This refers to the following skills acquired by the individual in childhood: the

ability to assimilate, sensory-motor competence, locomotor competence, the ability to imitate, competence in play, linguistic competence, regulative ability, ability to achieve, ability to think, and technical competence. The motor for the acquisition of these competencies is the idea that man harbours the wish "to desire to do [everything] better and better".

3. Educational anthropology *as philosophical reflection.* The point of departure of this position is the philosophical anthropology of Scheler and Plessner. Here, it is above all the definitions of man as "open-minded" (Scheler), "eccentric" (Plessner), and as "an open question" (Plessner) that are taken up. This view also marks the studies of Bollnow (1980) and has an effect on other positions. According to this, man is in principle "eccentric", i.e: contains a split that obliges him to have an attitude to himself. This situation causes man to be conceived of as "an open question" and, by analogy to God, as "homo absconditus". This view has repeatedly challenged positivist or ideologically dogmatic positions to contradiction. Nevertheless, the appropriateness of this view is given support by recent research in anthropology (Morin 1974;1986). Its consequences for educational theory remain for the present open. At any rate, it reminds us of the limitations of all educational perspectives and actions.

Historical Anthropology

Attempts hitherto to develop an educational anthropology have in several respects fallen short. In view of the state of development of historical anthropology, important conclusions result for anthropological knowledge and anthropological reflection in the theory of education which shall be briefly outlined below. For this purpose, we shall name five viewpoints whose taking into account can avoid some of the misconceptions of previous anthropological reflection.

1. Educational anthropology can only be developed *as historical anthropology* (cf. Historische Anthropologie 1989; the series "Historische Anthropologie" 1988; Wulf 1997). It must proceed from a double historicity: this includes the historicity of the object or topic being examined and that of the investigation itself, including its approach and formulation of its questions. Only by taking this double historicity into account can one overcome the reductions of traditional anthropology, which endeavoured to determine the conditions of human existence without appropriately considering their historicity.
2. The nature-culture distinction is inadequate in relation to man as such; all that is appropriate is to speak *of human nature.* This must today be understood as the result of a lengthy phylogenetic process in which "nature" and "culture" have become inseparably linked in man. This mode of consideration is the result of the historicising of nature, which began with Darwin and is today a essential element of the self-image of the natural sciences. It is also a conclusion of recent anthropological research, according to which the process of becoming human, that is, the process that led to the hominids and "homo sapiens", must be conceived of itself as an historical one in which the following elements combined: genetic mutation, ecological conditions, the civilising practice of hunting, an increase in social complexity, and the development of civilisation. By present-day standards of understanding, one should not see this process as a continual one, but as one taking place in fits and starts. Morin (1986) has summed up these phenomena under the concept of the "uni-duality" of man, in which "nature" and "culture" enter into an indissoluble combination with a new quality.

3. Educational anthropology must, being historical anthropology, abandon the claim to make statements about man *as such* and education *as such. It* cannot develop a total view of man and education. Only by renouncing this claim can it escape the violent element of normative anthropology and create space for differences and paradoxes in reflection on man such as have long been well established in the methodical approaches of the natural sciences. What is required is no longer the development of a picture of man; instead, the goal is the creation of multifarious heterogeneous and to some extent contradictory perspectives on man.

4. This situation is taken account of by an historical educational anthropology in methodological respects too. It endeavours to overcome the traditional distinctions between "understanding" and "explaining". Thus, for example "understanding" leads to a representation of objects, topics and persons which is concrete and comprehends subjective elements, and without which "explaining" is not possible; and explanations lead to a better understanding of the various representations. As well as *logical* procedures for the gaining of knowledge, analogous ones must have their place, which do not exclude logical processes but complement them. Without analogous elements, no logical knowledge is possible; they create the representation of the topics, objects and individuals which are the precondition for logical reflections and analogies. Correspondingly, the two great forms of symbolising thinking, myth and logos, cannot be reduced to one another, but have an existence independent of one another, and both play an important part in phylogenesis and ontogenesis.

5. According to the view put forward here, it cannot be the concern of educational anthropology to bring about a reduction of the variety of anthropological knowledge. Instead, what is requisite is an *increase in complexity* in knowledge and thinking about man, which must not be reduced by reference to practical restrictions on the actions of the educator. It is, rather, necessary to tolerate

> the tension between the polycentric complexity of anthropological reflection and everyday educational action, in the awareness that this difference cannot be dissolved. What is required is an attitude to the uncertainty of knowledge and action that does not lead to resignation, but rather releases energies of will to know and to act, which become the motor of new understanding and new forms of action. This is only possible, however, if, with the aid of the consciousness of uncertainty, the quantity of self-deception is reduced. This requires a complexity of educational thinking with suitably cautious educational action resulting therefrom.

These considerations lead to a number of new concepts and topic complexes of anthropological reflection in educational theory. The fields mentioned below are merely exemplary in character, and should not be misunderstood as a claim to a system. The fields concerned, whose relevance to educational theory is to be briefly discussed, are: the body and the senses, imagination, mimesis, and other people.

1. *Body and senses*. Elias's studies on the process of civilisation and Foucault's studies on the complex of "supervision and punishment" have made it clear that the physicality of people of today is the result of processes of progressive disciplining, psychologising and rationalisation having their origin in the late Middle Ages. The growing distance between individuals and the concomitant raising of the shame and embarrassment threshold, the replacement of the close-range senses (feeling, taste, smell) by the long-range senses (the ear and panicularly the eye) in dealing with life have brought about processes of "mentalisation", rationalisation and abstraction, i.e. a distancing and dematerialisation of the physical. In the course of these processes, there has come about a growing distance from the life of the body with its multiplicity of senses, sensations, passions and desires. Combined with this is an enhancement of alien control and self-control through prohibitions and prescriptions, norms and rules. In particular the loss of significance of the close-range senses has led to the fact that

bodies are perceived increasingly as images. The disembodied nature of the third revolution - the electronic one - with its extensive image production has accelerated these processes still further. By way of these forms of subtle influencing and conditioning, the given structures of social power take root in the bodies of individuals and determine their behaviour from within. Foucault described these processes as means of a "microphysics of power" that lead to an increase in self-discipline. The human body is used as a unit of labour and as the object of learning and sex, the goal being its domination and exploitation. A necessary consequence is its division and dismemberment. And yet the body also articulates itself in terms of resistance, becoming the topic of discussion in a new way and one most relevant to processes of education and socialisation (cf. Kamper/Wulf 1982; 1984a; 1984b).

2. *Imagination.* With education concentrating on the production of "rational" man, the imagination has been in the doldrums. Now recent anthropological studies have shown that the power of imagination plays a much more important part in phylogenesis and ontogenesis than has in general been perceived by educationalists. On the one hand, imagination was made early and widespread use of in politics and economics, resulting in an alliance of capitalism and the fantastic. On the other, wide areas of fantasy have been displaced into the private and semi-conscious spheres. With its ability to assimilate, reproduce and create, the power of imagination has an importance for phylogenesis and ontogenesis no less than that of language. In view of the increasing exploitation of the world of images by the new media, we may observe an increase in the social significance of the imagination of which education must take greater account.

3. *Mimesis.* Plato and Aristotle already perceived the anthropological significance of mimesis. What becomes of man is only possible by reason of his highly developed facility of imitation. Mimesis is a precondition of civilisation (Gebauer/Wulf 1995). It

is what renders it possible for each generation to absorb the knowledge acquired thus far by humanity and process it. Children and adolescents, in panicular, are dependent on their mimetic abilities, for mosc processes of learning and education contain mimetic elements. To Plato in the 3rd book of the Politeia, mimesis is even a synonym for education. With its aid, young people emulate models and attempt to make themselves similar to them. Where this representation is successful, the model unfolds its normative power. Mimetic processes are not ethical; they take place regardless of whether the model is good or bad. For this reason, Plato also fears the negative power of bad models, which he wishes to keep from the young. Aristotle, by contrast, states that only by the mimetic tackling of the negative can the young person be protected against its influences. Mimetic processes take place on the physical-sensory level; imitations of things observed take place unconsciously. It is not least for this reason that mimetic processes have so lasting an effect. Via the mimesis of actions the norms that guide these are also transmitted. Mimetic processes are not mere processes of imitation, copying or simulation; their goal does not consist in the production of the same, but the creation of the similar. Mimesis leaves the imitated objects and persons unchanged; it exercises no violence on them, but is contented with a gentle approach. Thus mimesis shows possibilities of access to life and to others which thus far have played a part only in aesthetic education, but contain a potential whose unfolding beyond aesthetic education is also meaningful.

4. *Other People.* In recent decades in anthropology, the importance of ‘the other’, or other individuals, has been discovered. In cultural anthropology the incomprehensibility of the alien was stressed, and in historical anthropology the impossibility of knowing others stressed. Now educational theory too is beginning to comprehend the significance of others for ontogenesis. Whereas it was hitherto assumed that the essential was to understand as much as possible of the child, the perspective

changes by turning to the concept of the Others. The point of departure is now increasingly the insight into the different nature of the child, its immutable otherness. For intercultural learning, this viewpoint also means a shift of perspective. The independence and alienness of the other culture is now not accepted as unalterable. Understanding no longer means merely becoming acquainted with the alien; rather, it must include the acceptance of the incomprehensible. This means the final relativisation of taking one's own culture as the yardstick for understanding the alien culture. The same applies to the intercourse between adults and children, men and women. The goal is not the incorporation of the alien, but curiosity concerning others. What is sought after is not identity, but difference. What is possible is not so much knowledge of others as an "assimilation" to them. The goal is a mimetic processing of the exteriority of others, which avoids the danger of reducing the alien to the familiar. Within the framework of an historical anthropology proceeding from an understanding of man as "homo absconditus", this notion of others is acquiring central importance.

Perspectives

The viewpoints and topics sketched above would require further concretisation to meet the requirements of practical education. This justified demand, however, should not be misused in such a way as to avoid cackling anthropological questions and topics that do not relate immediately to praxis. For the revolution in sociology of the 1970s pushed anthropological reflection to the margin of educational theory, thus causing such a marked deficit in this field of knowledge that the development of new anthropological perspectives even without the moulding of their immediate relation to practical education is of central importance. These considerations do not mean a basic renunciation of the specification of anthropological knowledge for fields of practical education. In view of the present situation of anthropological re-assessment in educational theory, however, they stress, to begin with, the necessity of processing knowledge of historical anthropology which can lead to the altering of perspectives on mankind, its acculturation, socialisation and education.

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Laura Bovone (Milano)

Comparing Micro and Macro Ethics Theories:

What are the Implications for Education?

Different approaches to education obviously depend on different approaches to life, different ideas about what human beings are, or ought to be. From a purely theoretical point of view, it can be particularly fascinating to draw educational conclusions from sociological general theories which in principle are not meant to have any educational concern. Or, better, one can ask why socialisation problems were so present during the parsonian hegemony, while contemporary non-specialised sociological theory does not focus on them. We can argue that it depends not only on a different concept of life, reality or whatever, not only on a different moral sense, but mainly on a different idea of how we get moral judgements and how long they can last.

In order to illustrate this basic change, I will briefly refer to two contemporary theories: Habermas' macro approach, analysing the conflict between the private and the public ethical levels; Goffman's micro approach and its stress on the scenic dimension of etiquette.

If we wish to highlight the present, though, we need to compare it with the past; it might be useful then to refer first to the usual touchstone, the structural functionalist general theory of Talcott Parsons.

According to him, moral behaviour takes its rules from the values system shared at the very general level of the socio-cultural system; the values system also regulates the less general normative system, that is the institutional part of morality, eventually negotiated according to place-time situations. The educational action, through the complex process of role allocation, gives the individual the appropriate orientation to values-ends, norms-means, and specific role prescriptions. In fact, educational action is a matter of socialisation, that is of transmission of rules from one generation to the following generation. (Parsons 1937; Parsons, Bales, Shils 1953; Parsons, Bales, Olds, Zeldtich, Slater 1955) Although in his last works Parsons does recognise some cracks in his monolithic castle, he finds among his tools a way to repair them: in contemporary modern society, cultural differentiation can be balanced only by an 'educational revolution' giving everybody the same voice and the same opportunity of citizenship, much more effective than any legal universalistic guarantee (Parsons 1971).

On the contrary, Habermas' analysis of morals incorporates a precise dramatic view of contemporary culture. While in previous society individuals could easily adapt to a shared moral order, Habermas sees every man/woman of the present day as split between an internal ethical source - easy to locate because consistent with one's biography - and a common, if possible universal normative system very difficult to elaborate. The problem is not then how to properly transmit values from generation to generation, but rather how to let everybody participate on an equal basis in the elaboration of a new ethical order, how to guarantee a democratic discourse where everybody's reasons can meet. Moral potential becomes a communicative potential, a deep desire to pick up the interrupted dialogue again (Habermas 1983 and 1989).

In our contemporary globalized society, in fact, as soon as we seem to have reached a reasonable consensus about a moral statement, we encounter very concrete situations where reason imposes a quite divergent behaviour. Therefore, our relationship with morality loses any dogmatism and becomes of the reflexive type, 'constantly examined and reformed in the light of incoming information' (Giddens 1990, 38; see also Habermas 1989). Global culture, as we know, brings the awareness of the extreme fragmentation of culture (Featherstone 1995; Bovone 1995).

Even in some of Habermas' (1991) more recent contributions, 'discourse ethics' seems much more a way to give voice, a tolerance signal, than a precise trust in a future attainment of a universal source of morality. In fact, a discourse can hardly claim to find an ultimate objectivity, but can be the starting point for a provisional state of intersubjectivity. Yet Habermas still competes with values and norms, the important markers of unity and stability of culture. What to say then of Goffman, who decides to neglect the area of 'law, morality and ethics, (...) the code which governs substantive rules' in order to pay attention only to 'etiquette (...) the code which governs ceremonials rules' (Goffman 1967: 55)? His contribution is particularly useful to understand how microsociology deals with moral problems and, eventually, with socialisation.

Etiquette is defined as the formal code of encounters, a code of manners which involves certain virtues linked to morality, such as loyalty, discipline etc., but here considered as dramaturgical virtues, 'practices employed for saving the show' (Goffman 1959, 212-28). The aim of Goffman's actor, in fact, is self-promotion, as well as the preservation of situation; personal advantage and collective good are not at all in conflict, 'to save face (...) is to save situation' (Goffman 1967, 39). The good, in this case, is unitarian, it does not imply conflicts, although it is merely situational and provisional.

As we can easily see, the code of etiquette helps communicative practice, but is of no use in searching for common values, nor is it useful for outlining rules for large scale social co-operation or broadly based norms. And for Goffman (1983), order is not imposed, rules are not taught but only practised; 'interaction order' must be seen in action (see also Bovone 1993).

Although in both cases the emphasis is upon a communicative way to morality, Habermas' attempt to extend communication to the farthest boundaries of humanity contrasts with the narrow limits of Goffman's interactional set, where moral negotiations can be often successful.

It is striking that in both cases socialisation problems are completely neglected. Anybody who takes the globe as a meaningful frame of reference, as Habermas does, sees the priority of another order of problems, that is those of compatibility of different cultures, consciousness of one's morality limits etc. The only value surely worthy of being transmitted to future generations could be a general tolerance which is even difficult to articulate (Habermas 1991; Berger 1992).

Goffman's actor is a socialised actor, by definition, but his socialisation is less a process than a present experience. Even when he plays with his many roles, and chooses the role distance (1961) strategy, that is the detachment of the performer from the role he is performing, he cannot help following situational imperatives. He feels involved only in the present situation, his morality has no view of the future, nor deep roots in the past, least of all a broadly shared cultural past.

We might expand our argument considering the most important post-parsonian theory of the socialisation process, proposed by Berger and Luckmann's The Social Construction of Reality (1966). Once again, as in Parsons, we find an idea of a common culture to be institutionalised and transmitted. However, we can already feel that times are changing. Phenomenology strongly emphasises that everybody plays an important role in such a cultural process, not only older generations, parents, teachers etc., not only socialises but also those who are socialised. Hence no wonder that a few years later, in The Homeless Mind (Berger, Berger and Kellner 1973), and even more so in A Far Glory (Berger 1992), the cultural horizon is broken. 'The pluralization of life-worlds' comes directly from the experience of modern mass communication; 'in terms of information, this process proverbially "broadens (one's) mind"'. By the same token, however, it weakens the integrity and plausibility of (one's) 'home world' (Berger, Berger and Kellner 1973, 67). If values are uncertain, increasingly weak, the real problem then is not how to perpetuate them from generation to generation, but how to manage identity crisis. No doubt the point is the changing roots of morality and, even more importantly, the changeability of its source, culture. In this respect we experience two paradoxically opposite phenomena: first we cannot use the concept of culture as singular any more, we have always to distinguish between high, low, popular culture, our and others' culture, my father's, mine and my daughter's culture, the many cultures of the young's, etc. - without any real possibility of saying which is the main culture and which a subculture. Secondly, we speak of a global culture, a big singular culture we could not have imagined or spoken about a few years ago. 'It is a pure case of a concept disembedded from its territorial base and reembedded in a communications media frame' (Albrow, Eade, Washbourne and Durrschmidt 1994, 379).

Global community is rather an imagined community, or better, the sum of 'imagined communities', in the double sense of the term as used by Calhoun (1991). Subjects have only indirect relationships with most of them, and these relationships are mediated through images. If we apply this concept to socialisation problems we can see quite amazing consequences, explaining why Habermas' and Goffman's positions can be both very reasonable in this context.

For a few decades we have been saying that television or mass communication media in general are the new agency of socialisation, at least as important as parents or teachers or peer groups are. We can go further, and say that the 'generalized Other', theorised by Mead (1934) as a basic medium through which human actors assume social roles, has a new aspect, the 'Other of the Imaginary' (Langman 1992, 56). According to Mead, social life depends on our ability to imagine ourselves in others' social roles. If children develop their own selves by imaginatively taking the roles of others as mother, father, teachers, the last stage of this process implies the internalisation of the attitudes of the 'generalised Other', the attitudes of the social group. If in Mead's theory the visual element of socialisation was limited to the personal faculty of imagination, contemporary socialisation theory has to deal with the crowd of images we are bombarded with. Much more than through words we are convinced through images. Therefore, we can say that 'we act not so much by taking the role of the Other but as the camera is on us and the Other is watching'. If this is true, people we watch in television, also watch us; it is difficult to say who comes first, who is active and who is passive. Simultaneity seems to be the rule, the screen is the no-place (Augé 1992) where we run and 'they' run, a typical passage way.

Let us take our consequences and connect them with Habermas' and Goffman's theories. We probably can see our disembedded globalized world (Giddens 1990) as a very large peer group: if everything becomes present and near, traditional or last generation values have in principle the same rights on the screen as the values of any of the many youth tribes we can come across. They speak to us as we (can imagine to) speak to them. The macro utopia is a maxi-interactive screen, a virtual reality where we can democratically discuss all together and reach a rational universal consensus about a few principles and rules, in accordance with Habermas' dream. But what really happens in everyday life? Goffman shows us that we, as social actors, strive to keep embarrassment out of our encounters, quickly negotiating new rules after every breakdown, finding in others' faces a ground for trusting the situation.

In fact, what we universally need, what we need if we want to live in peace, is to realise Habermas' dream, at least in part, that is to move to that direction; but do we attempt it? As we are no longer sure of our values, and we know our provisional condition, we probably fear a stable arrival point, and we prefer to live as 'nomads', moving from one encounter to another, trusting individuals and situations, but keeping our options open (Bauman 1995). We are afraid of macro decisions as much as we believe it to be impossible to reach them. But we are also afraid of others' macro decisions. We know, in fact, through the maxi screen, that another kind of nomad exists, who wants to become stable, and looks for stable common rules. As they may still be quite sure of their reasons, they could be less inclined to listen to everybody. As they do not like being nomads and feel forced to, they still hope to find a permanent home.

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Globalization and the Drive for Competitiveness

Some Response Patterns Among National Education Systems in Europe

Background

Until the 1980s, educational changes in Europe could be explained or understood predominantly in terms of forces internal to each country (Husén & Kogan 1984; Marklund 1984). Specific internal, national conditions had to be present if certain types of educational change could be decided upon and/or implemented.

However, the kind of educational changes (restructuring) that have taken place since then seem to have their explanations both in the internal context and in the processes of globalization and the drive for competitiveness.

The preliminary findings from an ongoing project[1] studying educational restructuring indicate that the following basic assumptions may be made: (1) globalization increases the competition between countries; (2) education is seen as one of the most important factors in this competition; and (3) the principle types of educational responses to this drive for competitiveness are conditioned by the interaction between forces internal to each country and the specific effects on each country of the globalization processes. Some aspects of globalization, competition and educational restructuring will be presented in this article.

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[1] A research project studying educational restructuring started in 1994 at the Institute of International Education, Stockholm University. See Daun & Miron 1994.

Globalization[2]

According to Bretherton (1996, 3), 'there is a need to demonstrate that globalization refers to a new, distinct phase in world politics'. Globalization has always taken place, but its scope and depth have increased more rapidly during the period after the Second World War, and it is accelerating. It implies that new and more complex patterns of various flows are emerging: (i) flows of goods, services; (ii) flows of financial and other capital; and (iii) flows of ideas and messages (Waters 1995).

More nations or countries than ever before are affected directly by the structural changes and flows that have global dimensions. Countries 'situated outside' these structures and flows are indirectly influenced, since their position in the world system is affected and their frame of action (even internally) is conditioned by these global changes. Individual nation-states have become too small to deal with big problems (international peace, global environmental problems, and so on), while they have become too big and standardised to deal with local varieties.

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[2] Globalisation is different from and is something more than the internationalisation that takes place or is assumed to take place via international bodies such as EU and OECD, for instance.

There are two main technological drives behind globalization: 1) transport costs have fallen with improved physical communication, and 2) computing power has increased.

The economic liberalisations that have taken place world-wide and the decisions taken by international agencies have made it possible for globalization to enter into a new phase, and this has become most evident in finance (Cable 1995, 24).

Economic globalization implies more than just world wide flows of capital; it implies the existence of a unified global economy which has a dynamic beyond the interaction between separate domestic economies. More than half of the world's goods and services are now produced according to strategies which involve planning, design, production and marketing on a global scale (Bretherton 1996, 6).

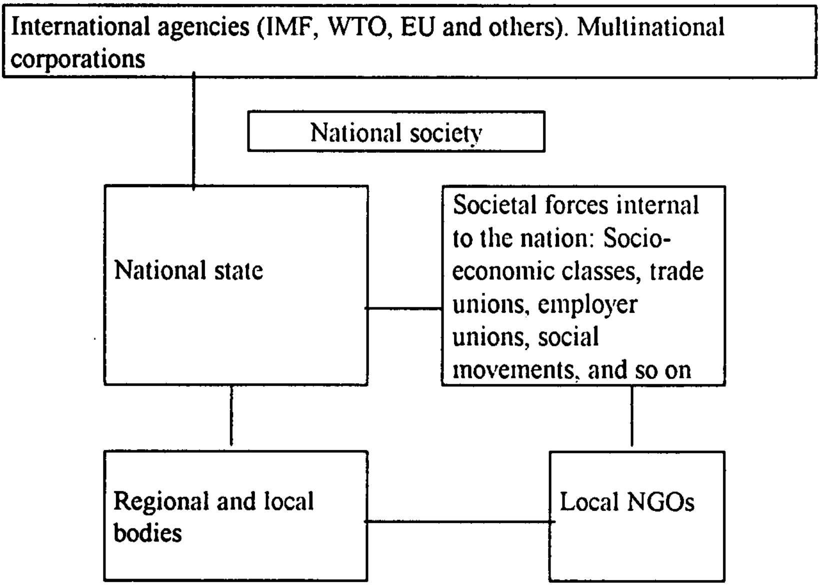
The following changes have taken place from the 1970s and onwards:

- Economic recession that affected more countries than the depression during the 1930s; growth rates slowed down during the latter half of the 1970s and during the 1980s in most countries. There were, and are, however, substantial differences between the European countries.
- In the general trend of liberalisation and free trade, some countries started to invest in other countries. Initially these investments were aiming at traditional priorities (i.e. access to markets) but gradually human capital proved to be far more important in the global competition (Hansson 1990). During the period 1985-1991, foreign direct investments increased more rapidly than trade. Most investments are in already industrialised parts of the world (the USA, Japan and the EC) (Cable 1995).These investments from abroad were and are met with ambiguity on the side of the governments of the host countries. On the one hand, they welcome capital and an enlarged potential for acquisition of know how; on the other hand, they have used

and use some type of control in order to protect the companies owned by nationals (Brander 1995).

- Manufacture and high technology are the areas in which the competition between the countries is very strong (Carnoy & Castells 1995; Carnoy et al 1993; Hansson 1990);
- For industrialised countries, the technological changes have increased the comparative advantage of innovation ability and high labour competence at the expense of cheap labour and natural resources. Cheap labour is no longer one of the most important comparative advantages. Human capital, skills and creativity increasingly are seen as far more important (Borrus, Tyson & Zysman 1995; Krugman 1995). Cable (1995, 32) argues that 'competitiveness is no longer predominantly a trade issue. Rather it is about creating the right business conditions - infra-structure, deregulating markets, skilled and educated labour'. He also argues that globalization is largely private sector-driven.
- According to Ciborra & Scheider (1993: 269), rapid changes in technology, market, and competition are forcing corporations to reconsider what it takes to sustain competitive advantage.

Figure 1 The National State and Other Bodies/Entities in the Globalization Process


International agencies (IMF, WTO, EU and others). Multinational corporations
National society
National state
Societal forces internal to the nation: Socio-economic classes, trade unions, employer unions, social movements, and so on
Regional and local bodies
Local NGOs

According to Waters (1995), globalization causes restructuring of the relationships between nations and companies. Decision making is moving from the national state to all other entities or units in Figure 1 (Cable 1995; Schmidt 1995; Mannin 1996). Among the societal forces internal to the nation, we find social classes, interest groups, other organisations. The reinforcement of the links between the national state and international actors creates tensions between the state entities at the central level and those at lower levels. Decisions made by international actors sometimes undermine the decision-making that has been delegated from the national state to lower level entities within the country (Schmidt 1995, 93).

The relationships between the state and internal forces (Figure 1) differ considerably from one country to another. Various approaches have been used to describe and analyse these relationships, but the corporatist state theory is sufficient for the present purpose (O'Connel 1989). There are various degrees of corporatism; i.e. different degrees of interdependence between the state and various organisations within a country (Therborn 1986, 1989).[3] Generally, the relationships between the state and internal societal forces (be it the national capital, unions or interest organisations) has weakened, while the state has reinforced its links with the international arena. Each country's reactions to the globalizing forces then vary somewhat. Denmark, the Netherlands and England were affected early, while Austria and Sweden were able to delay the effects.[4]

Before the intensive phase of globalization started, the economies of Belgium and the Netherlands were 'internationally oriented' and these countries had 'financial institutions that acted as major advocates of financial integration and trade liberalisation'. The economies of Austria and Sweden had large companies that were 'internationally oriented' and they had 'large and cohesive unions'. Germany had, at least until the beginning of the 1990s, 'managed to maintain its corporatist set of relationships' (Schmidt 1995, 88, 90). Cable (1995, 23) argues that in some countries populist movements emerge opposing internationalisation. In Germany, for instance, this reaction has taken racist forms.

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[3] Generally, some of the OECD countries are classified in the following way: Highly corporatist: Austria, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden. Medium corporatist: Denmark, Finnland, and Germany. Non-corporatist: Britain, France, Ireland and the USA.

[4] In the corporatist approach to the study of the welfare state there are (as in other approaches) some implicit and explicit assumptions or hypotheses. If we take some of them as our point of departure, we may assume that system shifts such as privatisation and introduction of freedom of choice are more difficult to decide upon and implement, the higher the degree of corporatism, if the labor movement is an important element in this corporatism.

What will be the role of the state (and consequently of the educational system) in the future? Political scientists (and others) are divided with regard to this issue. On the one hand, it is argued that the state as we know it nowadays, will most probably cease to exist. On the other hand, it is argued that the state will have fewer but new functions (one of them education). Attracting mobile capital; raising the educational level of the population; ensuring financial stability; trying to improve the physical and cultural environment; and 'creating a sense of civic 'fairness' will be some of the functions of the national state (Cable 1995). The state will have to keep a balance between the need to attract foreign capital, accepting at the same time the cultural standardisation that the market economy implies, on the one hand, and to accept and deal with cultural uniqueness, on the other hand (Strange 1995). Some economists argue that the state is and will be the only agent able to deal with the restructuring of the economic and labour market that still has to take place. One category of workers with high skills will be needed, while a large category of unskilled and semi-skilled workers 'will decrease but will continue to be needed for the foreseeable future' (Kern & Schumann 1992, 141). Contrary to some other authors and to their own argument in the beginning of the 1970s, Kern & Schumann (1992) draw the conclusion that a process of de-skilling has not taken place (at least not in Germany) and will not take place.

Globalization seems to imply a contradictory process of (i) integration (membership in the EC) and disintegration (demands for new nation-states as in the former Soviet Union and former Yugoslavia), and (ii) a double process of 'universalization' of cultures and revitalisation of local cultures. The lack of correspondence between cultural and political lines of demarcation becomes more evident, and this will have implications for the state, like in the former Yugoslavia (Kolouh-Westin, 1996).

All these features have had and will continue to have implications not only for the nation-state but also for the national educational systems. At the individual and group levels, education and training of individuals will have to tackle two processes: (i) an increasing demand for individual autonomy, and (ii) the individualisation that is the result of the market economy expansion. The individualisation that is the result of the market economy expansion should not be confused with increased individual autonomy (in a wide or political sense). Crudely speaking, individualism implies competition and egoism while autonomy stands for responsibility and solidarity (Giddens 1995; Held 1995).

Giddens (1995) distinguishes three features of the globalization process: (1) it is not only 'out-there' but also 'in there' in that it enters and transforms everyday life; (2) it implies the emergence of a post-traditional social order; and (3) it creates social reflexivity. In the first instance, the consequences of globalization enter even into individuals' intimate relationships. By post-traditional social order, Giddens means that traditions more than ever before are opened up for and confronted with, among other things, new standardised cultures. This fact itself questions the traditions so that they have to explain and justify themselves.

Social reflexivity implies that individuals have come to reflect more than ever before on phenomena in the world and their situation in society. People have become more critical and demand more autonomy than ever before. Gidden's argument can be interpreted to mean also that widespread education has contributed to the emergence of this social reflexivity.

According to Strange (1995, 56), 'the realm of anarchy in society and economy has become more extensive while all kinds of authority have diminished'. Globalization (not least its negative consequences such as environmental pollution) creates uncertainty and increasing risk (Giddens 1995). We have to learn to live with uncertainty and take advantages of it.

As to the concept of 'competitiveness', it is neither possible nor my intention here to sketch the definitive profile of a competitive nation, a competitive firm or a competitive individual. Rather, some hints will be given. In order to be competitive, firms have to use the latest technological innovations, but also, and more important, to restructure the production units in order to reap the maximum advantages of this technology, and to have employees able to use it. According to Adler (1993, 9-10), the growing automation leads to competition but is part of this competition as well. An effective use of automation implies a different sort of work, a different organisation and a new type of training of employees.

The German study mentioned previously that a new category of employees is emerging and will increase in numeracy: 'A new kind of worker can guarantee maximum utilisation of costly machinery. We call this worker polyvalent or multiskilled (...). The tendency toward more complex and more differentiated products will result in a demand for higher skills' (Kern & Schumann 1992, 114, 124). This new category of employees has theoretical knowledge, and is able to 'contextualize' this knowledge to the specific requirements of the branch or the company in which they work. They are also able to solve problems emerging from the use of the new technology and to communicate effectively with other employees (Kern & Schumann, 1992).

Ciborra & Scheider (1992) present the concept of 'formative context' by which they mean the taken-for-granted practices and routines that define what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour in a company. The authors take the concepts of first-order and second-order learning to point at the general knowledge respectively the detailed and taken-for-granted routines in a firm. Technological innovations require learning of the first-order. 'Learning becomes a critical factor in dealing with the interdependencies among strategy, organisation and technology' (Ciborra & Schneider 1992, 269).

In short, students have to learn certain basics but also how to be creative and flexible and find new solutions to new problems. Thus, the question is, whether restructuring of educational systems will be able to change the teaching-learning processes in the classrooms in this direction.

Education before the restructuring movement

Two types of data from some European countries will be presented. The first set of data is a 'baseline', showing internal political and educational conditions and the potential and possibilities for educational change. The second set of data indicates some of the results of the globalization processes on the economics of the countries selected.

Table 1 may serve as a point of departure. Some conditions do not require or allow a certain type of educational change. For instance, traditionally strong religious forces have led to a comparatively high proportion of pupils in private (Catholic or other denominational) schools (OECD, 1994). In these countries, reinforcement of the private schools has not been attempted. Another example is the group of countries with a traditionally centralised educational system. For them, it could make sense to decentralise. This has also occurred to some extent. That is, some aspects of the restructuring are possible to explain from conditions internal to the nation-state. (Data from Japan and the USA are used as 'comparative illustrations')

Table 1 Some Features in the Educational Systems in Selected European Countries

	% pupils in private	Educ. structure	Choice possibilities	State sub:s to private educ.	Nat. curric.	Contr. of teach. comp.	Nat. ass.	Acad. perfor-mance
Austria	7	Centr.	Weak	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Low
Denmark	9	Medium	Strong	Yes, strong	Yes	Yes	Yes	Low
Finland	1	Centr.	Weak	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
France	15	Centr.	Medium	Yes, var.	Yes	Yes	Yes	...
Germany	2	Medium	Medium	Yes	No	Yes	No	...
Nether-lands	68	Centr.	Strong	Yes, strong	Yes	Yes	Yes	Med
Sweden	1	Centr.	Weak	Weak	Yes	Yes	Yes	High
UK	5	Medium	Medium	Yes	No	Yes	No	Low
Japan	1	Centr.	Weak	No	Yes	No	No	High
USA	11	Decentr.	Strong	Yes, non-conf.	No	Yes	No	Low

The second set of data deals with some economic indicators and educational costs (see Table 2). Countries with a low GDP growth and/or decreasing share in the world market had reasons to be worried about their competitiveness, Sweden and the UK, for instance. High educational costs could be another reason for introducing some educational measures.

Table 2 Some Societal and Educational Characteristics of Selected Countries

	Growth in GDP per cap.		Change in World market shares	Public sector exp:s as % of GDP in 1980	% public exp:s to primary educ. in 1992	Cost per pupil (prim. & sec). 1991	State level of finance
	Bef. 1980	**Aft. 1980**					
Austria	High	Low	0	Med	Low	Low	Centr
Denmark	Low	Med	0	Med	Med	High	Centr/Loc
Finland	High	Med	0	Low	Med	High	Centr
France	High	Low	-	Med	Low	...	Centr
Germany	Med.	Med	0	Med	Low	Med	Reg
Netherl.	Low	Low	0	High	Med	Med	Centr
Sweden	Low	Low	0	High	Med	HIgh	Centr/Loc
UK	Low	HIgh	--	Low	Med	Med	Loc
USA	Low	Low	--	Low	High	High	Reg/Loc
Japan	High	High	++	Low	High	Low	Centr

What were the societal conditions external or internal to the educational system, in the countries selected? The following features may be mentioned.

In some countries the rate of GDP per capita growth slowed down and/or the export share on the world market decreased. Just to mention some examples, Austria did not experience any considerable change in its economy and it had a centralised educational system. Finland experienced a slowdown in its per capita growth until the middle of the 1980s and then an increase. The system was very centralised and the level of academic performance high. Sweden had a low growth rate economy and an expensive educational system but at the same time a high level of academic achievement. The United States performed poorly economically and educationally, despite relatively high educational expenditures. Strong demands were raised for measures to be taken in order to improve the educational situation. Americans, more than others, perceive a direct link between educational standards and economic performance (Johnston 1990).

What principal educational measures were taken by the selected countries? Who restructured? As we have seen, there are various types of challenges; and a large number of responses to these challenges are possible. Table 3 shows different challenges and responses.

Restructuring education

The term restructuring has itself been borrowed from economics. In educational contexts, it has been given a large number of meanings. Here it denotes the following types of educational changes that have taken place since the end of the 1970s in Europe: decentralisation; introduction of options from which to choose (or reinforcement of such possibilities where they already existed); and/or stimulation of private educational institutions.

A large number of studies conducted nation-wise in industrialised countries have shown that education and educational reforms were to a large extent conditioned by internal societal forces (Dahllöf 1984; Husén & Kogan 1984). Primary and lower secondary education was 'a national business' (OECD 1994). To a large extent educational changes had been adapted to internal needs and interests of each country. A general process of 'modernisation' and 'institutionalisation' also took place, universalising some features of the educational systems (Ramirez and Boli 1986).

Table 3 Challenges to the educational system and possible types of responses

Challenges internal to the educational system	Possible or probable measures that have been taken	
	Traditional (Change within the system	Restructuring (Systemic shift)
- High expenditures (globally or per pupil)	-Budget cuts - Increase efficiency (more students per teacher, for instance)	- Decentralisation (including shift or finance)
Low student performance	- Improve quality by developing teachers' competence, for instance	- More options from which to choose

From a review of the literature on educational restructuring in the industrialised countries, the following principal reasons for restructuring can be deduced: (i) economic decline, (ii) waning state legitimacy, (iii) cultural revitalisation, (iv) educational decline, and (v) purely ideological/political (neoliberal) factors.. A country-wide study of educational restructuring indicates that these factors apply to the United States but not to the European countries. These countries have taken a series of, let us call it, 'minor meausures' to decrease educational expenditures or to meet cultural or linguistic pluralist demands on education. Only Britain and Sweden have restructured essentially, while Finland, France and Germany, among others, introduced decentralisation.

All indicators of 'pre-conditions' for educational change and the policies implemented in selected countries are presented in Table 4.

Table 4 Educational System, National and Global Conditions for Educational Change and Measures of Change

	Educationally	**Nationally**	**Globally**	**Educational Change**
Austria	Centralised. Could be decentralised.	Strong corporatism. Internationally oriented economy.	Economic recession, but effects delayed. Weakening competitiveness.	Decentr. decided upon in mid-90.

Sweden	Centralised. Could be decentralised. High educational costs. High academic achievement.	Strong corporatism. Internationally oriented economy.	Economic recession, but effects delayed. Weakening competitiveness. Low growth rate.	Social democrats decentralised and suggested choice in public sector. Non-socialist govt:t introduced unlimited choice and strong subsidies to independent schools.
France	Centralised. Could be decentr. Was made to some extent.	No corporatism. Strong Catholic influence.	Economic recession. Losing shares in world trade. Losing traditional competitiveness. Gaining some in high technology.	Decentralisation. Some choice in lower secondary introduced.
Netherlands	Decentr. High educ. costs. Low academic achievement. Strong religious competition.	Strong corporatism.	Economic recession. Losing shares in world market.	Larger within-system flexibility in relation to ethnic demands. Decreasing educ. costs.
UK	Medium centr.	Weak corporatism.	Economic recession. Losing shares in world market.	Decentr. to school level. Centralisation of some issues (national curriculum). Nat. eval. introduced. More subisidies to indep. schools.

Germany	Medium decentr. (to regional level). Structural inertia due to regional autonomy national coordination.	Medium corporatism.	Economic recession not felt before 1990. Maintained traditional competitiveness. Introduced innovative competitiveness.	No changes.
Denmark	Medium decentr. Some aspects decentr. to school level.	Medium corporatism.	Economic recession but recover during latter half of 1980s. Maintaining shares in world economy.	Apart from more subsidies to ind. schools - no changes.
Finland	Centr. High educ. costs. High acad. achievement.	Medium corporatism.	Economic recession. Maintaining shares in world economy.	Decentralisation. Introduction of choice. Subsidies to private education.

Austria: Decentralisation was introduced in the mid 90s. Strong corporatist relations and the fact that educational laws are integrated in the constitution make it difficult to implement changes.

Sweden: The biggest problems in Sweden were (a) the high educational costs; and (b) weakening competitive capacity (even as traditionally defined). These two facts seem to have influenced the state representatives (regardless of political 'colour'). Unexpectedly (against the background of the strong corporatist links between the Social Democratic party and the rest of the labour movement), decentralisation, choice and privatisation were introduced by the Social Democrats in the public sector from the beginning of the 1980s. In education these measures were taken by the Conservative Liberal government in the 1990s.

France: Weakening position on the world market, weak corporatist relations, increasing educational costs and increasing demands from immigrant groups suggest that more measures than some decentralisation would be taken.

The Netherlands: A combination of decentralisation (the regime and decision-making) and centralisation (curriculum, teacher competence, examination system) would seem to be an optimal mix. The strong corporatist relations had already given the religious groups advantages in educational matters. All these conditions seemed not to be the soil for considerable changes. On the other hand, the economic situation of the country and the high educational costs have led to a lowering of the educational budgets. After the 1980s, demands have come from immigrant groups, and some changes are now suggested to improve their educational situation.

United Kingdom: Economic recession and the loss of markets made the economic situation of the country difficult in the beginning of the 1980s. On the national level, the corporatist relations are comparatively weak, but at the local level there were many alliances between the Labour party, local school boards and teacher unions. These relations were dissolved by the combined changes of decentralisation on the level of schools and centralisation of the curriculum changes on a national level. The considerable restructuring that has taken place seems to be a response to globalization processes and weakening competitiveness.

Denmark: The educational system was very decentralised and there existed many options from which to choose and liberal requirements on independent schools before the economic recession started. The country lost then regained the shares on the world market. More generous subsidies to independent schools were decided upon during the 1980s.

Finland: A highly centralised educational system started to be decentralised in the middle of the 1980s. Educational costs (for primary and lower secondary) were and are relatively high. On the other hand, Finnish educational achievement has ranked very high on the international tests.

The effects of globalization may be summarised in the following way. First, resources available for educational purposes diminish. Budget cuts and decentralisation are a response to this. Secondly, the drive for competitiveness makes the nation-states respond in various ways, but two principal measures have been: restructuring and an increased focus on achievement, measured by national evaluation tests. There is a conviction among some politicians and researchers that the introduction of choice and stimulation of independent schools will result in improved school achievement and that the type of knowledge tested in the evaluations corresponds to the requirements of competitiveness.

The countries and their educational strategies may be compared by means of the variables that have been used up to this point, and we may find instances in which measures of educational change have been more or less dramatic than might be assumed. Such comparisons will not be made here but some examples will be given.

Degree of centralisation: Finland, France and Sweden had highly centralised educational systems, and all of them decentralised. However, the degree of decentralisation has been considerably higher in Sweden than in the two other countries.

Level of academic achievement: Austria and Denmark, for instance, have had levels of achievement that have provoked criticism from research community. Austria did not take any measures to improve the situation until 1995. The reason for this delay is the fact that educational matters are integrated in the national constitution, which makes educational changes difficult.

Economic performance and competitiveness: Both these features have for a comparatively long period been weak in Sweden and the UK. The former country did not take any radical educational measures until the end of the 1980s, while the latter did already in 1980. Today, both these countries have restructured their educational systems much more than, for instance, Finland and France.

These examples indicate that there are deeper cultural issues behind the educational strategies used and to what extent implemented changes affect academic achievement and, ultimately, competitiveness. For instance, Americans would never accept the high degree of centralisation and central state interventions that exist in Sweden, and there are indications that the Finnish population would not accept the high degree of decentralisation and pluralist school governance that exist in the Netherlands (Henig 1993; Erkkilä 1996).

As a comparison may be mentioned that Japan has a highly centralised and rigid educational system and high academic performance, and the country, during the whole period reviewed here, has seen strong economic growth and has conquered large parts of the world market from the European countries. What has worried the Japanese is not educational standards but the decreasing moral and discipline in schools.

Conclusion

Several of the countries studied here have a long tradition of private schooling and freedom of choice, and these features are conditioned by national cultural and religious forces. What is new in the restructuring movement is the introduction of market principles in the educational domain. The educational systems in Sweden and the UK, for instance, have been restructured according to these principles. There are at least two important assumptions behind this type of restructuring:

(i) that teaching/learning issues can be seen in the same way as goods and services in the market; and

(ii) that there is a functional relationship between education and the economy. This latter assumption may be divided into two: (a) that economic changes are due principally to educational changes, and (b) that schools should be organised in the same way as private companies (Goodman 1995; Johnston 1990).

Further globalization and competitiveness as well as pluralistic internal demands on education systems will show whether or not, decentralisation, increased options from which to choose and stimulation of private schools are adequate responses to the processes described in previous sections. Whatever reforms are decided upon, it is evident that educational systems in Europe will have to respond to conflicting and contradicting demands as a consequence of globalization processes, some of which are:

- individualism versus collectivism;
- egoism versus altruism;
- competition versus solidarity;
- performance for a few versus equality and opportunity for many;

- drive for international competitiveness verses drive for local, ethnic or linguistic identity; and
- knowledge standardised to allow easy measurement by way of tests versus knowledge as innovative creativity.

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The Paradigmatic Function of European Educational Models in the French Discourse

This article deals with a corpus of French discourses, written between 1890 and 1930, thus showing the evolution of a comparative approach, based on stereotypes and social representations about educational systems. The European systems, particularly the English and German ones are taken as points of reference in order to criticise the failing French system.

Comparing school institutions in different countries implies stressing both resemblances and differences between school systems, to demonstrate the originality and specificity of each system. But as a rule, categorisation is contaminated by the use of stereotypes, thus leading to schematisation and simplification. Here I want to investigate the interplay between discourses based on subtle arguments and definitions, and a common sense discourse based on social representations and limited experiences, using stereotypes. These stereotypes have two functions: one is cognitive, the other one is identity building.

Gabriel Compayré: Etudes sur l'Enseignement et sur l'Education 1891

Compayré developed an historical and comparative approach which is rather subtle and tries to avoid schematisation. Yet, he fails, because he does not reckon with the image each people has of the other one. Thus, he generates implicit hierarchy in assessing cultural models. Any imagology is thus correlative either to appreciative or depreciative connotations, according to the position (upper or lower) the reference group holds in social representations.

> 'Qui donc songe à chercher de l'autre côté, des Pyrénées une initiation intellectuelle? Parlez-nous des Allemands ou des Anglais: c'est des peuples du Nord que nous vient la lumière! Il semblerait en vérité qu'il n'y eût rien à apprendre à l'école des peuples latins. Nous les négligeons de parti pris, nous dédaignons de les étudier, peut être parce qu'ils nous ressemblent trop et que nous retrouvons chez eux l'image de nos propres défaillances.'[1]

He is aware of the weight of prejudices and wants to fight against hasty generalisation, so that he presents the free teaching Institute in Madrid as an example of liberal studies and modern ideas; this is only an example and is by no means representative of the Spanish educational system as a whole, it represents an innovating initiative to promote modern methods, 'mouvement de protestation à la fois contre la routine scolaire et contre l'intolérance du gouvernement.'

The purpose is to compare the actual state of crisis experienced by the French secondary education system with this institute's way of functioning, in order to bring forward suggestions for reform. As all his contemporaries, from Léon Bourgeois to Edmond Demolins, he denounces the inertia of the French educational system which will not give up its out-of-date tradition of teaching dead languages, especially Greek; and he denounces the French educational institutions' failure to adapt to the modern demands of social life:

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[1] G. Compayré, *Etudes sur l'enseignement et sur l'éducation*, Hachette, 1891.

'Il faut désormais diriger l'enseignement secondaire vers un but pratique et professionnel' he points out the advantages of a school based upon life, as opposed to a bookish teaching with overcrowded syllabi, leading to overworking the pupils. The comparative function of the reference model is accompanied by a prescriptive function: the purpose is to change the functioning of the model of social belonging by making one aware of another possible system of standards.

He recommands the intuitive method as used by Spanish educationalists: 'celle qui, brisant les moules de l'esprit de secte, exige de l'élève qu'il pense et réfléchisse par lui-même, qu'il fasse usage de ses propres forces, qu'il recherche, qu'il argumente, qu'il questionne, qu'il doute, qu'il fasse des essais etc....'[2]

He describes the principles of the Madrid institute as follows: to subordinate teaching to education, to resort to facts and things rather than to abstraction and words, and by increasing school outings, to raise both the spirit and character: 'Nous voulons avant tout faire des hommes capables de se diriger dans la vie. Nous veillons sur les sentiments et les actions de nos élèves, autant pour le moins que sur leur intelligence.' Although the Madrid institute is not a boarding school but a day-school, the importance of intimate and affectionate relations between teachers and pupils is stressed, as well as close collaboration with parents. By now, we will have recognised in these principles some theoretical references to Dewey, as regards his 'learning by doing' precept and the importance given to experimenting and learning social life. Therefore what appeared as a novel and innovative approach paradoxically turns out to be just one of the many aspects of the Anglo-Saxon reference model. Compayré, himself points out this influence as regards the importance given to physical exercise: 'Les pédagogues espagnols eux-mêmes ont une prédilection marquée pour l'éducation anglaise, à cause de la grande part qui y est faite à la muscularité.'[3] He nevertheless seeks to underline the originality of this institute which resembles, by its secularity, the French educational system. By pointing out the similarities between the values of the Madrid Institute and those claimed by the French State, i.e. neutrality, secularism, opposing clerical influence, he avoids falling into oversimplification and stereotypes when considering the English model. Thus, he safeguards the complexity of his approach, by refusing to generalise, despite a parametre that constantly recurs throughout all idealised educational models, i.e. the charismatic figure of the educationalist, Franscisco Giner de los Risos.

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[2] op. cit. p. 17.

Likewise, when he describes what he considers to be the specificity of the Anglo-Saxon model, i.e. summer meetings in England and Scotland, he portrays teachers as missionaries: 'ces professeurs nomades qui communiquent à leurs auditeurs l'enthousiasme dont ils sont animés.'[4] Value judgements are always implicit in Compayrés comparisons of educational models, dealing with subjects like teachers' commitment, reliability, avoidance of seduction strategies towards the audience. At the same time, the higher education popular classes given at the Paris Hotel de Ville are treated with depreciation. However, Compayré remains the victim of national stereotypes: 'Les Anglais, hommes pratiques, qui n'aiment pas perdre leur temps, estiment avec raison que l'élève, une fois en possession de ce résumé est à peu près dispensé de prendre des notes.'[5]

Therefore, the educational reference models are constructed only by resorting to national stereotypes which aim to define a nation's identity and specific mentality. Representations of education systems are contaminated by national stereotypes.

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[3] op. cit. p. 10.

[4] op. cit. p. 28.

[5] op. cit. p. 29.

Stereotypes, by their simplification and schematisation, by their rigidity (ensured time and again by the attribution of the same qualities of people or model), lead to distortions; by accentuating resemblances within categories, one can minimise differences. If we apply this theoretical framework of categorisation processes to what the French authors have to say on the subject of European educational models, we can expect an even more substantial contrast between in-group and out-group, owing to what we shall call 'intercategorial differentiation'.

Edmond Demolins: *A quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-saxons?* 1897

Thus, far from being confronted with a multiplicity of different models, we are dealing with a fundamental dichotomy, as developed by Demolins, between idiosyncratic social formations and community based social formations. The use of stereotypes furthers the construction of this dichotomic structure. To Demolins the educational reference model par excellence is the Anglo-Saxon one, which he deals with by using both empirical data and his own theory on social typology. The exemplarity of Abbotsholme and of Bedales allow him, or so he thinks, to attribute the specificities and ways of functioning of these schools to the whole of the English educational system. He sees as values conveyed by this kind of education: free initiative, a feeling of responsibility, a willingness to struggle, perseverance, energy, development of willpower and autonomy; 'struggle for life, self-help, go ahead' are at the heart of such an education. He compares these values with the traditional model of the French educational system, leading to passive behaviour on the side of the pupils, a system of contraints and oppression, of anonymous relations between teachers and pupils. He denounces the military-like discipline and the close surveillance that overpower pupils, giving them no leeway for initiative, he denounces relations based upon the pupils' dependence and childishness. Instead of training men of action, free spirits, French secondary schools shape bureaucrats, servile minds, because they encourage lies, dissimulation, hypocrisy, a phenomenon which is increased by the overcrowded state of the barrack-like schools. On the contrary, what he appreciates in English schools, (thus applying his judgement on some experimental schools to the whole of the system), is small tutorial groups, personal relations between pupils and teachers encouraged by their meals together within the boarding school system. He praises this separation from the families as a beneficial factor in the teenagers' psychological development and he also denounces the behaviour of French mothers as regards their fearful affection which, he believes, hinders healthy physical exercises. 'Elle aime beaucoup ses enfants - ses rares enfants - mais elle les aime mal: elle les aime plus pour elle que pour eux. La femme française a été élèvée comme nous l'avons été nous-mêmes et elle partage nos préjugés. Mais comme elle a l'esprit beaucoup moins ouvert que l'homme aux choses nouvelles, elle évolue bien plus difficilement et bien moins rapidement (...) Et puis, nous pouvons bien dire que c'est nous qui avons fait la femme française telle qu'elle est: un peu joujou, un peu article de mode, un peu objet d'étagère, très fragile, (n'y touchez pas ou cassez tout, pas de milieu), à laquelle on se croit obligé de raconter des fadeurs, et qui y prend plaisir alors qu'il faudrait pouvoir causer avec elle comme avec un homme, sérieusement. Par là, nous avons grandi démesurément la distance entre l'homme et la femme et ils y ont perdu tous les deux.'[6]

This criticism of the education of French women finds its counterpart in the praise of the education given to English girls. Here Demolins owes Taine a good deal. In his *Notes sur l'Angleterre*, Taine had also praised the qualities of English girls, made healthy by a country life away from the turpitudes of the city, exuberant, full of

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[6] Edmond Demolins, *A quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-saxons?* 1897. Didot, p. 315.

freshness, independent and fond of sports: 'Elles passent l'hiver et l'été à la campagne, à vingt mille de la ville. Deux heures au moins de promenade par jour; puis on travaille en famille. Elles lisent des romans, des voyages, de l'histoire et quelques sermons. Ni précoces, ni mondaines; ces deux traits se tiennent et en entraînent une multitude d'autres. Pour moi, j'aime cette jeunesse d'âme; il ne faut pas qu'une jeune fille ait trop d'assurance et les façons du monde; la Française est une fleur trop vite ouverte.'[7]

The confrontation of these two different types of personalities is used by Demolins as an argument to demand a reform of our educational system: 'demander que l'on développe, dans notre jeunesse, plus d'énergie, plus de virilité, plus d'initiative, plus d'aptitude à ne compter que sur soi dans la vie (...) La réforme en effet doit viser aussi bien la jeune fille que le jeune homme; il ne s'agit pas seulement de faire des hommes énergiques, mais aussi des femmes énergiques, car dans la vie, ils doivent s'entr'aider et se soutenir mutuellement.' Admiration for this Anglo-Saxon educational model deals with concerns of a clearly economic and political nature: the purpose is to counter the English domination of the world market and its colonial expansion at the end of the 19th century. Education is considered by sociologists (followers of Le Play) as essential to stimulate emigration and colonisation and as a decisive factor in the forming of national identities and in the moulding of mentalities. 'Ces écoles donnent à la race anglo-saxonne une puissance incomparable. Nous ne devons pas lui en laisser le monopole.'[8] All educational systems presuppose an underlying philosophy; here, the reference is clear: Stuart Mill's utilitarian philosophy and economic liberalism play an important role. 'Nous fabriquons des lettrés, les Anglais créent des hommes (...) Dans la vigoureuse poignée de main d'un jeune Anglais, on pressent déjà le futur conquérant. C'est un adolescent aux muscles solides, sain de corps et d'esprit. On peut hardiment le jeter sur le chemin de la vie, ce-lui-là (...) "I don't want testimonials, I want a man", toute la supériorité du caractère anglo-saxon est dans ce mot'. We will see how strongly the New School movement values initiative, active discovery of the world, responsability and self-control. This praise of 'real and complete' living, of developing practical knowledge, seems to suggest to Demolins a typology of social formations when trying to understanding the opposition between two drastically different education models, the English one and the French traditional one, to which he also attaches the German model. The value systems related to these two ideal types, i.e. the idiosyncratic social formation and the community-based social formation, not only underline both the ethical and political aspects of all educational systems, but also emphasize the cleavage between the social belonging model and the reference model, by using the good/evil polarisation. The idiosyncratic formation society which commends the struggle for life - the Anglo-Saxon model is almost an `Idealtype' - glorifies the individual who relies on himself, develops initiatives, is ruled by self goverment. 'C'est l'établissement de chaque enfant dans sa pleine indépendance par ses seules forces et sans le concours du groupe familial dont il est sorti.'[9] On the contrary, the community-based social formation relies upon solidarity and dependence of individuals upon the family, their professional group, the State. This ensues from passive methods of education in which being receptive is more important than having a spirit of discovery, and where privilege is given to the transmission of traditional and accumulated knowledge rather than to the awakening of the critical mind and pratical knowledge - not to mention representations of the body underlying both these models that refer to drastically opposed conceptions of physical activity, sport, the relation to the body and to the world.

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[7] Hyppolite Taine, *Note sur l'Angleterre*, Hachette, 1872. p. 92-94.

[8] Edmond Demolins, *A quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons?* 1897. Didot, p. XII, Préface.

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[9] idem, p. 173.

This dichotomy, strongly voiced, ('infériorité absolue de la formation communautaire') contributes to national stereotypes as opposed to a reference group in an upper position, and affects the designing of educational systems thus giving them a paradigmatic function. More so than the cognitive function, the categorisation process generated by these stereotypes fulfils an identity-based function: for Demolins, they take part in the moulding of a national identity. 'Par essence, les Anglais sont individualistes. Ils entendent qu'on les laisse seuls se tirer d'affaire et de la façon qui leur plaît. Leur caractère répugne à tout enregimentement, à toute abdication de l'autonomie personnelle en vue d'une action commune. Telle est, je crois l'une des raisons qui les rendent réfractaires au socialisme.'[10] Socialist ideology represents indeed the community-based formation par excellence, insofar as it considers solidarity as a value; thus, as 'le socialisme est essentiellement un produit d'origine et de fabrication allemande', Germany standing out as a community-type social formation doesn't come as a surprise, while 'the English social formation is idiosyncratic'. This is where social and economic progress stands for Demolins, because it is the societies which have 'most developed individual property and personnal activity', as opposed to community type societies which give excessive importance to the State's tutelary role and seek 'une solution à la question ouvrière dans l'assistance donnée à chacun par la communauté, la collectivité, par l'Etat, (...) et non dans l'initiative privée et locale'.[11] He uses these models to explain emigration patterns, European travelling habits, and records drastically different colonisation processes. Clearly, the French educational model belongs to the community-type formation, which he finds deplorable. Which explains his mission statement on creating l'Ecole des Roches, following Abbotsholme's model: 'A un monde nouveau, il faut une éducation nouvelle, une éducation qui forme l'homme à ne plus compter sur la communauté, sur un groupe quelconque, mais sur lui-même, une éducation qui en fasse un homme tourné non vers le passé, mais vers l'avenir.'[12]

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[10] idem, p. 269.

[11] idem, p. 262.

I have stressed Demolins' approach because his ideas were popular for quite some time in the press, in public opinion, (with the anglomania movement) and in the *Science sociale* journal thanks to its numerous collaborators who took over and spread his ideas. But what I find even more interesting is his typology's function as regards the construction of social reality, which by its dichotomy enables us to find our bearings within the different educational systems, to find our way within the social environment by selecting criteria to define the different currents. Therefore, I find it interesting to underline the cognitive function of stereotypes which, despite their schematisation, but also thanks to this simplification, have contributed to the elaboration of a classification of educational methods. I would like to demonstrate how, in 1930, René Hubert and Henri Gouhier, in their *Manuel élémentaire de Pédagogie générale*, are dependent on these categories to explain their conception of the various educational movements.

Gustave Le Bon, a link between Demolins and the *Manuel élémentaire de pédagogie générale* (1930) by Hubert & Gouhier

Before dealing with this elaborate theoretical presentation which combines both conceptual contributions of the turn-of-the century psychology (Binet, Claparède, Piaget) and various influences from European models, I would like to consider an important intermediary link in contributing to forming paradigmatic educational models, i.e.

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[12] Edmont Demolins, *L'éducation nouvelle*, Didot, 1898, p. 81.

Le Bon. As soon as 1916, but with numerous reprints up to 1930 of his *Psychologie de l'éducation*, he not only repeats Demolins: criticism of the French education system and his praise of the Anglo-Saxon model's active methods and experimental approach, but he also amplifies his comparative approach by introducing a reference to the German model which he admires for it superiority as regards services offered to industry. What Le Bon retains from German universities is the link between teaching and vocational training; he borrows from Demolins his whole analysis of the English model's specificities: experimenting studying in the field, which enables to develop an exploratory behaviour, independence of mind, boldness of thought. This is how he talks of Eton: 'Ses avantages sont d'exiger un service constant de la raison, de la patience, de l'exactitude, de l'aptitude à regarder et des plus précieuses facultés de l'imagination. (...) Tout le secret de l'éducation est d'aller du concret à l'abstrait, suivant la marche de l'esprit humain dans le temps.'[13] For here lies the limit of his loyalty to Demolins; his preoccupation is to build a theory of the learning process by extracting fundamental principles of cognitive functioning: insofar as he defines education as 'l'art de faire passer le conscient dans l'inconscient', he gives specific importance to creating reflexes by repeating associations within the learning process. Hence his criticism of the traditional conception of the French educational system, which overemphasises learning by heart. Le Bon would prefer to train mental skills. Moreover, he differs from Demolins in his analysis of resistance to changes, including the weight of public opinion, of parental influence, the inertia of the system, teachers' behaviour: 'd'autres réformateurs nous proposent de copier l'éducation anglaise, si incontestablement supérieure à la nôtre par le développement qu'elle donne au caractère, par la façon dont elle exerce l'initiative, la volonté, et aussi ce qu'on oublie généralement de remarquer, par la discipline. La réforme, théoriquement excellente, serait irréalisable. Adaptée aux besoins d'un peuple qui possède certaines qualités héréditaires, comment pourrait-elle convenir à un peuple possèdant des qualités tout à fait différentes?'[14] And he gives the caricatural example of a French mother's sollicitude, overprotecting her teenager child so much that any hint to an attempt to gain independence can but fail. 'On nous propose encore de donner aux élèves, si étroitement emprisonnés et surveillés, un peu de cette initiative, de cette indépendance qu'ont les élèves anglais. (...) Il est aussi difficile pour un peuple de changer son système d'éducation que de transformer ses méthodes de gouvernement.'[15]

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[13] Gustave Le Bon, *Psychologie de l'éducation*, Flammarion, 1916. P. 20.

Indeed, if Le Bon resorts to comparing the different European education systems, it is not, as for Demolins, to attempt to import them to France, but rather to underline the interdependence between educational methods and the importance of national specificities, as shown through the role of illusions in the lives of a people, as constituent factor of national identity. This shows in what way any thought on the subject of education depends on a psychology of mentalities, on what Le Bon named a comparative psychology of nations which is the beginning of a social psychology dedicated to stereotypes and categorisation processes. I would therefore consider Le Bon as the forerunner of contemporary currents of studies on social representations, like Serge Moscovici and Denise Jodelet.

From his construction of two ideal types Demolins seeks to explain the forming of intermediary types through the combination of various factors (geographical, environmental, nations'identities, cultural factors, demography, economics, tradition, and so on...); thus he allows thought of evolution and of possible changes and enables one to envisage a reform of the French educational system, while Le Bon on the other hand refutes all projects of reform. 'Il faut donc bien se persuader qu'avec les idées régnant en France, fort peu de choses peuvent être changées dans notre système d'instruction et d'éducation avant que l'esprit public ait lui-même évolué.[16]' I can only refer you to this chapter as a whole, entitled 'Enquête sur la réforme de l'enseignement'. He extracts arguments from his constant use of national stereotypes in order to underline the rigidity and compartmentalization of the various educational models. 'Si les Anglais n'ont besoin de personne pour se diriger, c'est qu'ils possèdent une discipline héréditaire interne qui leur permet de se gouverner eux-mêmes. Nul peuple n'est plus discipliné, plus respectueux des traditions et des coutumes établies. C'est justement parce que les Anglais ont en eux-mêmes leur discipline qu'ils peuvent se passer d'une tutelle constante. Une éducation physique très dure entretient et développe ces aptitudes héréditaires, mais non sans que le jeune homme ait à courir des risques d'accidents auxquels aucun parent français ne consentirait à exposer sa timide progéniture.'[17]

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[14] idem, p. 34.

[15] idem, p. 33.

In another text of 1917, *Hier et demain, Pensées brèves*, he compares the English and German educational models, but first uses national stereotypes to portray these countries in a way reminiscent of Demolins: 'L'Allemand même isolé reste un être collectif. Il n'acquiert de valeur que fondu dans un groupe. Chaque citoyen est une cellule du grand organisme: l'Etat... La conscience de l'Allemand est une conscience collective dirigée par l'Etat, celle de l'Anglais et de l'Américain une conscience individuelle n'abandonnant à l'Etat qu'une faible partie d'elle-même.'[18] There is not, of course, in Le Bon's work any theoretical discussion of the cognitive and identity based functions of stereotypes; social psychology is still in its infancy, despite Freud having given in *Massen-Psychologie und Ich-Analyse* the background of Le Bon's theory. In the *Psychologie des foules* (1898), Le Bon wrote an original contribution to group theory and social binding; he studied what is better known today as social cohesion, relations of rivalry and of competition between groups, group climate and interaction systems between and within groups. He stressed the importance of the individual's sense of belonging to a group to promote social cohesion and showed the importance of sport within the English educational model. 'Les Anglais considèrent avec raison que certains jeux scolaires préparent très utilement à la vie. Une équipe sportive implique en effet: association, hiérarchie, discipline, qualités indispensables à une société qui veut prospérer.'[19]

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[16] idem, p. 36.

[17] idem, p. 35-36.

[18] Le Bon, *Hier et demain*, Flammarion, 1917. P. 68-69.

He admires the German model because it also allows for emotion, for what Bales will later name the socio-emotional sphere as opposed to the socio-operating sphere of interactions within a group. 'L'éducation pourrait inculquer à l'élève l'esprit de corps en l'intéressant aux succés de sa classe autant qu'à ses propres succès. Il comprendrait alors que mieux vaut s'associer avec ses rivaux que les combattre. Très méconnu en France, ce principe constitue un des éléments de la puissance industrielle allemande.'[20] The French reluctance to group theory within educational methods was clearly revealed by the opposition R. Cousinet[21] met with when he tried to introduce group educational methods.

He set out to mould the personality,[22] to develop sensitivity and practical skills by technics and manual work, by developing the kind of vocational skills, so much valued in the German model. Le Bon admired the English as well as the German models for some of the same reasons given by Demolins in his praise of the English education system (i.e. active methods, experimental approach, taste for sport and for physical exercise, valuing manual work and vocational activity). However, one should not underestimate the differences between the two underlying value systems: free enterprise, search for autonomy on one side, stress on solidarity, on discipline, on group control over the individuals, on the other. The social control embodied by the German system is more to the taste of Le Bon, because it is conducive to economic expansion. Education is always dominated by political and economic ends. Thus, the praise of what one might call, avant la lettre, a 'differenciative' education has, for Le Bon, only efficiency as motive: 'Une des forces de l'éducation allemande est de savoir tirer parti, grâce à des enseignements variés, des aptitudes différentes de chaque élève. Une des causes de faiblesse dans l'éducation latine est son enseignement identique appliqué à des mentalités dissemblables.'[23]

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[19] idem, p. 131.

[20] idem, p. 129.

[21] R. Cousinet, Une methode de travail libre pae groupes, 12 Paris Editions du Cerf. 1945.

[22] Le Bon, Hier et demain, p. 128: 'Les hommes se conduisant beaucoup plus avec leur caractère qu'avec leur intelligence, le but de l'éducation devrait être de dresser le caractère (...). Une éducation purement intellectuelle devient vite une cause de décadence'.p. 131.

However Demolins and Le Bon differ even more with regard to their attitude towards reform. While Demolins uses the English model to promote an elitist system of education at L'Ecole des Roches, Le Bon finds the English and German models not conducive to social mobility and change, and thinks moreover that those who promote these systems in fact suffer from a defensive mechanism, that of idealisation. As soon as one has pointed out the correlation between educational system and national identity, between the educational models' underlying values and behaviour and mentality systems, regarding both parents and teachers, one cannot envisage changing educational systems without having previously changed mentalities. Le Bon's position strangely resembles that of Durkheim, explained in 1906 in *La Revue Bleue*, in an article about the evolution and the purpose of French secondary education.

Durkheim blames the educationalists who want to innovate, with a hint at Demolins, for misjudging the weight of the past, for lacking a historical approach, for wanting to 'édifier de toutes pièces un système scolaire entièrement nouveau où se réalise adéquatement l'idéal auquel ils aspirent'. He denounces any comparative approach that borrowing specificities from an outside reference model without taking into account the institutional order. 'Quelle idée nous devons nous faire de l'homme, nous Européens, ou plus spécialement encore Français du XXème siècle? Qu'on ne croie pas résoudre la difficulté en disant que notre devoir est tout simplement de faire de nos élèves des hommes! La solution est toute verbale. (...) On ne décrète pas l'idéal, il faut qu'il soit compris, aimé, voulu par tous ceux qui ont le devoir de le réaliser.'[24]

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[23] idem, p. 129.

I will not go along with this conservative position, but would rather come back to the dynamic role of the comparative approach; indeed, *the progressive forming of the paradigmatic model of a new education within the French discourse*, on the subject of education systems, will lead to theorisation and classification of educational methods. This modelisation of the various currents of thought is shown in Hubert & Gouhier: *Manuel élémentaire de pédagogie générale* (1930), a systematic account of the history of school institutions. This work gives a skilful combination of empirical data collected through field surveys, ordered by Paul Desjardins and carried out by Maurice Boucher in Germany, Austria, England; the theoretical references stem from recent studies, of the newly-born cognitive psychology, in 1930. Boucher's accounts are collected in Great Britain with Abbotsholme, Bedales and Oundle joined under the name of New School. In Germany, he lists the various 'freie Schule', Odenwald Schule (with Paul Geheeb), Waldorf Schule (in Stuttgart with Rudolf Steiner), Paulsen, (Lichtwarkschule in Hamburg, oder Berlin.) He presents a detailed and careful analysis of these reform movements, stressing that they represent an active minority and that this educational model is far from representative for the German education system as a whole. He insists upon the importance of the personality of these schools' founders whose charisma is one of the main factors of influence of the movements.

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[24] Emile Durkheim, La revue bleue, 1906, p. 13-15. Durkheim goes on as follows: 'On ne peut bien diriger l'évolution d'un système scolaire que si l'on commence par savoir ce qu'il est. (...). Le meilleur moyen de réaliser un nouvel idéal pédagogique est d'utiliser l'organisation établie, sauf à la retoucher secondairement'.

Hubert & Gouhier point out this paradoxical fact: these outstanding results 'sont dus d'ailleurs dans une large mesure à ce que ces tentatives ont été effectuées par des éducateurs de premier ordre convaincus et passionnés pour leur oeuvre, opérant sur un personnel scolaire soigneusement trié le plus souvent.'[25] Hence the ambiguity of the paradigmatic function of this model: the charismatic figure of the director of these establishments underlines the importance of the transferential relationship within all educational relationships, and ought to give such a system its singularity. At the same time, wanting to extract from it a modelisation and generalise it to all education systems leads the two authors - like their predecessors - to wring fundamental principles from this paradigmatic model. In the foreword, Hubert presents the purpose of his textbook as follows: 'Nous voulons seulement attirer leur attention sur l'ensemble des problèmes que pose à l'heure actuelle l'évolution des faits pédagogiques. Ces problèmes sont multiples. Ils concernent aussi bien les programmes que les méthodes, aussi bien la formation intellectuelle que la formation morale de l'élève, aussi bien la connaissance psychologique de l'enfant que l'organisation disciplinaire de la classe. Il nous a donc paru principalement utile de mettre nos lecteurs au courant des recherches entreprises, des tentatives effectuées et des résultats obtenus par les réformateurs, soit en France soit de l'étranger.'[26]

In order to present this panorama of foreign educational models they resort to surveys carried out with what we now call the 'New Schools'. 'Ce qu'il importe ici de noter, c'est le besoin général auquel elles correspondent. Ce n'est pas dans l'imagination de quelques éducateurs audacieux que leur projet a germé. Elles présentent trop de traits communs, en Belgique, en Suisse, en Angleterre, en Allemagne, aux Etats-Unis, pour qu'il n'y ait pas aussi à leur origine quelque raison commune: cette raison, c'est le sentiment du désaccord entre l'éducation traditionnelle et les besoins des sociétés modernes.'[27]

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[25] Hubert & Gouhier, Manuel élémentaire de Pédagogie générale, Delalain 1930. p. 78.

[26] idem, p. 8.

This skimming through the various educational models over half a century helps to understand the birth of a paradigm which is now common to a few countries, a transnational model of which the main specificities are listed in a proper 'New School Charter'. National stereotypes are neglected to the benefit of a thematic conceptualisation which sets the ideal model of a New School within categories, setting up a scale of criteria. It is important within this crossing between theoretical purpose and empirical genesis to note that paragraph 27, in Hubert & Gouhier's chapter 'Les problèmes contemporains', gives two different accounts of the fundamental specificities of the paradigmatic model:

- a preliminary and abbreviated version, presenting a theoretical synthesis of child psychology on the purpose and values of education, and on its organisation;
- a long and detailed version, with no less than 30 points, a portrait by Adolphe Ferrière himself of the features by which the New School current can be recognised. This is a sort of charter, mingling rather eclectic allusions to the English model, concrete references to the German model, and influences from Dewey's philosophy of education.

This list makes it possible to check if any school deserves to be called part of the 'New School Movement.' 'Il suffit de chiffrer le nombre des caractères qui se retrouvent dans une institution, pour dire dans quelle mesure celle-ci répond à l'idéal des Ecoles

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[27] idem, p. 78 sq.

Nouvelles. A condition de possèder au moins les deux tiers des trente caractères précités, l'institution a droit à la qualification d'Ecole Nouvelle.'[28]

However, Hubert & Gouhier's conclusion points out the idealised status of this paradigmatic model which can by no means, as it is, lead to anything concrete. I hope I have managed to explain how the cognitive and identity function of stereotypes, categorisation processes using homogeneisation processes within categories and differenciation between groups, have contributed to elaborate such a paradigm. The use of stereotypes has contributed to the building of such a typology and to prefer the expression 'New School current' to that of 'free school'.

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[28] idem, p. 83.

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Pillarization and Segmentation in the Dutch School System

1. Introduction

Education at school for almost every child was the inevitable outcome of developments in the nineteenth century all over Western Europe. Inevitable, of course, only in hindsight. Discussions on general education had their start in the Netherlands early in the seventeenth century, when the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Churches (Dordrecht, 1618-1619) advised all local authorities to teach children at least reading and writing. Only then could they get acquainted with the Bible. Primary education for children was pretty successful: in the beginning of the nineteenth century about half of the Dutch population is estimated to be literate. Less than a century later almost all children attended primary education (Knippenberg 1986). The same is true with regard to secondary education; in the sixties of the twentieth century the majority of children is attending school after having finished primary education.

Two major developments in the Dutch school-system will be dealt with. One is segmentation in secondary education, where a tracked (or segmented) system developed. This segmentation refers to a system in which parallel courses of study are separated by institutional or curricular barriers, as well as by differences in the social origins of the students (Ringer 1979, 29). Traditional ways of seeing were opposing modern views on curricula, the old-fashioned Latin School ('gymnasium' in Dutch) versus newer schooltypes which did orient themselves on industrial and commercial ways of life. This was only one ongoing source of debate and discussion. The other one was the struggle between state and private denominational schools, the so-called 'School War'.

So, from the end of the nineteenth and right through the twentieth there were two major conflicts going on, one in the field of the financing of denominational schools - and though mainly concerning primary schools it was relevant for secondary education as well - and the other one, focusing on secondary education, on the relation between the ideal of mass education and the segmented reality. The whole question of social inequality has regained its impetus in societies - like the Dutch one - where ethnic and cultural diversity has grown by immigration. Should education serve all citizens with some sort of national curriculum, equal for all? Or is it in the best interests of the child when social and cultural differences lead to different curricula? Is it the aim of the school to promote equality or to promote cultural diversity?

The history of the Dutch school system shows these questions to be tough ones and dealing with them has not been easy. The relation between 'differences and commonalities' is part of a never-ending debate. First of all, we will deal with the 'School War'; then we will sketch the problem of segmentation .

2. School War: Concepts and Facts

Although the Dutch case is clearly a special one (Koelman 1987, 90f.; Glenn 1992), mitigated forms of compartmentalization within national educational systems are not uncommon. In most European countries and elsewhere denominational schools have existed for a long time, with or without financial aid by their governments (cf. De Kwaasteniet 1990, 18 ff., 229 ff.; Glenn 1992). Yet, such schools do not form an integral part of, nor do they occupy an equal place within the public educational system, as they do in the Netherlands. Their numerical superiority and the great variety of ideologies, religious as well as pedagogical, to which the different private schools adhere are hallmarks of the Dutch system as well.

In this article we speak of 'public' schools, by which we mean the Dutch 'openbare' schools owned and controlled by public authorities, notably municipalities. Such schools have to keep to neutrality in matters of religion or world view. The other major category of Dutch schools are called 'bijzonder' (literally 'particular' or 'extraordinary'); in this article we use in these cases the terms 'private' or 'independent'. They are owned and controlled by different types of organisations, e.g. associations of parents. Nearly all of these private schools are denominational. At present, 35% of the primary schools are public, and therefore neutral schools, 30% are Roman-Catholic, 30% are Protestant in a remarkable denominational variety and 5% are private non-denominational with different pedagogical identities, e.g. Waldorf schools. In secondary education only 17% of all schools are public. A remarkable fact, considering the growing indifference of the Dutch with regard to religion. To this, we will return in 2.2. Private schools are fully supported by state funds, but are free in many respects from governmental educational policies, aside from a common core curriculum.

2.1 The Dutch School War: Growing Importance of Education

Generally speaking, organisations (or persons) that owned a school did not set great store by financial support from the government during the first decades after 1848, particularly because they were apprehensive of government involvement in the content and colour of education in exchange for subsidy. And the government, too, was of the opinion that anyone who wished to provide education outside the regular public schools should provide for the financing himself. However, denominational thinking in the Netherlands concerning financial support of the state for Christian education did drastically change towards the end of the century. The explanation may be found in the fact that education in the course of the nineteenth century was being increasingly considered an important social good. The school was given more and more roles to play, at the cost of its traditional task of preparing young people for church and religious life. It now also had to provide social, moral, civil, hygienic and national education, and later physical, cultural and aesthetic education as well. The school was also called in for professional training and general social qualifications. On all sides it was argued that every child should enjoy regular education. However, not all were of the opinion that the state should be allowed to introduce compulsory education. Particularly in circles of denominational education, this was considered unjustified government interference in the responsibilities and rights of parents.

The growing importance of schooling, eventually resulting in the introduction of compulsory education in 1901, did give strong impulses to the ever louder clamour of private schools for state subsidy. During the first decades following the Constitution of 1848, Protestant schools and a growing number of Roman-Catholic schools had been fully self-supporting. They did not wish 'to be bound with silver cords'. They would rather work with thrift, donations and (with a view to the poor, the lowest) tuition. From the 1870s onwards the legislator would impose more and more money-consuming requirements on all schools with respect to the quality of education, school buildings, teaching staff and educational tools. Such quality-enhancing legal measures, which also applied as conditions for being permitted to found and maintain a private school, brought many unsubsidized schools into great financial difficulties.

The denominational schools offered strong opposition to such legal requirements. This notwithstanding, the parliament usually adopted the challenged measures for the improvement of education. Under the force of circumstances, the supporters of private education began to strive to obtain the financial support of the state. This revived the School War, which then entered a second phase. The ultimate goal was the financial equality of public and private education. This was achieved in 1920.

2.2 Some Unintended Consequences

An unintentional side effect of the organised opposition to educational renewals from the 1870s onwards was that the different denominational streams in the Netherlands became more aware of their interests and quantitative might. The action groups of school opposition continued to exist in the aftermath as powerful pressure groups. That is how the first well-organised political parties arose in the Netherlands, of which the neo-Calvinist (in a religious sense strictly orthodox but in a social, cultural and political sense modern) and Roman-Catholic parties were the most important. These parties were the crystallisation points for the networks which would much later be called 'zuilen' ('pillars') in Dutch historiography (cf. De Swaan 1988, 99 ff.). From around 1880 to around 1970 the Netherlands was primarily divided along ideological lines. The emerging social-democratic labour movement also developed into a pillar, with its own media, youth organisations, sport and social clubs, social interest organisations, housing associations, insurance companies, etc. Each pillar built up its own familiar and isolated culture, in which a great deal of energy and attention was devoted to educating young people and creating an educated and dedicated cadre with leadership abilities. Nearly all pillars, except for the social-democratic one, maintained their own schools as well. The Netherlands thus developed into a society of carefully kept checks and balances between these different ideological groups, a system which has been called 'consociational democracy' or 'the politics of accommodation'(Lijphart 1968). State subsidies were allocated through the ideological networks, according to the principle of proportionality. The presence of an intermediate 'layer' of private organisations, via which public money for educational as well as social and cultural purposes was distributed to society, became a salient feature of the Dutch welfare state (De Kwaasteniet 1990, 17). During a large part of the twentieth century this extraordinary form of pillarized social cohesion appeared to numerous Dutchmen to be stronger in many respects than, for instance, socio-economic or regional forms of solidarity, or even kinship.

The phenomenon of 'pillarization' is undoubtedly the main reason why the Dutch parliament decided in 1920 to allow the government to fully finance all primary schools including the private ones. That resulted in an enormous increase in the number of denominational schools of widely divergent kinds, at the cost of public schools. Already after a couple of years the denominational primary schools exceeded the neutral public schools in numbers, and that has remained so up to this day, as the figures mentioned in the introduction show (cf. De Kwaasteniet 1990, 95 ff.). In addition, more and more private schools were (and still are) founded which are not so much distinctive from the public ones in beliefs and views but which base themselves on specific pedagogical conceptions, such as Montessori, Waldorf, Dalton and Jena schools. In the second half of the century, other types of education than primary education have gradually been funded by the government as well, regardless of whether they are public or independent, from denominational kindergartens to denominational universities. In the Netherlands one can, for example, encounter vocational education or special schools for handicapped children in at least three variants: state non-denominational, private Protestant and private Roman-Catholic, all of which are funded from taxes. Even the extensive structure of education support services and pedagogical counselling services has been divided along denominational lines. This means that almost the entire Dutch educational field is 'pillarized'. It should be mentioned here that this peculiar development is strongly rooted in the fact that the Netherlands is a small and very densely populated country. In countries where distances are greater and people fewer, it seems impossible to maintain so many different schools alongside each other.

2.3 Discussion

Meanwhile, the criticism is growing. First there is a financial-economic argument. The present design of compartmentalization of primary education results, according to thorough calculations (Koelman 1987), in additional expenditure, mainly due to the fact that in sparsely populated areas different small schools of different denominations must be maintained instead of fewer larger ones. Compartmentalization of secondary and higher education is probably even more costly. In general, the recent economical need for cutbacks in overall government expenditure and the calls for more efficiency and larger scales gives strength to this financially inspired criticism. In recent years the Dutch government has therefore several times presented plans for a drastic increase of the minimum number of students that a school must have if it wishes to be eligible for funding. Other old types of criticism have been revived of late as well. Since the nineteenth century the champions of a uniform public school system have always been accusing denominational schools of not fully endorsing civil virtues, democratic values and cross-cultural tolerance (cf. Koelman 1987, 88 ff.). Notably some fundamentalist beliefs within and without Christianity do not subscribe to the fundamental rights of modern democracies, such as the freedom of speech for all, the principles of non-discrimination and tolerance. The question of whether measures should be taken to prevent groups professing such views to have their own schools and have the state pay them for indoctrinating their students is a topical and very tricky one. Nowadays it is broadly accepted that all young people need to learn to cope with and fully accept ideological diversity in today's open and multicultural society. It seems very odd in the light of the pervasive secularisation of modern culture that so many children are still being sent to schools professing only one peculiar world view, even if all teachers in any school are required by law to introduce all students to different ideas and cultures as well. All citizens should (learn to) respect and value multiformity. No student ought to be confined to the self-imposed ghetto of a denominational school, say the advocates of a uniform school system. All these objections have been compelling reasons for a growing number of Dutch people to seriously reconsider the much acclaimed freedom of educational choice for parents.

Nevertheless, the majority of Members of Parliament appear to attach enormous value to the voluntary apartheid laid down in the Dutch constitution. Undoubtedly this has a great deal to do with the fact that so many people in the Netherlands are dependent on the private educational sector for their livelihood. Another important factor is that attempts to affect the position of power of the Christian educational interest organisations are completely non-negotiable for one of the four largest political parties in the Netherlands, the Christian Democratic party (C.D.A. Christen Democratisch Apèl) (cf. De Kwaasteniet 1990, 180 ff.). In a sense the Dutch educational system and politics have been based on the authority, influence and intermediate role of these organisations. It would mean an enormous break with the past to wish to put an end to that. Furthermore, Christian education has for many parents the reputation of functioning better than public education, a phenomenon for which the literature still does not provide a clear explanation. One of the reasons for this prestigiousness is, we believe, that Christian schools are generally better equipped given the fact that they receive the same amount of money from the state as public schools but also have additional financial resources, such as extra tuition, donations and capital from the past. Christian schools also have a reputation of being more orderly, thorough and effective, i.e. they deliver students to a higher level sooner than their public counterparts. Private schools do perform better than public ones, is a widespread opinion among parents, although recent research has cast serious doubt on this claim (Roeleveld 1994, 203, 225; Dijkstra 1992, 154). Finally, a lot of parents seem to think that some kind of religious education in school cannot harm their children, even if they themselves do not have strong religious convictions. Denominational schools are often considered to be the right choice, especially since most of these have become less orthodox in recent years.

2.4 Old and New Pillars

All this does not alter the fact that the majority of Christian schools in the Netherlands is going through a serious identity crisis, whether they admit this openly or not. They tend to play down their religious roots. In this respect we can speak of a hollowing-out of voluntary apartheid, a kind of 'depillarization' from within. In addition, schools of various denominations are being threatened in their existence in a very specific way because for a long time it has been doubtful whether they can count on a constant and sufficient inflow of students from their own crumbling rank and file. Many schools try to escape from their ideological shyness in a 'depillarizing' environment by advancing ideologically irrelevant features, such as the dubious claim of effectiveness mentioned earlier.

In contrast with this 'depillarization' from within, new pillars have arisen in recent years. During the past twenty years various small orthodox, traditionalist and experiential streams within Dutch

Calvinism, for example, have been experiencing a remarkable period of growth, which is also reflected in the proliferation of new educational pillars, separate from and partly in opposition to the established Protestant-Christian educational organisations.

In addition, we observe that immigrant groups (which are sizeable in the major Dutch cities), in particular those with an Islamic or Hindu religious background, have recently begun to utilise the constitutional freedom of education by founding their own primary schools on a religious basis. Like other private schools, these educational institutions can count on full government funding, provided they meet the normal legal conditions (cf. De Kwaasteniet 1990, 209 ff.). It is a requirement, for instance, that an association wishing to start an Islamic primary school must demonstrate that the legal minimum number of two hundred students will be realised within five years. Moreover, the teaching staff should possess the normal powers and qualifications. The school must provide regular primary education, as required by law. The lessons must therefore be focused on the ability to function adequately in Dutch society, which means, for instance, that sufficient attention is paid to the Dutch language, that the students are familiarised with the various spiritual streams in Dutch culture and that they are prepared for the multi-cultural character of the Netherlands. An important requirement is also that the levels of the pupils upon leaving primary school must dovetail well with the secondary education offer. Meanwhile, there are several dozens of such immigrant schools.

3. Class Segmentation in the Secondary Educational System: The Educational System of 1863

To make our point concerning the two basic points of discussion, we need to go back in time, to the second half of the nineteenth century when the Netherlands got their first law on secondary education

(1863). This law distinguished between general secondary education and the pre-university education in the Latin School or gymnasium, which took six years and which was organised by the Law on Higher Education. Even in 1863 this distinction was heavily criticised, particularly because of the class and status hierarchy it implied.

The most successful school created by the Law on Secondary Education of 1863 was the 'Hogere Burgerschool' (Secondary School for citizens), better known as the acronym 'HBS', with a five year-programme on general education. However, very soon it developed into a form of specialised education, because the curriculum consisted mainly of the 'new modern' studies, concerning the sciences, mathematics and technical studies.

At the end of the nineteenth century the opposition between intellectual and general education became a new and important issue in the educational debate which accompanied and added the well-known and exhaustively described opposition between classical and non-classical education (Ringer 1979; Tenorth 1986). It was mainly our academic pedagogues, later followed by some educationalists in the field, inspectors and headmasters, accused the educational system of being too intellectual and of not paying enough attention to personal development. Most of the times these ideas were opposed by teacher organisations, defending the level and status of the existing system as the best form of intellectual, and thus pre-university education. In becoming education for the masses, secondary education became compulsory and general. However, this last concept was rather vague, ambiguous and ambivalent. It was clear that it had to be non-classical, non-special and non-vocational, but what could or should be the content and aims of modern general secondary education?

3.1 Classical versus 'Modern' Education

By the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century every industrialised country had to face the shortcomings of its existing secondary education system, mainly of classical/humanistic schools. Preparing students for university was no longer sufficient to meet the demands of 'modern society'. New schools, with special curricula for technical and more applied studies, and schools for vocational training were developing in all industrial countries. However, as Ringer (1979) states, these new schools for secondary education were not simply an answer to new economic demands, but should also be understood in relation to a specific national and educational tradition. In this development, classical education played an important role as opposed to ideas about the usefulness or utility of education. For this reason, general secondary education was partly understood as a form of classical education and vice versa. Although the new technological and mathematical studies were seen as very important in terms of scientific and economic development and attracted lots of students, they were seen as a less general and a more specialised form of secondary education.

In the Netherlands the classical education of the gymnasium played a long and determining role in the reform of the secondary education system, not in the least because of the existence (until the present day) of the categorical and autonomous gymnasium, which included Latin and Greek in its curriculum. The law issued in 1863 legalised this segmentation as it made a sharp distinction between general secondary education and pre-university education. The general education provided by the HBS had to educate students for all kinds of administrative and more or less directing jobs in business and industries. In that way, the school system separated the 'world of the mind/spirit' from the 'world of the matter' (Boekholt & and De Booy 1987).

Meanwhile, the practice of the HBS became more and more directed towards pre-university education for new modern technical studies, sciences and medicine. At the end of the nineteenth century the education provided by the HBS was no longer final education and even less general education. Many students continued their studies at the institute for higher technical studies, the Polytechnic Institute of Delft or at the university, after a special request to be admitted to the university without any knowledge of classical languages. At the end of the nineteenth century, the HBS seemed to be a serious threat to the gymnasium, because of its modern studies and because it prepared students for the university in five years. It was in fact the main reason for the gymnasium to modernise its programme in alpha and beta programmes. Compared to other countries, the exclusivity of the gymnasium as pre-university schooling was rather slow in disappearing. It took HBS students until 1917 to be officially allowed the entrance to university to study sciences and medicine. However, the HBS, especially the new mathematical, scientific and technological studies, was never understood as an intellectual education. It was too specialistic, too materialistic, and not enough general, in a humanistic sense, to educate the new elite.

3.2 General versus Intellectual Education

At the same time, a completely new perspective was coming to the foreground. The pedagogue Gunning, who was to become the first Dutch professor in pedagogy in 1923, pleaded in 1898 for a secondary education that would take into account the psychological development of the students. He propagated the new psychological and pedagogical insights (see Hall and Heymans at the beginning of this century), and claimed the importance of the developmental stage of puberty and the need for a secondary education that made individual development and personal growth one of its most important aims and objectives. As he wrote: 'the gross misunderstanding by pedagogues or educationalists and legislators of the enormous crises in the development of mankind in the stage of puberty had caused an immense damage'. For this reason the education system, especially secondary education, had to be totally reformed in accordance with these new psychological and pedagogical insights. Gunning was the first to stress the need for reforming the segmented secondary education into a sort of grammar school, in which the first three years should be the same for all the students. The rationale behind it was to give students time to explore their own interests and capacities before choosing a more specific vocational or pre-university education. According to Gunning, secondary education should not only take into account the necessity of cognitive development, but also the harmonious development of the 'total' or 'complete' personality.

This criticism led to a new opposition in the debate concerning the reform of secondary education. Apart from well-known and described distinctions between classical and non-classical or modern education and between general and vocational training, the opposition between general and intellectual education played an important role in the debate concerning the reform of our educational system. Dutch secondary education system was accused of being too intellectual, or 'intellectualistic', because of the lack of general secondary education. In this debate, different kinds of argumentation can be discerned. The demands of the labour market and of the new groups of students from new middle and higher class backgrounds for general education were interpreted as a need for a shorter, easier and more applied education. The new educational problems of repeating classes, leaving school without a diploma, the problem of too many students following the HBS and the gymnasium, who were (intellectually) not capable of doing so, led to a plea for a less intellectual and more general secondary school, three of four years of high school education, and a strict and severe (admission to) selection for pre-university education. The psychological and pedagogical perspective was the most revolutionary option, because it was a first (partial) breakthrough from the segmented secondary education system, with the idea of a general secondary education of three years accessible for everybody, followed by different schools for vocational, general and pre-university education. The other side of these pedagogical ideas about educational reform were their contribution to, or even responsibility towards the distinction and opposition of a more intellectual and cognitively oriented education against a more individual and personality development oriented education. From the beginning of this century general secondary education was no longer only defended in terms of well-known educational functions of qualification, selection and allocation, but also by ideas about psychological development of young people, in which cognitive and emotional aspects became more or less separated.

3.3 Developments after the Second World War: The new Laws on General Basic Secondary Education of 1963 and 1993

The 1863 law on secondary education was only replaced in 1963. Although all kinds of secondary education were brought together in this one law (the reason why it was immediately nicknamed 'Mammoth Law'), the distinctions between different secondary schools, pre-university (six years), general education (four or five years) and vocational education were maintained. The old separation between classical and non-classical education, the HBS and the gymnasium disappeared. But the fact that the gymnasium could keep its autonomy shows how this form of pre-university education is only partly integrated in the education system. The HBS changed in a new school, the Athenaeum, with a duration of six years and the gymnasium finally became part of secondary education by law. Most secondary schools, lyceums or grammar schools, consist of different types of secondary general education, pre-university education and general education. They are still separated from vocational training and often also from general education on a lower level, the four years of general education in MAVO, 'Middelbaar algemeen vormend onderwijs'.

In these developments, ideas about general education changed from a more moral idea about personality development to a more meritocratic one about individual development and the necessity of individual choices between different packages of courses within the curriculum. The school for five years of general secondary education created in 1963, the HAVO (Hoger algemeen verimend onderwys) can be identified by these ideas about general education. In the HAVO curriculum only a few subjects are obligatory: Dutch and one modern language, so every individual student can choose a large part of his/her programme concordantly to his/her interests and capacities. About the HAVO programme created in 1963 generally one can say that more time was spent on creative subjects, social studies and PE. However, these arrangements and organisation of secondary education are history since 1993. After years of discussion about a basic general education for all, a form of comprehensive education, a new law on basic education for the first three years was accepted. But there is still a form of segmentation: general basic education is still differentiated by level, one according to HAVO, athenaeum and gymnasium and another one according to MAVO and lower vocational education.

4. Concluding Remarks

This history of both our School War and of the segmentation of secondary education seems to consist of two entirely separate stories, playing in entirely different spheres. This, however, would be quite misleading. The point is, that one has to reckon with the fact that there is no such thing as 'the' history of the Dutch educational system. Both in primary education and in secondary education, different debates on structure, curriculum, aims and organisation were playing for a long time without coming to a conclusion. Autonomy, however, of the different systems is what holds it all together. On the one hand, mainly in the School War, this striving for autonomy paradoxically weakens the role of the state. The different denominational strands succeeded in having the state pay for their emancipation and their independence vis-a-vis that very same body politic. This trick was being played time and again in other spheres as well: the gymnasium is a fine example of this subtle power play. The School War had a far reaching influence on the whole of Dutch society by the process of 'pillarization'. Over and over again it was shown that an appeal to the uniqueness - theologically seen - of an institution, be it a protestant football club or a catholic gymnasium, was rewarded with state subsidy. This is but a slight exaggeration, to make the point clear. Unintended side effects abound, however. One of the was the segmentation of secondary education. In the new basic general secondary education the individual choices are limited and after the three years of basic education students can choose for precisely described main programmes, e.g. in languages, economics and sciences. The new developments are still based on ideas about general education in many subjects, so that every student gets to know modern languages, history and mathematics as well as social studies, technology, computers and home-economics and care. The new programme is also no longer based on a distinction or separation from special or classical education. However there is also a continuity in the position of classical education of the gymnasium. There still are autonomous gymnasia and there is also the possibility to teach classical languages in the first three years of general basic education. Classical education always had, and still has a specific relation to general education which the special education of the old HBS-curriculum in mathematics, science and technology studies never had. Finally there is also a striking difference compared to the discussion on general education, because there is no criticism anymore on a too intellectualistic secondary education. On the contrary, one could argue that this new basic education with its strong restrictions in freedom to choose the subject of the curriculum, has its legitimation partly in the lack of intellectual education of the old programme, especially of the HAVO.

Dutch educational history is full of paradoxes. The institutionalising of different schools for different religions has not led to a conflictridden society, but rather to a pretty stabile one. Differences are perhaps not really tolerated, but sooner met with indifference. Equality for all by dealing with different people in a different way even seems an Aristotelcian solution to the old dilemma. Segmented secondary education has somehow succeeded in diminishing the inequality in chances for girls in particular, who were once a small minority and are now forming more than half of the population of secondary schools. 'Differences and commonalities' seem to be subject to strange and hard to gauge influences, requiring time and again subtle analyses. No simple solutions exist.

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State - Church Relations in a Post-communist Educational System.

The Case of Hungary

In the history of Hungarian education churches and religion in general played a significant role. Catholics, Calvinists, Lutherans and Jews (Israelites) controlled the overwhelming majority of schools before the nationalisation of schools in 1948, as is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Number of Students in thousands, the owner of schools, and the school-types in the school year 1935/36

Owner	*type*	elemt. school	Burger school	Gymn.	Real-sch.	Real-gym.
State		229	35	1	5,3	15,8
St. Cath.		0	0	1,3	0	1,3
Municip		126	34	0,7	1,3	0,2
RomCath.		381	15	6,5	0	6,5
Gr. Cath.		16	0	0	0	0
Calvinist		142	0	3,7	0	3,8
Lutheran		37	0	1,2	0	2,0
Orthodox		1	0	0	0	0
Israelite		12	1	0	0	1
Private		17	4	0	0,4	0,3
Total		960	91	14,4	7,0	31,8

Some important facts to understand the table:

State Catholic: schools of the Hungarian Educational Foundation, supervised as direct as the state schools, but managed by the Catholic orders.

Burger School: a kind of lower secondary school for the lower middle class, and working class age 10-14.

Gymnasium: Classical secondary school with Latin and Greek, age 10-18.

Realgymnasium: The school type which was the most heavily subsidised by the government with Latin and modern languages, age 10-18.

Realschool: secondary school with modern languages and sciences, age 10-18.

This role was deeply rooted in history as well as in ideology. During the Second World War and after neither the churches as such, nor the believers could finance this huge school system any longer. The process of secularisation had started in the 19th century but it grew in strength in the post Second World War period. The nationalisation of the schools however was not caused by this secularisation process but it was forced by the communist regime. After the nationalisation, since the 1950's, less then 10 church-run secondary schools operated in Hungary. These schools were financed by the state, and their curriculum - but for their *Weltanschauung* - was similar to that at the state schools.

In the last period of communism the attitude towards church schooling changed. The newspaper which was controlled by the nationalist wing of reform-communists started to emphasize that the nationalisation of schools belonged to the 'Stalinist features of Socialism'. In addition to being an attack against Stalinism however, it also attacked liberal and modernist views in the 1970s and 1980s. In these views it was stated that nationalisation of church schools had been a goal of the Hungarian liberal and democratic forces all along ever since the 19th and 20th century, and that the Socialist Revolution fulfilled this aim, albeit with many other matters that were not liberal at all.

The reform-communist regime removed the supervision of the state-church relationship from the State-Church Office (which was described as a tool of Stalinism) to the Ministry of Education. The Minister of Education declared in 1989 that the 'reprivatization of church schools is in the national interest.' The first concrete steps in the process of reprivatisation facilitated the expansion of western oriented foreign policy. George Bush visited the first newly reopened Lutheran school; the American Embassy was actively involved in reopening the first Calvinist school.

The first conflict arose when the Calvinist church - the lay heads of the church and some emigrants - started to lobby for the reprivatization of one of the famous schools of the Budapest elite. The Ministry of Education, keen on demonstrating its new relationship with the churches, offered the building to the Calvinist Church. But the users of the school building at the time - a secularised elite of Budapest - did not want 'to be shifted' from a state school to a church school, and the leader of the educational administration of the city attacked the minister in the press.

During the same time a lot of things happened in the parliament. An Act of 1990 changed the Education Act of 1985 and gave churches the right to open as many schools as they wished. The annual budget was changed and it offered the same amount of money from the central budget to both church-run and state-run schools - it was a kind of 'money follows pupil' system. Since in this system the church had a right to ask for a fee while the state schools were free of charge, the financial situation of the church schools became better than that of state schools. The Ministry of Education wanted to link this extra state support to a special agreement between the Ministry and specified church schools - but in the end the new Act on the Churches guaranteed this money without any condition. The same Act guaranteed the right for the churches to give religious instruction in public schools 'as a facultative subject'.

A right-wing coalition won the 1990 elections. The biggest party, the Hungarian Democrats Forum, was an umbrella party of different right wing forces: old and new conservatives, populists, the extreme right - practically all of them emphasised the Christian-conservative-national tradition as a central ideology of the party. One of the smaller coalition partners - the Christian Democratic People's Party - had firm links with the leadership of the Catholic Church. The other small partner, the party of 'smallholders', collected its voters from among the least educated, elderly village people: this group is the most religious one in Hungarian society. The first case of reprivatization after the election showed that privatization on the basis of claims and on the basis of historical argumentation are very different phenomena indeed.

The Association of Christian Intellectuals - a new force in civil society - decided to change the 'spirit' of a secondary school in Budapest called Arany János School. The owner of the school, the municipality, which was still a non-elected one at the time, turned down this plan. After this decision, the Saint Marie Society, an organisation which had been the owner of the building before the Second World War, had had no plans for the school. But now it seized the opportunity, requesting the return of the school. The MP of the district (a right-wing politician) supported this request. To sum it up: a really existing social group with a real social claim requested the school - but this aim was not supported either by the government or the municipality. When on the other hand a traditional 'quasi-association' requested it on the basis of a historical argumentation, it was immediately supported by politicians belonging to the party in power.

The same case showed the conflict between bureaucratic rationalism and political aims. The legal department of the Ministry declared that the parents' constitutional right to choose their childrens' school, did not mean that they had the right to change the spirit of an existing school. The minister himself, in face of opposition from his own apparatus, still supported the aim of the Saint Marie Society. It was a typical conflict between political and bureaucratic rationalism.

In September this year the Christian Democrats focused their policy on defending the municipal schools which had previously opted for the Christian spirit. The Christian Democrats suggested legislation to create a new type of schools: 'state- financed church school'. The Hungarian Democratic Forum was the only party absent during the political professional meeting which was held to discuss this suggestion. It seemed that the biggest government party had reached a compromise with the Christian Democrats. These obtained a kind of hegemony in religious policy. (Later, as a gesture, the opening speech of the parliamentary debate on the Act concerning the reprivatization of properties formerly belonging to the Churches was delivered not by the minister but by the State Secretary of the Ministry of Justice, because he was also one of the leaders of the Christian Democratic People's Party.)

The new parliament had inherited from the last communist parliament a plan of reprivatization of properties which had belonged to the churches before 1948. But the new majority - with Christian/conservative parties - did not start to debate the plan. It seems, that the new government parties were sure of winning the municipal election of the autumn of 1990: and they did not want to complicate the situation of their own local elites. The municipal act, as one of the most important elements of the new constitutional order, relegated schools to the municipalities. But not the government parties won the local election. In the greatest part of towns and cities the liberal parties got majorities, in the villages the ex-communist ex-lord majors became lord major again. In this situation the government parties gave the green light for the plan of reprivatization of properties formerly belonging to the Churches. In the spring of 1991 the Act passed in the parliament. This act was opposed everywhere: by the liberal parties, the Socialist Party, the alliances of municipalities, the teachers trade unions. This Act strengthened the leadership of the churches because not the claims of believers initiated the starting of new church schools, but the decisions of the church leaders. They can decide which buildings they want to claim, as there is an abunduncy of property that formerly belonged to a religious institution. The government, and the elite of government parties are making common cause with the leaders of the historical churches. As the head of the Hungarian Benedictine order put it: the Act of reprivatization would strengthen the 'feudal features' of the Hungarian Catholic Church.

The right wing parties and the ministry hoped that hundreds - that was what was expected - of new church-instructed schools would change Hungarian education. The draft for a new Educational Act (version 1991 November) guaranteed special rights to the church schools. These rights were much more encompassing than the rights of other private schools. It made possible a special agreement between the church-schools and the ministry, and gave the supervision of this schools into the hands of the churches.

After a long debate the draft of the ministry (version Nov. of 1991) stated: state and municipal schools organise education on the basis of a neutral 'Weltanschauung'.

At the time it seemed a good compromise: governmental ambitions with regard to a 'Christian renewal of society' could take place in the church schools - and the state/municipal schools would not be involved in the ideological changes.

But at the end of 1991 the first problems arose. It became clear that the main obstacle in the process was not the changing of municipal schools into church schools, but the separation of the buildings and the institutions. In the majority of the cases the municipalities declared: if the government forced them to give the building to church they would move the school to an other building, and they would claim the expenses from the central budget. Their argument was: they lost a 'function': the church school could not fulfil the same function as a municipal school - the municipal school had to be neutral, the church school could of course not be neutral.

At the end of 1991 it became clear that the state budget could not compensate for all of the 'lost function'. It would be impossible to finance the building or the buying-out of hundreds of new schools.

So at the turn of 1991/1992 the plans of the government changed. The new version (January of 1992) declared: 'In the schools - any kind of school (P.T.N.) - the education is organised on the basis of peaceful coexistence of different kinds of 'Weltanschauung'.

The government came up with a new point: 'If there is a request from parts of the population to set up a church school - the municipality has to make an agreement with the church'. This 'request from parts of the population' would enhance more opportunities for the churches. than a request from parents from two reasons: 1. the majority of parents - in almost every concrete case - turned out to resist the proposed change of a municipal school into a church school, but generally - when not speaking about their own kids - they were willing to grant requests of churches. 2. In the population as a whole - because of the high percentage of elderly people - the proportion of believers was much higher than among the parents.

The right-wing parties hoped that after the passing of the new Education Act there would be no obstacles to the reprivatisation of the municipal schools; the government would not pay any compensation to municipalities, and the municipalities had to finance the church schools.

To understand the weight of these questions it is necessary to know some figures. In the process of requesting more than 6000 buildings were claimed by the churches. In these buildings 1304 elementary school, 31 kindergarten, 61 grammar schools, 51 technical schools, 11 vocational schools and 34 student hostel were hosted.

But - because of some other reasons - the parliamentary debate of the Educational Act was postponed. The reprivatisation process was full of conflicts: not only the municipalities and political forces attacked the ambition of churches and government, but a majority of parents, students and teachers as well. They preferred not 'to be moved' to a church school, they did not want to change school. They were willing to compromise only when the municipality - using financial compensation from the government - would hand them down another building and thus enabling them to move the whole institution.

The small coalition partner (the Christian Democrats) successfully persuaded the government to pour lots of money in a compensation fund by the end of 1992. As a result, in 1993 the process of reprivatisation was speeded up. The 'Kulturkampf' between on the one hand churches and the government, on the other hand the majority of teachers, pupils and municipalities flared up.

In the end of 1993 the monetarist forces of the greatest government party put an end to the extreme ambitions of the Christian Democrats. The Christian Democrats wanted 10.000 million forint to be fed into the Compensation Fund - but the parliament granted only 4.000 million forint.

The decision of the Constitutional Court is the real turning point of the story. This Court declared that the public education, an essential function of the municipality, will be lost when schools have moved into the hands of the church. The Court declared: 'the state (municipality) has to offer the possibility to attend a Neutral school for everybody who does not want to attend a church school. (...) The people who opt for a neutral school are entitled to less sacrifices than people who want to attend a church school.'

This decision was a great success of the liberal opposition. The minister of culture, who declared that the 'neutral school - does not exist' had to resign in the first weeks of 1993.

A new Educational Acthad to be made. In the version of February of 1993 the government found two solutions to the problem of support for church schools.

1. The government suggested: 'Parents have a constitutional right to send their children to a school, in accordance with their "Weltanschauung"'. The liberal opposition attacked this principle, because it implied, that the state had to guarantee the founding of schools, for instance in villages where there was until then no choice. The educational officer of the Catholic Church of Hungary interpreted the new plans of the government as follows: 1.) parents are entitled to interrogate the teachers in public schools on their 'Weltanschauung'; 2.) publishers should state unequivocally and explicitly the 'Weltanschauung' of writers of schoolbooks.

   The parliament endorsed the new Educational Act, as proposed by the government. Up to now, however, none of the absurdities sketched above have taken place.

2. The second important proposal of the government was the article on the 'agreement on public education'. This article made an agreement with the churches possible - at a time, spring of 1994, when polls showed that the right wing government was extremely unpopular and seemed on the point of resigning. In the agreement it was declared that the state would finance church schools for a period of twenty years. This will amount to much more than was promised in the 1990-Act. As a consequence, one pupil of a church school costs the state-budget much more, than a pupil of a municipal school.

3. The Act made possible a transfer of the municipal schools as institutions into the hand of church. The greatest church/policy conflicts centres around this point. In a small Hungarian village, Dabas-Sari, the right-wing municipality transferred the municipal school to the Catholic church. There were no other schools in the village so a majority of the parents and teachers - who did not want 'to be transferred' to the church could not find another school. The forces of the local 'Kulturkampf' were supported by national politicians and church leaders. At last the building was split and two institutions - both the municipal school and the church school - started to work in the building. The catholic bishop proceeded to have a brick wall erected, thus physically separating the two schools effectively. This wall has become a symbol of the inflexible attitude of the Catholic church.

Table 2: Number of students in 1992/93, in thousands

	Non Church	Church
Elementary	1033	11
Secondary	128	9
stud. hostel	50	4
higher educ.	90	2

After the election of 1994 the Socialist Party got an absolute majority. It formed a coalition with the liberal Free Democrats Union, which had become the second party of the parliament. The Ministry of Culture and Education was led by a liberal politician. He tried to change the situation (and draw back for example the above mentioned agreements), he had inherited, but the coalition partner - the socialist party - refuses to consider any change. So the agreement has survived the changes of government. The socialists - in coalition with the teachers trade union - guaranteed the same rights for church-employed teachers as well as for teachers in municipal schools (public servants). The socialists removed the supervision of church-schools from the Ministry of Education to the Office of the Prime Minister - thus excluding effectively the liberals from this area.

At the moment - and its seems to be true for the next decades as well - a very odd political situation has arisen when it comes to the relation between the state and the church. The church and the right-wing parties support each other very intensively: the Socialist Party has a long tradition of meddling with church-business, and that tradition is still very much alive. The liberals - comparable to the FDP in Germany - remain the only representants of a principal separation between the state and church, comparable to the French policy. But at the moment the liberal party does not do anything to endorse this principle.

How can we explain this situation?

The public opinion polls show about 12 - 15 % of the voters declaring their agreement with the churches in 'Weltanschauung'-questions. For the greatest part these are the elderly and less educated people, supporting right-wing parties, and the socialist party, too. That could be one reasons. But I think there must be a deeper reason: that is that in the Socialist Party there are two important fractions. One fraction favoured a social liberal coalition, heading for a western-type of modernisation. The other fraction would like to form a coalition not with the liberals, but with the antiliberal, anti-market, nationalist forces of the right wing parties. Liberals thus run the risk that they could be pictured - when their political position weakens - as anti-Hungarian and anti-Christian forces.

The relations between state and church are much more far-reaching and important than in other countries: it can be a starting point for the right-left coalition against the 'value of modernisation', which is the heart of a liberal-left coalition.

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Povilas Kuprys (Kaunas)

Applying Nordic Folk High School Experience in Lithuanian Adult Education

Our past and current paradigms can not deal with our present problems especially in the field of education just by simply extending the old principles. This idea is exceptionally important for the countries that had been artificially isolated by politics for more than fifty years. So the meaning of „the old" and „the new" principle might be understood rather controversially, as it may become „old new" and/or „new old". That also concerns the idea of folk high school that might be looked upon as an old one, but newly rediscovered, or the new one, but having a rather long history in Nordic countries.

Carl R.Rogers („A Way of Being", 1995, p.335) points out three possibilities: „1. People could develop a participatory mode of decision making that is applicable to almost any situation and contains its self-correcting mechanism; 2. People could develop a sense of community in which respect for others and co-operation rather than competition, were the keynotes; 3. People could develop a new confidence in themselves discovering the sense of values within themselves, coming to an awareness, that good life is within. Speaking about the person of tomorrow the same author (p.336) singles out the following qualities: openness; desire for authenticity; scepticism regarding science and technology; desire for wholeness; wish for intimacy; acting as process caring person; but not moralistic; having a close attitude towards nature; being anti-institutional; possessing the authority within; yearning for the spiritual.

Oddly enough. these conditions and kind of qualities for the people of tomorrow coincide with the students' personality qualities that are the most discernible in the Danish folk high schools, where I happened to study in 1994. Does it mean that they are already in the 21st century? Does it mean that these schools are worth studying in order to solve some problems in education for the future? An answer to these questions is nearly impossible.

Nordic folk high school diversities and commonalities just simply suggest a researcher and a practitioner possibilities for studying them and choosing the best models for adaptation. What is more important that Nordic folk high school may be described as a unique educational phenomenon - let us give other examples - like travelling primary school teachers at present in Alaska, USA. or conveyance of forbidden Lithuanian books across the boarder from Königsberg area to Lithuania in the 19th century. It is obvious, that adaptation of any unique phenomenon is much more problematic and complicated.

Of course, each country has its own economic, political, demographic, cultural developmental peculiarities that are determined by different factors. More and more we become aware that one of the essential factors determining long time societal stability (on the one hand) and social changes (on the other hand) is an educated democratic society. However, teaching democracy is quite often considered as the easiest way to create a democratic society. That is why this article also suggests that experiences from educational systems of democratic countries such as Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Iceland are worth studying and maybe applied by choosing the best from their diversities and commonalities, even when language, cultural, ethnic, political and economic factors differ between Lithuania and the Nordic countries.

The first hypothetical step in the direction of applying that experience is studying and analysing the Nordic folk high school as a unique educational phenomenon.

The second step is determining, defining and choosing the most applicable, transferable, adaptable, or just copyable elements from that phenomenon, focusing it on Lithuanian adult education, requirements, social demands, economic, social and cultural factors. We are also sure that the first and the second step will encourage the establishing, preserving and extending democratic processes in Lithuanian educational institutions. Living democracy is what we expect to be the goal achieved by education, self-determination and self-development.

The third step is the implementation of concepts and ideas into practice, and that is the most complicated one. It requires not only a theoretical preparation, but also people who are able to accept the idea and think strategically to fulfil the task. The need for the instruments and methods, that bring about changes, is vital. Of course, the crucial question is resources are necessary for the implementation of the idea.

The reform of the Lithuanian educational system has caused great changes within the system as well as outside of it. New opportunities and new possibilities for the researchers and for the practitioners who had more freedom of choice, freedom to take decisions and to cooperate with foreign colleagues. More and more there are often possibilities for studying, analysing, adapting, co-operating, „borrowing“, transferring and applying experiences that had never been known in the soviet period. This may lead to positive and negative consequences if we are not able to determine priorities and strategies in education. For example, the adult education subsystem has been totally destroyed in the transitional period and the need for a new functioning system become obvious.

Lithuania has been isolated for 50 years by the soviets, but we can also claim, that it has never been isolated from Western educational influences. During the last 200 hundred years or even more Lithuanian education has been greatly influenced by a rather sensible and fragile horizontal east-west turn. Lithuanian philosopher

Vidunas and educator S. Šalkauskis tried to prove the need to synthesise Eastern and Western influences, thus defining an exceptional mission for Lithuania. The development of educational ideas and practice has never experienced any obvious or stronger vertical (North-South) influence. However, Nordic countries are comparatively close to Lithuania not only geographically, but also culturally; and the Nordic and Baltic nations are related to each other by similarities in national character; they try to preserve their national identity. Recent changes towards an increasing co-operation with Nordic countries are very positive. The ideas of famous Scandinavian people - N.F.S. Grundtvig, Sören Kierkegaard, Ch. Kold, August Robert Niemi, Oscar Olson, Hal Koch, Peter Hoeg, Jostein Gaarder and others - are gradually being assimilated by Lithuanian culture.

The Nordic folk high schools are not *terra incognita* in the history of Lithuanian education. The first attempts to perceive, understand, study and present them as a unique educational phenomenon that Lithuanian educators have to pursue were made at the very beginning of the 20th century. With the permission of Russian censorship (Lithuanian language was forbidden at that time) the book „Education of Youth Abroad and in Our Country" was published in the Lithuanian language in 1906 in Vilnius. The author, J. Gabrys, briefly introduced the main educational problems of those times in Lithuania and presented quite wide and precise information about the functioning of Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, and Finnish folk high schools.

Practical indications and few hints expressed in the book said that the Nordic experience should be taken into consideration for the education of Lithuanian youth. We assume that this book is the first publication based on comparative education principles dealing with the Nordic folk high schools in the Lithuanian language. This kind of publication based on a comparative education method. This was probably one of the first publications about the Nordic folk high schools outside the Nordic countries. It would be really worth to investigate the influence of such publications in the Nordic countries at that time. The book also presents Nikolaj Severin Frederic Grundtvig, a very prominent personality in the Nordic countries. He is presented in a very laconic, but respectful way as a personality who had the greatest influence on Nordic, especially Danish folk high schools.

Similar schools existed in Lithuania between 1925 and 1940, though they were not organised by boarding schools. They were called folk universities. They functioned mostly supported by unions, clubs and circles of cultural activities.

During the soviet period very few educationalists knew about the folk high schools. One of the most famous Lithuanian researchers, Jonas Lauzikas, whose field of research was concentrated more on the problems of formal educational institutions, dared to mention that folk high schools had been existing in Scandinavian countries. He tried to describe them in 1960-1970:

> „The most typical schools here are Folk High Schools, that have a special, final and additional purpose to educate a personality, and they are devoted to giving youth and young adults a basic education, not heeding differences in age or previous experience in education. The schools' priorities are all the novelties in cultural life that may influence practical changes in personality development and education. The school also offers all the conditions necessary for additional improvement of some professional skills together with accumulation of other kinds of knowledge, concerning everyday life and science. The knowledge has an intention to link pure information with the spiritual world of a personality. The Folk High School presents only objective facts and a person is able to choose freely and express his/her own critical opinion"
>
> (Jonas Lauzikas, Rinktiniai raštai, I, 1993, p.p. 456-457).

A new wave of interest in folk high schools is linked with new aspirations of the school reform in Lithuania. Why are the Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish folk high schools interesting and attractive for Lithuanian researchers and practitioners? First of all because they represent informal and formal educational institutions, focusing on personality development based on homocentric and holistic approaches. Secondly, the folk high schools are obvious models to follow, because they aim to educate and develop a democratic personality, which is of great necessity for the future of the civil and democratic society in Lithuania. The third reason is that we have to understand this exceptional educational phenomenon nearly unknown in Lithuania; we have to investigate it thoroughly, especially, if we want to adapt it. Finally, we have to take into consideration that all Lithuanian educational reforms were always based on educational science and practice of great Western or Eastern countries, and rarely or never on Scandinavian experiences. It is time for the researchers in education to turn their heads not only to the right or to the left, but also to the North.

Folk high schools do exist today as a unique educational phenomenon. Henning Eichberg ('Schools for Life', 1992) has selected African, Indian, Australian, Hungarian and British studies and compared them with regard to a possible application of folk high school experiences in different countries. Most of the authors consider the possibility of applying this experience.

A new wave of interest in folk high schools is linked with educational reform processes. During the transitional period the pro-soviet adult education system has been totally ruined. The existing educational system does not satisfy the changing needs of a changing society. Democratic developments in Lithuania call for democratic educational institutions, very similar to Nordic folk high schools.

A new adult education system is being developed at the moment, influenced by German, Swedish and Danish examples. The state creates adult education institutions with vocational and general education. Formal studies are organised by the State Education Register. However, the place of future folk high schools in the education system of Lithuania is not yet determined. It means that educational administrators are not sure whether folk high schools as institutions are part of the formal or of the informal educational subsystem.

Social needs and the need for self-development and self-actualisation characterise informal education, that is usually offered by officially registered private educational institutions, clubs, libraries, museums or associations. The need to study at folk high schools has not been investigated, though the idea of folk high schools in Lithuania is well known among educators, but less among potential students. Some summer camps with many elements typical for folk schools are organised; but they are not the same as folk high schools, though they are based on similar interests of participants that we come across in Nordic countries. The principles of folk high schools, their role and place in the system are discussed among the members of the Adult Education Association. At present only some ideas are accepted and implemented. The idea of study circles, based on Swedish experience is getting more and more popular in Lithuania, though the term „study circle" is not always accepted.

What are the most favourable conditions that are influencing the application of Nordic experiences in Lithuanian context? And what are the barriers that prevent the implemention of the folk high school idea in Lithuania?

Thus, the first favourable condition is that there are no longer political or ideological barriers that do not allow people to promote the idea of developing and creating a democratic society by means of educational institutions. There are new possibilities for communication with democratic countries and their democratic educational institutions.

The second favourable condition closely related to the first one is that Nordic countries are helping Lithuanian educators to study the folk high school phenomenon.

The third favourable condition is provided by the organisation of camps of interest during the summer and of informal circles. The day folk schools are considered to be the next step before residential folk high schools can be opened.

The fourth favourable condition may be the investigation of the demands of adult education. Lithuanian researcher E. Treciokiene has investigated the needs.There is a demand for:

- the learning of foreign language;
- studies in management and studies related to market economy;
- studies of new technologies, such as computers, and other modern means of communication;
- studies at health schools;
- participation and activity in folklore circles (singing, dancing drama), clubs and groups of interest, more or less based on art subjects.

The best model for the Lithuanian education system at present is most probably a combination of the liberal, independent non-formal Danish folk school model with the more standardised formal and practical Swedish model. It also may combine day and residential variants, or summer school variants.

The fifth favourable condition is that the privatisation period is not yet over and there are many former agricultural school buildings that can be used as locations for future folk high schools.

The sixth favourable condition is connected with strong tradition: folk music, folk dancing, folk art, handicrafts and similar. This of course will enrich the curriculum of future folk schools and unite the Lithuanians as a national entity.

The seventh favourable condition is the Law on formal and non-formal education, established recently. It provides legal guarantees for such schools. On the other hand, nobody „from above" can organise folk high schools, if the people „from below" will not express their interest.

However, there are also obstacles for adopting the Nordic high school model. The first one seems to be rather simple and primitive. There is a shortage of information about the folk high schools - not among researchers - but among the adult population, politicians who make the decisions and the educational administrators.

The second unfavourable condition is related to the lack of nation-wide research on the demands of the adult population.

The third unfavourable condition is lack of teachers in adult education; there have never been specialists in andragogy in Lithuania.

The fourth and biggest obstacle is the poor financing of the educational system. Generally speaking, the idea that education costs much is not taken into consideration. The tendency to centralise education does not stimulate the initiation of new types of educational institutions either.

The fifth unfavourable condition is that the sense of community has decreased. It takes time to regain the feeling of belonging to a community. Village people do in some cases still possess this feeling, but in the towns very few people appreciate the community. Community and communism have received negative connotation during the period of socialism.

The sixth unfavourable condition is the legal system that guarantees only formal education and does nothing to encourage non-formal education.

Having in mind all favourable and unfavourable conditions for establishing folk high schools we may conclude that theoretically there is an opportunity for opening such schools, but practically there are some barriers that are, however, surmountable, if there is a participation of people. Reality of life is changing constantly. It may change conditions unfavourable for the establishment of folk high schools.

In Latvia and Estonia the first attempts have been made to established folk high schools. Several schools exist, but the most important questions to ask are: Do they look like Danish, Norwegian, or Swedish folk high schools? Do they look like Latvian or Estonian schools? What about grundtvigian ideas? Are they still alive at the mentioned schools? What about the commonalities and diffferences in „a global village" in the 21st century?

Several attempts have been made in three different regions in Lithuania to establish folk high schools. The first one was not far from Panevezys, in Puziniškis, a place where there was a cultural folk university before the Second World War. The second place was in the Lithuanian-Belarussian border enclave in Dieveniškes. The third attempt is being made on the grounds of the ethnographic museum in Rumšiškes. The first two were not successful. The results of the third one remain to be seen.

Ralf Dahrendorf („Europe's Vale of Tears". Marxism Today. 1990), who often makes an analysis of Eastern European countries, has identified three processes, that are required to realise democracy and civic society: the hour of the lawyers, the hour of the politicians and the hour of the citizen. We hope that the hour of the citizen has come, and it will contribute to start folk high schools in Lithuania. This may humanise and democratise our global village. It also may enable educators to create what Jozeph Nagy („Integration and Globalization - Helping and Integration", Stockholm, 1996) calls pro-sociality.

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Concepts of Freedom in Danish School Legislation

1.

In the history of Danish primary and secondary school (Folkeskolen) the concept of 'freedom' is usually associated with two remarkable dates. The first one is the year 1814 when universal compulsory schooling was introduced. The 1814 Act - which in fact consists of several Acts, cf. Royal decrees of July 29th 1814 - requires that all children reaching the age of seven should attend school up to the year of confirmation, i.e. seven years of school attendance, but at the same time the school is 'free' precisely in the meaning that it is free of charge, a 'non-fee-paying school' (cf. Larsen 1893, 253-79; Nellemann 1966, 82-88; Markussen 1988, 258-298). This principle of freedom, in the sense of 'a school free of charge' has afterwards been generally recognised by the Danish state for the entire educational system. Consequently, all education, including universities and other higher education, are today free of charge in Denmark.

2.

The second date is not so familiar to the ordinary Dane although the matter is common knowledge. It is the year in which the Danish Parliament passed a law that later became known as the law on 'school freedom' or on 'free schools'. The year is 1855, only six years after Denmark introduced a constitutional monarchy with an elected parliament.

This law can, in the language of the time, be described as a transformation of 'universal schooling with compulsory attendance' into 'a legal obligation to educate every child'. The fact was that the law of 1814 on compulsory schooling had been attacked from two sides: to the great majority of the population, the peasants, as well as to the manufacturers (cf. Markussen (1989) - the law was considered as a unwanted infringement of their rights with regard to the labour of their children. Consequently, children were kept away from school, particularly when manpower was needed. The authorities reacted by fining parents and farmers who did not observe the law on school attendance. 'Free schooling' was, therefore, considered as 'school coercion'.

Some resistance also originated from the middle classes in the cities. They wanted fee-paying schools for children of well-to-do-parents and charity schools for the children of parents who did not pay taxes. The fee-paying schools were to keep the social classes apart; Mathematics, Geography, History and Modern Languages were extra in the curriculum. During the 1830s and '40s there was a debate on whether the state or the parents were responsible for the schooling of children. In the first Danish democratic Constitution of 1849 the spokesmen in favour of either point of view - state and private schooling - came to a provisional compromise by stating in sect. 90 in the Constitution: 'Children of parents unable to finance their schooling, will receive schooling free of charge in peasant schools'. Only the needy could expect to be provided for in the new democratic state. The Constitution of 1849, thus, stands by the same definition of 'free school' as 'school free of charge' as the 1814 Act.

The expected appeasement of the controversy on public versus private schooling did not take place but was fed even more from another quarter: religious parents wanted to give their children a religious education different from the public one. Similar religious movements from the same period are known in other countries resulting in private schools of local interest. In Denmark the development was, however, different due to the fact that the parents here were borne along on a wave of both religious and national revival which encompassed more than school matters.

This is where N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783-1872) and Kresten Kold (1816-1870) enter into the picture. What brings them together is a common wish to revive the whole of the Danish people both religiously and nationally by means of preaching and instruction which in these years find new patterns in *narrative, informal speeches*, and *songs*. Grundtvig produces the necessary texts which Kold implements in his schools.

The 'Peasant Folk High Schools' and 'Free Schools' established in the 1850s and '60s under the influence of Grundtvig-Kold do not focus on traditional school teaching. They form part of a revival that also comprehends the church and the social organisation. The 'Free-School Act' of 1855 exempts the children from compulsory school attendance and thus makes the existence of these schools possible. With the Act of 'school-freedom' or 'free-schools' - the term 'free' is now used in another sense than in the 1814 Act - it was made legal, so to speak, to 'liberate' schooling from the state. The 'Free-School' Act of 2 May 1855 gave parents and guardians the option of educating children outside the public school as long as these pupils took a semi-annual examination in the state school. Some few years later, in 1864, the free-school also got the right to conduct the exams themselves (cf. Skovmand 1978).

The heart of the 'Free-School' Act is the legal obligation to educate, but just as important is the fact that it is not obligatory for children to attend the public school, (cf. Bodenstein, 1982; Engberg, 1986). Although the Act was a concession to the influence of Grundtvig-Koldean views on home education, the Act in no way limits the right of other interest groups to found schools. It is probably this feature that has attracted most attention abroad, i.e. that with the 'free-schools' a tradition has been created for a school structure in which private and public school are not perceived as competitors but as mutually complementing and inspiring organisations which guarantee the right of the individual, both of the child but in particular of the parents, to have a say in the content and methods of the actual school teaching. A particular feature of the Danish system is that, probably unlike the majority of other countries, the founding of a school as either a private school, a 'free-school', or a 'little school' is to a large extent independent of the financial capacity of the initiating parents, as the state, on certain conditions, funds a substantial part of the economy of new schools. In a way it is an extension of the 1814 Act's conception of 'freedom' to include also the free-schools.

The most remarkable feature of the Danish free-schools is, therefore, that in form and content they become expressions of fundamental national movements and needs in the population at a specific time. The character of the individual school is determined more by the commitment which a group of parents brings to a cause, whether religious, educational or political, than by a self-seeking endeavour to secure one's own child a better position in the job-market. In that sense the school becomes a school for life and not for the labour market.

This view prevails in the Danish school system in a degree that it has influenced also many traits of the public school, cf. the following quotation from a recently published book instructing parents how to create a curriculum for their own *public* (state) school:

> A curriculum is a legal description of what a pupil has a right to learn. It is only of interest in marginal cases. It is worth noting that neither parents nor teachers nor pupils find the curriculum as a legal document of any importance. The important thing is whether the teaching is existentially appropriate. Not only: do I learn what I need in order to pass the exams? Or: do I learn what I need to cope with gymnasium? But: do I learn what I need as a human being in this society, in this life? (Held 1991, 19).

It is thus possible to claim that the spirit that about 140 years ago determined Danish school legislation has inspired the whole school system - private as well as public.

3.

It is comparatively more appropriate to link the conception of 'freedom in the Danish school' with the 1814 Act's conception of 'school free of charge' and the 1855 Act's conception of 'free-school' than with the following probably less well known as well as more controversial conceptions of 'freedom'.

The 1814 Act determined that the supervision of the Danish school should be the job of the Danish state church. Not until the Danish Social Democrat Party came to power in 1929 did this situation change. In 1933 the Social Democrat Party at last put an end to the church's supervision (*Lov om Folkeskolens Styrelse*, 1933; see also Markussen, 1971). This was the start, finally leading to the 1975 Education Act, in which it was stated that 'Religious Knowledge' should give information on several religions rather than simply preaching the gospel. Thus it no longer makes sense for a pupil to be exempted from Religious Knowledge, although this option is still in force even in the latest Education Act (*Lov om folkeskolen*, 1993, Sect. 6. subsection 2).

4.

In 1937, the Act of 1814 was replaced by legislation (*Lov om Folkeskolen*, 1937) which, among other things, introduced a new type of school: the 'examination-free secondary school'. Although later on the Act was characterised as an educational failure (cf. Skovgaard-Petersen 1978, 49) which in sect. 3 'unfortunately' uses exactly the expression 'examination-free' (cf. Kruchov 1985, 142), it indicates very faithfully the then reigning aversion to another form of coercion in schools, that is exams. In the Act's sect. 13 this reluctance is expressed in the following way: 'Except for secondary schools' teaching for examination, the Primary and Secondary School ("*Folkeskolen*") does not end with an examination'. Exams lead to a class-ridden society and also to contempt for manual work, said the Social Democrat Party. The new type of school should rehabilitate manual and practical work and should make it possible for each individual to develop on his or her own terms, released from previously inflexible examination requirements (cf. *Undervisningsvejledning*, 1942; *Betænkning*, May 1952). Therefore, the school had to be 'examination-free'. The examination-free secondary school was in existence only up to the School Act of 1958 but the idea of a reduction or even abolition of any kind of exams in the Danish Primary and Secondary School has, particularly in the 1970s, left its mark on the Danish school. Today marks exist only in the 8th to 10th forms as an indication of the pupil's performance in the different subjects, whilst exams have been limited to the Final School Examination at the end of the 9th form. The main impression is therefore of schools keeping examinations limited to a minimum. The Danish Primary and Secondary School are not quite 'examination-free', but almost.

5.

A departmental order (*Bekendtgorelse om Maalet for Folkeskolens Undervisning,* 1941) granted the teachers in the Primary and Secondary School a formal right to decide for themselves which teaching methods to apply in classes, a principle known as 'method freedom'. It was later defined as the freedom for each teacher 'to choose his own methods and teaching aids, and to prepare the lesson in the way he considers most appropriate' (*Undervisningsvejledning*, 1960, 127), provided that the prescribed objectives are attained. This freedom can be interpreted in three ways:

One can first point to the fact that throughout this century a process of professionalisation has taken place within the teaching profession. This is a consequence of improved training but is also the result of an endeavour to strengthen the teachers' role as competent public servants. Therefore a teacher is now expected to prepare his work independently, albeit within a prescribed framework (cf. Fibæk Laursen, 1976, 67-81 & 84-106). This official expectation has on the other hand been internalised by the teaching profession as a claim to power and freedom in their work. And their profession and work is to provide for the best possible teaching, based on professional competence, with no interference of laymen.

But it is also possible to see 'method freedom' as a right, even for public servants, to express oneself on public matters. Thus 'method freedom' forms part of the Danish teacher's perception of his work: the more or less systematically ordered and justified conceptions he makes about the foundation, means, aims and conditions of his occupation. The development of this principle, i.e. the independent attitude towards and interpretation of the task of the school and the professionally justified selection of content and practices, is determined and is limited in the final analysis by 'what the political public opinion or its representatives consider as reasonable interpretations' (Nielsen 1980, 20).

Finally, one can consider 'method freedom' as a particular administrative principle which in an educational context has been described as 'licensing' (cf. Goodson 1988; Haft & Hopmann 1989). Licensing in curriculum work implies a distinction between curriculum development at a political level and curriculum work in the educational context. Teachers are made responsible for implementing the aims, objectives and content of the school as these are expressed in the curriculum. It is why one speaks of 'licensing' the teachers, implying a moral commitment rather than a legal binding obligation. Teachers sometimes interpret this as meaning that it is up to each teacher freely to choose how they want to carry out their duties within given frameworks ('method freedom'), but in fact the content has already been decided on their behalf (cf. Gundem 1993, 36). A less friendly but probably not correct way of describing this feature is to claim that Danish teachers conform to the system (cf. Striib 1989).

The teaching profession's traditional adherence to the principle of 'method freedom' has in the last twenty years been on the decline. The principle fitted easily into the prevailing conception of didactic, in Denmark known as DLH-didactic (Danmarks Lærerhojskole = The Royal School of Educational Studies, Copenhagen) of which Professor Carl-Åge Larsen was the strongest exponent. This didactic was inspired by the well-known distinction in the German *Geisteswissenschaftliche Didaktik* of the 1950s and 60s between 'didactic in a more restricted sense' and 'the theory of teaching methods' (in German: Methodik) and claimed that 'teaching methods' are a matter for the professional teacher. Criticism in the 1970s and onwards of this didactic conception and the growing theoretical acceptance of the view that no factor in the didactic field can be considered as independent of others, means that the view of the teacher as the only one responsible for the applied teaching methods necessarily appears as less convincing. If decisions about teaching methods are no longer a professional matter but have to be related to the political framework and the aim of the Danish Primary and Secondary School, then the teacher cannot any longer make up his own mind about teaching methods.

Finally, a new factor has made an appearance with the Education Act of 1975 and - the latest one - of 1993. Since the 1920s and 30s the influence of progressive education on the day-to-day life of Danish schools (cf. Norgaard 1977; Henriksen & Norgaard 1983) has made it a truism that pupils should have a say on what goes on in the classrooms. In the Education Act of 1975 this right was codified for the first time in sect. 16. subsect. 4: 'The detailed planning and adjustment of the lesson, including the choice of organisation, methods, and matter, should as far as possible take place in a collaboration between teacher and pupils'.

The tradition of parental influence on the daily life of the school dates back, as mentioned above, to the previous century (cf. Nissen 1986). From the year 1989 this has been formally established much more strongly by the creation of governing bodies for each school. In these governing bodies (cf. *Lov om folkeskolen*, 1993, sect. 42) the parent representatives have absolute authority over the life of the school. The governing body determines the principles for the running of the school, the organisation of the teaching, the teachers' work schedule, the school budget, approves teaching materials and aids, works out the curriculum, and nominates the school leader and teachers (sect. 44).

With these two codified provisions on pupil participation in the individual lessons and parental management of the individual schools - in defiance of loud protests from teachers, cf. Krogh-Jespersen, 1989 - a situation in which the teacher decides teaching methods independently has been replaced with a situation in which more persons, through a democratic negotiation process, have to enter into a compromise to make the school function.

6.

It is debatable whether the creation in the Education Act of 1903 of a unified school system, replacing separated systems, should be considered as having promoted some sort of 'freedom' for the children of the lower classes to attain higher education. In the interpretation of the concept of 'freedom' that has been applied above it will, however, be more appropriate to describe the 1903-Act as expressing a concern for 'social equality' rather than for 'social liberty'.

7.

Concluding summary: It can be said that 'freedom' has been ascribed to different phenomena through the 180 years of the Danish Primary and Secondary School: It has been interpreted as (1) free of charge, (2) free-schools; (3) 'sermon-free', (4) 'examination-free' and (5) 'method free'. The development of these freedoms or liberties has been accompanied by a movement from centralised rule, through local management, until now the day-to-day running of the school is organised almost entirely by grass-roots management, with more and more individuals having a legal right to intervene, ranging from Parliament, the Minister of Science and Education, the Civil Service, the local authorities, to teachers, parents and pupils. The result has been a school in which the democratic way of life has been an intrinsic goal. Equality has become the major virtue and the will through discussion to enter into a compromise has become a condition for the survival of the school. Many Danes consider these to be the features of a humane school. But another path could have been chosen. Compared with school systems in other countries it appears that the Danish way also has its costs.

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Educating the Young: From a European Perspective

1. From Community to Union - and Beyond

For some time the countries of Europe have labored towards creating a community; today, however, we face an even more dramatic challenge, that of creating a Union. Moreover, such a Union is poised on an horizon of historical events which demand an open dialogue with regard to the questions of economic interdependence, on a world scale, and especially with those newly formed European nations of the East. This situation cannot be ignored by anyone wishing to form, through education, a new European conscience which is aimed at democratic change, peaceful coexistence, and the idea of a Common European Home.

The creation of a European identity must move in step with the times. At present, Europe's political dimensions do not correspond either to Europe's cultural or geographical dimensions, and this causes, among its citizens, a breakdown in the relationship between identity and belonging. Hence the need to tackle these problems from at least three standpoints: first, from the perspective of an individual belonging to a nation; second, from the perspective of the relationship between one nation and other European states; third, from the perspective of the possibility of conviviality on a world scale, where Europe, due to its geographical position and its cultural roots, plays an important role as mediator.

For younger generations to understand these changes which are taking place, and prepare them to build and sustain peaceful, democratic cohabitation in their own countries, and in Europe and the world, a common system of education is required which, while acknowledging individual cultures and identities, is able to propose sharable values suitable to our time, a flexible model of education, and a shared approach for defining general aims.

In planning for a common pedagogical project, the following should be considered:

- due respect for the rights of individuals (persons or states) in determining educational aims;
- the question of the community of Europe yet to come;
- the question of the plurality of identities in different cultures;
- the centrality of Europe's geographical, economical and cultural position.

A common project for education must both contend with the challenges of modern times and provide adequate answers to the problems such a project poses. The EU papers regarding education seem to have a double orientation in their responses to two pressing demands:

1. prepare the younger generations for democratic cohabitation, focusing on the humanization of the citizen, and the valorization of the identity and culture of Europe, keeping in perspective likewise the globalization of society (Green Book);
2. aim at creating an excellent professional training program in order to help the internal labor market solve unemployment problems, and to contribute towards being able to stand up to economic competitiveness at an international level (White Book).

It is a question of two important perspectives which risk, however, being proposed as alternatives, one to the other, but which must not be polarized. The development of whole persons and citizens, as well as the development of cultural and professional competency, should be joined together: a new educational program should have the means to preclude the breakdown between teaching and education, national and international cultures, belonging and citizenship. If education does not acquire the capacity to face the growing problems and respond to the new requirements of society and history, it will fall behind a quickly progressing society which is always producing ever more complex effects.

2. The Intercultural Model: from abstract ideal to shared working project

Nowadays the question of an education related to both democratic and peaceful cohabitation is thought of in terms of an intercultural education. Intercultural pedagogy started as the study of the problems immigrant children and minority groups faced in trying to adapt to schools. It has since acquired the means to deal with an educational program suited to our present-day complex society, which is both pluriethnic and multicultural, and offers the right criteria for establishing a framework for an educational project in line with social-political changes, interdependence and new values.

Today's society is asking for a new type of education which will enable us all to understand the entirety of the complex demands of our times, and the prospects of a better future. Certainly we need to recuperate our values, but we must also be aware and ready to accept the new values that the times impose upon us, such as giving back to education its social role, beyond only that of a personal role, and extending its realm of knowledge and interaction beyond the local community to reach human society as a whole.

To eliminate the negative effects of change and complexity on the growing new generations, we need a proposal which accepts diversity as a value and involves youth in the responsibility of participation and planning. Intercultural education is the only suitable answer to the formation of persons and citizens in a world where there are no frontiers, or, at least, where such frontiers have been superseded by continually subjecting people to comparison, interaction and change. The teaching of solidarity among diverse people, the responsibility of working together in trying to accomplish our tasks, the capability to think of the future in terms of possibilities, seems to be the most difficult challenge to our European education system, which, while still not yet being brought together, provides nonetheless the opportunity to get linked together in developing flexible guidelines towards a new, practical and functional order.

A shared, common pedagogical project means relinquishing that model which each country had been using. The European education proposal must offer concepts rather than predefined standards, and shared collective values rather than just fixed objectives. From a monocultural point of view, educating means proposing a model and then applying it in order to enhance the growth of self promotion and integration in one's own cultural environment. But from the standpoint of an interdependence amongst different cultures and diverse teaching models, we should replace the standard model with a more flexible and shared collective project. An intercultural logic imposes an evolutionary and constructive reciprocity of values as a consequence of collaboration. This logic itself needs to be enhanced by deeper dialogue and communication to make the unification of differences fruitful: it's this logic which really paves the way from different to new instead of from different to the same (Perucca,1991).

Productive union versus homogeneous integration means the birth of a new culture where there is no relinquishment of identity or loss of roots, but rather, a conversion of mentalities, a conjoining of diversities, and the fecundity of intercultural confrontation. The exasperated differentiation which distinguishes our complex, pluricultural and multiethnic society at present is not something that would lead us to giving up on education, but just the contrary; it serves as a call for a new planning strategy: a new project which involves realistic values in order to build solidarity and participation in the human community. What is required is a change in methodology: education cannot be proposed any longer along the lines which lead from different to same, from the insufficient to the already accomplished, from facts to abstract models. The sort of education required is an open task which involves persons in working towards sound objectives, not thinking in terms of today's lacks and tomorrow's conquests, but in laying today the bricks for the buildings of tomorrow (Perucca, 1994).

It is thus necessary to educate the young to overcome their narcissism and to open themselves to each other; it is necessary to make them aware of the risks involved but nonetheless instill in them the firm conviction to build a new reality rather than following the standard model; to gain a better world, and not an impossible utopia, to stand up for common well-being rather than personal achievement. The future is in today's roots. It is open to the risks of dialogue and encounter, and focuses its attention on the values gained from common experience, not only the values confined to our ideal objectives.

In order to educate our people to pass from adaptive systems of individual survival to strategies for global salvation for all, a link must be made between each singular existence and the future of humanity. Along these lines of reciprocity which everyone experiences in day-to-day life with others, young people can more than likely see that there is meaning in their existence and a reason for their actions. A program universally shared can be created as a concrete purpose where everybody collaborates and values get reciprocally confirmed. What the younger generations would like is not a model for the future but the room to be able to create their tomorrow together, responsibly, sharing the risks, not just in drafting a project, but in making verifications and guaranteeing a concrete success. They need a flexible project for a complex society. We as adults want a model to give us a guarantee; the young, instead, want their guarantees to come from shared experiences and the possibility of testing reality and their commitment. There is renewed hope in all of those who look at the future of humanity through daily a commitment and give due consideration to ideal values as well as to facts.

3. Values: from tolerance to solidarity

The collapse of ideologies, seen as symbolic systems of orientation and reference, seems also, in the West, to bring about a collapse of values, in that the integrating force of ideology is erased by pluralism and the relativity of values and principles. This, on the one hand, may be a positive tendency for reciprocal respect and recognition of diversity and difference; yet it may, nonetheless, introduce a tendency for the relativism of values (W. Brezinka) which may easily lead to disorientation, particularly among the youth, who mistake this as a means of abandoning their identity and use it as a reason for a less ethical, social and political commitment.

With reference to Article 126 of the Maastricht Treaty, the Green Book on Dimensions in European Teaching proposes community action to improve the quality of teaching and to endow the learning experience, beyond specific educational aims, with an additional value by promoting "European citizenship based on common values of solidarity, democracy, equal opportunities and reciprocal respect" as part of the educational framework. Even in the Union's most explicit documents on questions of schooling and professional formation, the educational theme concerning values and the intercultural prospective come forth as essential and inescapable elements when it is a question of having to train the youth to cope with the problems of democracy, the fight against inequality, toleration and respect for differences. In this way, therefore, not only does knowledge play its part, but other elements such as sensitivity, motivation, ethics, and the values of learning are also considered.

To educate in Europe today requires a revision of concepts and values which regulate our living together. The subject of values is the basis of every pedagogical proposal; the theme on values cannot be disregarded, but it must be born out of man's needs and from within the times in which he lives. The collapse of ideologies puts us before new values instead of the values traditionally given us. We must comply with values which can be shared generally and we must know how to understand them in an intercultural sense.Learning how to cohabit democratically must keep step with the new dimensions of society and also renew such values as tolerance, respect and solidarity.

The educational value placed on tolerance is ancient and came into being when monocultures predominated. Given the situation of cultural pluralism and ethical relativism, tolerance is the value which defeats hostile and destructive opposition, though it does not always succeed in opening up the prospect of sharing and solidarity. Tolerance is an essential value for the transition of a traditional society to a society which is pluri-ideological. It is the primary value needed in order to allow a relationship among different people who do not know one another and do not approve of each other to function, and it is a necessary condition, though not the only one, for dialogue. But due to the many radical ideological attitudes, tolerance can also signify indifference, or a barely veiled intolerance, or a refusal of confrontation or conflict; often it has been understood as the concession of freedom and protection to dissident minorities (J. Locke).

The criterion of respect for different identities is part of the cultural interchange which has led to the formation of Europe. Respect is something more than just tolerance; it gives value to what is different and leads to more interaction, knowledge and reciprocity. Respect is an essential value of a democratic and pluralistic society as it enhances the possibilities of dialogue. In our times, unfortunately, the art of dialogue has been cultivated, principally in politics, as an art of compromise which ably masquerades but does not resolve the counterpositions of interests and conflictual tensions.

An intercultural society demands new values to live together in the common European homeland. The present crisis of values, which affects the young generations, can be described as a search for new values rather than the downfall or absence of values; and the problem cannot be resolved by just polishing up and re-proposing old values which are associated with previous forms and experiences of living together. Tolerance and respect are lifelong values, yet the youngsters who engage in praiseworthy activities, like those who do voluntary work, ask society to put its priorities on the values of solidarity and demand the making of new collective values. Solidarity goes beyond tolerance and respect; it joins up with diversity to build a shared project of productive integration, for a reciprocal and responsible development.

The compelling force in the idea of solidarity as an educational value lies in the idea of sharing the other's evolving commitments, and this approach cannot be reduced to merely transmitting resources, means, models and information. What we need in fact is respect, acknowledgment, and the possibility of a differentiation of other peoples true identity. To make the evolutionary potential of an educational relationship reciprocal, a pedagogical program needs three different possible connotations: the completion of an educational ideal; the promotion of distinctive identities; and the build-up of an evolving dialogue. Full solidarity requires acceptance, evaluation, and union of differences, together with an awareness of how valuable and manifold the new is, not to mention the possible reciprocity with others who are different.

Today, and from many ideological viewpoints, there is a strongly emerging, new demand for meaning, for sense - a demand for dialogue, and an attempt to integrate values from different cultures, and a care for peacemaking in conflicts.

4. The Reality of Today's Youth: from disorientation to planning

No doubt the given social situation and the political and ideological transformations which color it have psychological effects on the educational development and social adaptations of the youth. Research in Italy, starting in the 1980s, has increased more and more and brought out changing profiles of the conditions of the young, revealing a growing situation of uneasiness and difficulty in simple adaptability. Following standard psychosocial analyses on the condition of the young in terms of anomie, generational conflict, loss of identity and social lapse (R. K. Merton, E.H. Erikson), there was talk in Italy of the bad image of the juvenile, given a low-profile identity described as fragmented and incoherent. A downfall in ideals seems the reply to a too highly differentiated and complex pluralist society.

The young of the 1980's were described as "the generation of living day-to-day," due to their being heterogeneous and unstable consumers, their instrumental belonging to the institutions (schools, family, associations), and their reduced capacity to deal with problems in a cultural system which is overloaded with information and images (F. Garelli, A. Cavalli). Much more recently, the young have been described as being lost, restless, uninvolved and disorientated in a post-industrial, post-ideological and post-modern society which makes their identity fragmentary and split between opposite poles (protagonism-gregariousness, participation-uninvolvement, groupy-solitude).

More than just an evolving crisis, they live the uneasiness of a society which is closed to participation and void of projects for the future. Their reactions are estrangement and intimacy but also the need to be present and active, as expressed by the various forms of voluntary work. Voluntary youth work offers the opportunity of concrete participation, but sometimes only for a short-term and of a limited emotional involvement, while other times it can be more firm and secure. Hence the young may, if only partially, satisfy their need of being and acting as a part of a group aimed at changing the reality of a society which is incapable of planning a new quality of life, inasmuch as it is "a society which is indifferent to any existential, cultural, professional projectivity for the world of the young" (Frabboni, p. 99).

No doubt, the growing evidence of the correlation between the condition of the young and the social-cultural characteristics of this moment in time induces us to think about education' s role as needing to stimulate the young towards autonomous planning. Nowadays, it seems as if youth's autonomy is torn between evolutionary progress and regressive decline. Dependence on parents and conflictive independence have already been experienced and in many ways overcome; what persists is the recurring attempt to salvage what was beneficial in the situation of dependence while avoiding the high cost of rebellious independence; conflictive models are discarded, but one enters into what is a yet unstable, and undefined form of collaborative interdependence where personal responsibility is still avoided. The tendency is to keep the acquired freedom from constraints and indefinitely use parental aid in a social framework where the possibility of work is denied or delayed and hence any transition from the assigned family roles to those later acquired in society is barred (Perucca, 1989).

Today's young people live those sensational experiences which mark epoch-making events and we must let them find out and understand the sense of what it means in their own existence, yet it seems as if social seclusion and an overprotective family life accentuate their subjectiveness and need for protagonism. They have no coherent guidelines or a personal, existential plan of life which involves giving meaning to oneself, to others, to history, and even to nature and the world. The younger generation's incompetence in looking at the future seems to make them less concerned about making life have a better quality for themselves and others. There are no set rules or concrete ideals in today' s society, and hence the young find it difficult to define their identity within a plan of life, a plan of action, or even a plan which is not limited to the creation of an image of themselves.

In the youth's culture, the constant characteristics of narcissism prevail: the glamour of fame, the fear of competition, the loss of a ludic spirit, the difficulty in the male-female relationship, the obsession with death and old age, the lack of a symbolic elaboration of the relationship I-myself-world, I-myself-other, and changes with regard to the sense of time - that time which each young person experiences as past, present and future, and of which he or she is often unaware or has no control over its determining forces and processes or does not possess sufficient competency to understand the link between present attitudes and behavior, personal fulfillment, and future perspectives, and which is the projective horizon of the future.

5. A Proposal: teaching planning in order to teach solidarity

When social conditions and cultural dimensions are such that they tend to favor narcissism, young people stop investing their energy in planning for their own future and are no longer concerned about achieving a better quality of life for the others, both for the present and future. This situation requires a new pedagogical proposal. And there is a compelling necessity not to reduce personal growth to a pre-planned form of behavior, but rather to enhance one's growth towards maturity through a clear set of values and a deontological tension, which confers on a person a solid, projective dimension. Nowadays, it can be said that the elements which concur to make up a personal and social identity are not only cognitive and emotional processes but also intentional and motivational. The relevance in the educational process of acquiring knowledge and elaborating life experiences is that of bringing out a sense of life and a strength of motivational orientation in the present and in the future. It is not just a matter of merely transmitting the content found in various disciplines, but rather to develop attitudes and existential perspectives so that the needs of self-accomplishment are directed beyond simple well-being and individual fulfillment in the present. Education can direct a person’s motivational inclination and individual actions towards shared planning and solidarity.

Existential confusion in many of our youth, their meaningless behavior, their loss of direction, both as individuals and in groups, demands that we teach collaborative attitudes. The attention humanistic psychology gives to individualistic growth and self accomplishment can help individual potential evolve, but it never contributes to the growth of personal capabilities with regard to relating to others and socialization. Recent criticism attributes the responsibility for „selfism“ and narcissism to humanistic psychology and directs education more towards social ethics (C. Lasch).

Education's job is to offer a plan for personal accomplishment not so much through self-promotion but more along the lines of an open-mindedness towards solidarity. The fact that education must leave room for creative authenticity in order to favor personal maturity does not mean that one's maturity should not compare one’s own identity and culture to that of others.

Freedom, creativity, authenticity become egocentricity, individualism and narcissism if they are not opened up to social reciprocity; once they are opened, they create respect, productivity and solidarity in a working, collaborative and peaceful environment. When education used to give more importance to the sense of duty rather than to personal rights, the fulfillment of personal needs was postponed and the future was idealized. Although there were strong motivational and great prospects for the future, there was a low level of personal resourcefulness to cope with the changes in the reality of every day. Only a few persons were able to overcome the difficulties of the day and promote change. Nowadays change is indeed excessive and out of control; the young feel they are succumbing rather than managing, directing or building it.

Education's greatest challenge today is to hand back to the youth the job of planning and managing change. This, however, is not easy; firstly, because change is complex and not manageable on an individual basis; secondly, because it is no longer susceptible to being manageable by personal ideological values; and thirdly, because it can only be understood by those who are able to welcome and share other people's ideals and feel that they can participate in the destiny of all mankind. This involves the need to open the youth to the idea of interculture, to encourage them to understand the call for worthwhile plans which go beyond personal well-being and beyond actions bound to the present. It also involves the need for values to be shared universally, and finally, the need for a new type of cohabitation which is peaceful and not simply pluralistic and tolerant.

One's right to one's own subjectivity, a hard-won achievement, cannot and must not lead the young to fall back into a closed individualism. Subjectiveness for the young ought to mean, above all, generosity and altruism. Intercultural education can help our youth avoid the disorientation, the isolation, and the narrow-minded narcissism that often seem to be associated with belonging to today's complex society, and it should give clear guidelines concerning participation, sharing solidarity, evaluation of differences, democratic and pacific cohabitation, and positive action.

How can this be done? By teaching our youth to:

- think of the future, not along ideological lines, but in the sense of pragmatic planning because our tomorrow is not the utopia which compensates for today's problems or cancels yesterday' s mistakes; it's neither paradise on a far-away horizon, nor impending apocalypse; it's not the answer to subjective frustration. It' s a logical and common construction full of meaning for us and for others;

- prepare the future without feeling that the self has limited powers, or that a group has unlimited power, with clear ideas for everybody's contribution in terms of action in the present for a future to be shared, which means understanding and managing each one's personal responsibility to live the present actively, as an engagement, and not as an individual and sterile task;
- believe in the future and feel that joint human efforts are preparing it; so we can feel our belonging to a humanity that, through each person, becomes more aware and responsible for its destiny.

This can be done by belonging to associations and groups which make people aware of ideals (not ideologies) and unite them. Such groups should be able to create sharing and trust, to unite people with values which can be translated every day into actions, to solve common problems and hence achieve democratic conviviality, constructive solidarity for peace, protection of the environment and an appropriate management of resources.

These are problems on a world-wide, not a local scale, which should give man, every man, and therefore every young person, the sense of personal responsibility to prepare a sustainable project with mutual consent gained, not by ideological belonging, but through dialogue. To teach planning for a better future is education's great task for the scenario of the year Two Thousand. This is a serious job in that it calls for and requires an effective and not fictitious culture of dialogue, and the kind of solidarity which does not use values as means to reduce things to the level of the same, but as the mediators in a commonly held, responsible engagement in building for the future of man.

6. The Method: the educational dimension, beyond mere instruction

A European plan aimed at giving valid guidelines to education and teaching cannot overlook the intercultural and supranational dimension of education. Over and above the right information on values and the history of the unification of our continent, and the acquisition of knowledge and professional competency in line with economic and technological progress, we need to adopt attitudes which foster relations and open-mindedness so as not to preclude relations with that which is other.

Teaching and education in Europe, as can be understood from the documents of the European Union, cannot be limited to studies on Europe alone; it requires, rather, a project based on social values which besides teaching involves institutional structures and decision-making groups acting on the educational system. Teaching subjects as seen from within a European dimension is not sufficient. An Intercultural approach is needed to give efficacy to scholastic and extrascholastic educational activities as a whole, and to arouse in the new generations, new outlooks and attitudes which should open up to democratic values (respect, reciprocity, solidarity, acceptance and evaluation of diversity, sharing of responsibilities, participation in collective actions, acquiring of universally shared values).

A school is a social environment where values are transmitted, not just through learning about such values, but through personal relationships amongst the students. The positive structure of social interactions and human relations at school, and the organization to achieve a democratic style in social experiences, can help students acquire a positive social orientation.

The interactive system of schooling encourages the performance of social experiences when it gives weight to every personal and collective presence, and inhibits it when it reduces his/her identity within standard roles and unchangeable power hierarchies. The institutional structures determine rationally and necessarily diverse roles, but the link which connects them must be very flexible, whereas the power gap must be balanced within the aims of education.

Too often it is assumed that teaching achieves a certain efficacy in an implicit manner, and that what mainly concerns teachers is simply the development of a didactic program. When organizing school activities and other socio-cultural events, however, it is necessary to employ the educational project because the educational intention must not only not remain implicit, but must create a certain projectural tension that goes beyond procedural organization and the optimization of those means of cultural transmission. In this sense, the technical competence of teaching and the value-laden tension of educating must join.

In schooling and in the social-educational system, a distinction must be made between learning processes, formative processes, and the growth of a personal ethic. Teaching is a means of transmitting information and the content of a culture, and becomes a formative process when learning is structured and controlled so as to promote the development of mental abilities. If it goes beyond the instrumental level, teaching can also have a formative value, but it is even more urgent to distinguish between formative processes and personal, ethic-oriented growth which can be obtained only when learning processes are significant, so that they promote a value orientation (Perucca, 1993, c).

In the scholastic environment, more than anywhere else, where the pedagogical dimension necessarily passes through the teaching/learning process, we must be well aware of the differences which exist between transmitting information and knowledge (teaching), promoting mental development (forming), and stimulating value motivations in an individual's behavior (educating). There are different practical solutions to the problem of determining a teaching/learning process: teaching content, teaching to learn, teaching students to grasp the sense of their own growing up as mature and responsible people.

It is thus clear enough that present-day deviant behavior, criminality, irresponsibility, corruption and even the lack of interest and indifference for politics, are often correlated with high levels of education. Although these terms are often used as synonyms, it would be better to understand the difference between teaching, forming and educating. A complete education of the young requires a correct acquisition of knowledge, total development of mental and operating abilities, and the acceptance of value orientations which motivates actions and guides behavior.

7. The Objective: from a pedagogy of welcome to the experience of cohabitation

If we want teaching to become education, what must be offered to our youth is a project full of meaning and values, a project which makes them capable of linking together learning processes and evolutive personal tasks, while helping them to find out the meaning of collective life.

Values are motivating factors which guide present behavior and sustain projects for acting in the future; they allow the consideration of one's own past history from within a coherent view of one's present life and out of the commitment to improve the quality and prospectives of one's life.

A European intercultural educational project must be able to link the processes of teaching/learning, within pedagogical aims, and to guarantee the educational management of social and interpersonal dynamics.

There are many possible ways to proceed, but principles must be clear and universally shared:

- beyond learning methods, formative techniques and value orientation;
- beyond a didactic proposal, a pedagogical project;
- beyond the acceptance of diversity, the constitution of convivial cohabitation.

Intercultural education is based on the acceptance of diversity and it involves the working out of problems which concern belonging and identity. Complex, post-modern society has different characteristics: it's multicultural and multiethnical. These radical novelties involve the need to ground civil cohabitation on the criterion of diversity rather than on the criterion of uniformity. Up to now all existing cultures have been based on the criterion of internal homogeneity and external diversity; on these grounds the concepts of belonging and non-belonging have been structured. The criterion is the same for tribal cultures as well as for nation states. Today it is impossible to educate by using the logic of the belonging or not-belonging of citizens and enemies. The global village does not accept exclusions; the newly growing universal culture cannot be based on homogenization. It must ground itself necessarily on diversity, encounters and dialogue - a diversity which is seen as enrichment, not as a threat; a diversity which is accepted and not denied; a diversity which allows for constructive interaction and cohabitation.

In these conditions, new educational tasks are born, and it is necessary to understand their real dimensions in order to be able to teach the youth effectively.

Schooling in particular can do much, but it also risks failing greatly. While the theme of intercultural formation receives wide support and is generally accepted, it has not yet born significant results. On the one hand it is perceived as the new ideal in education; on the other it is incapable of penetrating the practice of teaching, and turns out to often be seen only as an additional or supplementary aspect of the educational program.

Intercultural teaching has acquired by now the dimension of a global pedagogical project. Not only does it aim at teaching how to accept differences and how to welcome diversity in order to prevent prejudice, rejection and social outcasting, it also aims at forming a new logic and new values on which human cohabitation can be grounded. It is a logic which no longer turns national frontiers into fences set up between those who belong and those who don't, but understands frontiers as necessary lines which demarcate the profile and identity of different cultures which are, nonetheless, open to dialogue and wish to meet and to understand each other. And in this way it is hoped that there will no longer be people fighting each other from out of opposed interests, but rather, a unique human race which cohabits peacefully and collaborates to solve the problems of interdepedence. Such a perspective does not deprive the concept of belonging of a certain force and identity, and it allows the Other, the stranger, to assume the character of a precious difference rather than a dangerous enemy.

It is on the basis of these two roots, of belonging and estrangement, which can both be directly experienced, that one can build a concrete sense of sharing vital resources, and the wealth and richness which derives from diversity and cohabitation. The generalized sense of belonging to the human race, of the interdependence among peoples, the variety of cultures, the richness of human talents, the possible sharing of values and universal cohabitation, springs from acting daily with a sense of solidarity which is opposed to hostility, an interest in diversity which is opposed to indifference, a commitment opposed to carelessness, a sharing opposed to isolation, a sense of co-responsibility which allows everybody to act for the common well-being.

It is important that intercultural education gives the youth the possibility of experiencing interdependence and solidarity so that they can build a sense of cohabitation starting from within their own life context. But how many opportunities do today's youth have to contact those cultures which lie beyond their own borders? These opportunities are very few, in spite of the fact that television, with its documentary films and its social and political reporting, involves us all in the daily life and events of those living far-away. Schools, therefore, must favor those cultural exchanges which promote direct experience; schools must foster student exchanges, visits, joint projects with other schools, and any personal or cultural correspondence which allows for the evermore frequent presence of foreign students or of native students who have lived abroad for many years. This type of experience can increase the number of opportunities which the student has to come face-to-face with different cultures.

Meeting and exchanging experiences with youth who belong to different cultures are very precious activities; if they lead to an understanding of the diversity of values, not only outside but even inside the context of one's own life, such encounters will certainly be enriching.

Today, cultural exchange through the mobility of individuals is possible, but very costly; for this reason we often confine ourselves to transmitting intercultural ideas and principles only through teaching. But nowadays it is also possible for students to interact with other cultures via telecommunications; the exchange thus obtained not only allows for the understanding and evaluation of the diversity of others, but contributes towards gaining new possibilities of communication and agreement. However, direct interpersonal experience is the fundamental basis for the growth of the young in an intercultural situation.

Starting from their own life context, the youth must get involved in a wider range of relationships, exchanges and communications; they must also perceive the value of differences and understand them as an invitation to compare their identity with that of others', and to share belonging, and think actively about how to bring about cohabitation.

The proposal for intercultural education in the youth's world requires that a pedagogy of welcome - which aims at destroying prejudice and distrust - also translates into an active and complete education when joined by the project for peaceful cohabitation. The intercultural idea must be a life style, not simply a mental grammar for teachers and students; it is a multicultural approach to social problems which does not become a series of sterile, conceptual abstractions. Therefore, it is necessary to form teachers as well so as to make them aware of the educational methods and interpersonal actions which are typical of an intercultural prospective.

An intercultural perspective in the school cannot be planned as having only a limited dimension; we could say that its purpose links and at the same time transcends the subject matter of single subjects of study and is rooted in the educational project as a whole, thus involving those vital dimensions of programming activities, choices in methodology, orienting and evaluating criteria, and organizing school life (Perucca, 1993).

8. The Way to Go: from local context to an international dimension.

The intercultural project of education - which proposes an acceptance of diversity, a welcoming of the new, and a solidarity with the weaker - can be accomplished, but not if it is restricted only to the schools; in spite of it being sufficiently concrete and practical within the schools, it must also be linked to the complex cultural world of the youth. When more and more students will cope with a multicultural and multiethnic society, the quality of cohabitation depends on their capability of understanding the implicit values of that situation rather than exasperating difficulties.

In order that the contextualization of an educational proposal gets carried out in a productive manner, it is necessary to keep in mind some considerations about the relationship between belonging and the multicultural aspect of identity.

Every individual identity has its own roots in a cultural belonging, and yet at the same time, it transcends those roots. An individual identity cannot do without the cultural, even though it must go beyond it; in fact everyone forms his/her own identity by referring to historical and cultural conditions, but not passively. Everyone selects the messages and proposals he gets, and in turn creates messages and proposals; he or she can accept or refuse, re-work and invent, build and produce new cultural realities. If this were not the case, education would be limiting itself to nothing more than conditioning.

Cultural belonging is essential for the development of youths' identity, and integration in one' s own culture is a necessary step for the development of their personality, even though it is not sufficient (E. Erikson).

Cultural integration and multicultural education cannot be meant as alternatives. They are complementary rather than opposites. Multicultural education is based on cultural belonging. In this sense, an educational program can be concrete only if we keep in mind the relationship between the youth, their own culture and that of others; this relationship must contain progressive elements of knowledge and the acceptance of diversity, and proceed from a context close to home, and then further away.

Every young person has his/her own culture: the culture of his family and his background; it is the first culture he comes in touch with. All his or her values derive from it, along with a particular kind of behavior when reacting to emotions, facing difficulties or happiness, and just living with the others. Every family has its own life style and therefore its own culture. Family life style is, therefore, a cultural approach: it is, rather, the first cultural approach, since it grounds personal identity and allows a wider scheme of symbolic and cultural codes to set in.

Communities too have their own principles, values, communication systems, and capabilities (or incapability) of organizing, participating and expressing their needs. Therefore, the young person who shares in his local culture is different from his mates who belong to different communities; he can, however, be educated to compare himself with others and live this situation as a growth and opening to wider horizons.

School and community allow for an opening to other cultures, but not just because our society is multiethnic. The schools, therefore, must realize that the multicultural education of today's students is deeply rooted in daily life, in an immediate experience which takes place in domestic and local settings; this is the starting point from which one can confront and compare other cultures with regard to understanding, sharing and cohabiting; what one learns in this context does not remain the mere formal knowledge of what is learned in school. An intercultural project of education promotes the evaluation of diversity, starting from the youth's daily experience; so it forms those attitudes of open-mindedness which make each teaching and cultural project productive. We should understand the fact that everyone is living out a multicultural experience inasmuch as he/she belongs first, to a family culture, second, to a local culture, third, to a regional and national culture, and forth, to an international culture, which is singularly important for the European.

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II.

Ethnicity

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Ethnicity and Underachievement in the Netherlands A Curricular Analysis

Introduction

Over the last two decades, there has been a great deal of interest, both political and academic, in the underachievement of ethnic minorities in education as a worrying issue of societal importance. While various programs have been developed and implemented, covering such notions as intercultural education, mother-tongue teaching, and Dutch language immersion, the school system has by and large failed to provide fair and equal opportunities for ethnic minority children to succeed and thus to gain economic opportunities. In many research studies and reports, attempts have been made to examine the key aspects of the relationship between ethnicity and underachievement. Differences in language and culture, and often low socio-economic status of the parents have been put forward as factors contributing to the educational disadvantages of minority children.

The purpose of this article is to describe first, the response of the school system in the Netherlands to the educational needs of ethnic minority students; second, the socio-educational assumptions underlying these responses; and third, the nature of research evidence relating to the validity of these assumptions. In this analysis, my assertion will be that the diverse processes of "radicalisation of education" is to be seen as the primary source of inequalities experienced by ethnic minority children. These processes operate through the structure and functioning of the curriculum, the pedagogy and the social and cultural environment of the school.

The Growth of Pluralist Diversity

The notion of pluralism as an aspect of social ideal and public policy has been an essential feature of substantive policy statements and provision concerning the ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands (Reinsch, 1990). In a more specific sense, this notion has emerged as an 'ethnic identity' model of multiculturalism, constituting the ideological framework within which problems of ethnic relations are defined, policies are formulated, and solutions are offered. In a report, titled "Ethnic Minorities," the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) set the definitional framework of this model in 1979 in the following way:

> The question of a separate identity should, the Council believes, be considered in the light of a plural society in which the majority and minorities approach one another in a spirit of openness. In the dialogue between them it will be necessary to take account of those essential cultural assets that are regarded as inviolate, and those cultural elements in respect of which greater mutual tolerance is possible. ... The general aim of the policy here described is to achieve participation by minorities in Dutch society on equal terms (p. XXII).

When, in 1980, the Dutch government formulated, for the first time, integrated policies directed towards migrants and the improvement of their social position, the terminology adapted was recoded similarly within a pluralistic view of society. For example, one of the main objectives of this policy was the emancipation of migrant groups by respecting their cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds. The policy highlighted the need for cultural maintenance and enhancement, and mutual respect based partly on a liberal notion of equality of opportunity. It reflected the viewpoint that the acceptance, tolerance, even encouragement of cultural differences among members of society would not threaten national unity and security of society (Reinsch, 1990).

In subsequent years, this pluralistic framework led gradually to the construction of ethnicity on the basis of predominantly cultural characteristics. The emphasis was placed almost exclusively on the expressive dimensions of ethnicity by stressing values and attitudinal characteristics of minority groups and, in particular, the significance of ethnic, linguistic, religious, and other differences and diversities. Consequently, these policies became identified with initiatives such as the ethnic media, the promotion of community languages and ethnic language teaching, the establishment of ethnic-religious schools, grants to ethnic minority organisations, and support for categorial welfare services. The ethnic identity model became so pervasive that, in the formulation of policies, migrant emancipatory process came to be strongly associated with ethno-cultural identifications, differences and diversities.

The focus of concern in the ethnic identity model is the cultural differences of ethnic minority groups and the management of problems thrown up by these differences. The degree of cultural difference is considered to be decisive for the degree to which ethnic minority groups have an institutional basis, relatively independent from the surrounding society, and also the degree to which the individual members of ethnic groups have access to the institutions and organisations of the social surrounding. In this perspective, cultural differences occupy a central place in the analysis of the interaction between the ethnic minority and the dominant majority groups (Alkan, 1990).

Ethnic Identity Model in Education

The first comprehensive education policy on ethnic minorities, published in 1981, exemplified the 'ethnic identity' model, explaining the difficulties of minority children in schools in terms of language problems, discrepancies between the norms and values at home and at school, parents' lack of knowledge about the school system, poor knowledge of teachers about the cultural backgrounds of children, etc. In this and the subsequent policy statements and in the Primary Education Law of 1985, several proposals were made, addressing the educational needs and interests of minority pupils from the viewpoint of their cultural differences. These included in the main a number of action proposals for the schools, guided by such premises as (a) education must be intercultural, taking into account that children grow up in a multicultural society, (b) schools should promote a positive self-concept among ethnic minority pupils and an understanding and acceptance of cultural differences among minority and majority pupils, (c) ethnic minority languages and cultures should be valued positively by schools and lessons on these languages and cultures should be provided, and (d) schools should actively promote cultural diversity in dealing with issues of stereotyping and prejudice. For the realisation of these aims, the teaching of ethnic community languages was introduced into school programs, efforts were made for the implementation of intercultural education and for the intensification of contacts between minority parents and the schools.

Below a brief account of these initiatives will be given, with the contention that, while fitting quite directly to pluralistic notions honouring cultural diversity, these measures have little, if any, bearing on the improvement of academic performance of children from ethnic minority communities. In fact, the socio-educational bases and the specific educational context of these programs can be shown to be important indicators of the curricular sources of underachievement of these children in education.

Mother-tongue teaching

Aside from the fact that the maintenance of a child's mother tongue is a fundamental social requirement for ethnic minorities in the home and the community, mother tongue is crucial to the educational development of the bilingual learner. Research has shown that the poor academic performance of bilingual children is directly related to the schools' failure recognise and develop the child's first language (Skuttnabb-Kangas, 1981). Introduced into the school programs first in the 1970's, mother-tongue teaching in the Netherlands has emerged as a "mono-ethnic" component within the curricular offerings provided to the children of migrants from the Mediterranean region. The official purposes of mother- tongue teaching have been ethnic-specific, formulated with respect to the supposed special needs of minority parents and children, such as self-concept development, facilitation of communication within the family and ethnic community, and the closing of the gap between home and school cultures. The degree of participation in these lessons has always been very high among the Turkish and Moroccan children (Broeder and Extra, 1994). For the ethnic groups concerned, mother-teaching has meant an institutional recognition of their cultural and linguistic characteristics within the school curriculum. Indeed, the presence of mother-tongue classes has been shown to be an important factor for the choice of a school by Turkish and Moroccan parents (Brenen et al, 1991; see also Kabdan, 1987 and Alkan and Kabdan, 1988). Despite the high level of participation and community-wide support, however, the dominant view on these lessons among the Dutch teachers, researchers, and policy-makers has been quite negative. Many influential policy-makers and researchers took the view that the provision of mother-tongue teaching was an additional burden on children, and it constituted a barrier to their integration.

In line with these negative views, the investment by the school system in these lessons has been minimal. The quality of mother-tongue teaching has suffered from the absence of well-conceived curriculum plans, teaching-learning materials, and teacher training. The fact that these programs, as mono-ethnic components, stand in isolation from the rest of the school curriculum and are directed, at least in policy terms, towards cultural and ethnic identificational aspects makes it all too difficult to answer the question of in what ways they contribute to the school success of minority children. In fact, the inclusion of mother-tongue teaching into the educational opportunities of ethnic minority children has never been conceived within a framework of increased academic success through a recognition and integration of their linguistic characteristics within the curriculum as a whole. Extra (1993) reported , for example, that the progress in first language proficiency is rarely measured in terms of school success. The empirical evidence for the effects of mother-tongue teaching on the acquisition of Dutch as a second language and/or school success is rather ambiguous (see for example, Teunissen, 1986, and Driessen, 1990).

Intercultural Education

The notion of intercultural education has been central to multicultural practices in Dutch education for the simple reason, as Fase (1994) pointed out, that, "the ambition is to come up with policies that have a specific meaning for both categories of pupils, i.e. migrant or ethnic minority pupils, *and* for dominant groups as well. There has always been a strong emphasis on mutual understanding, or 'acculturation', as it has been defined in official documents." (pp. 113-114). While the accent was placed on the reciprocal acculturation, the actual practice of intercultural education in Dutch schools has had, since its inception into school programs, little, if any, bearing on studying the relationships between the cultures, i.e. uncovering and reviewing the diverse mechanisms of prejudice and discrimination which have characterised so many relationships between minority and majority individuals and groups (Reinsch, 1990). There has been a general failure to translate the ultimate goals of intercultural education into subgoals, intermediate goals, and operational goals. The relationship of its idealised purposes to the educational structure and administration, to curriculum, to methods, and to immediate instructional designs have been mainly assumed, not demonstrated. Intercultural education has been implemented largely as 'folkloric education' concerning the various 'minority cultures': their food, clothing, music, dancing, and holidays. The emphasis has been placed upon the acquisition of knowledge concerning the cultures themselves (Alkan, 1990).

Dutch as a second language

Until the late 1980's, Dutch-language teaching remained more or less a neglected area in the curricular opportunities provided to children from ethnic minority groups. In the late seventies, confronted with the consequences of family reunification, schools established special classes to provide courses in Dutch language. These transition classes failed largely in providing adequate programs, as there were no teachers trained for the task, and the development of adequate learning materials lagged far behind the demands of minority children. According to Eldering (1989), the absence of a tradition of teaching Dutch as a second language proved to be a serious obstacle during the first ten years of the presence of the non-Dutch speaking children in the Netherlands. In 1970's and 1980's, the attention of schools was limited to the teaching of Dutch language to the extent that the daily communication with minority pupils within the classroom would be possible. Throughout 1980's, various research reports indicated enormous disadvantages experienced in education by minority children as a result of their limited proficiency in Dutch language. The Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR, 1989) emphasised that the limitations involved in Dutch language acquisition were the major obstacle to educational achievement of minority children. Yet, the importance of Dutch-language teaching was only gradually recognised towards the late eighties. In 1989, the Ministry of Education established a task-force to generate ideas and initiatives regarding this curricular component. Through the efforts of this task-force, various programs have been introduced, covering such areas as in-service training programs for teachers, development of methods and instructional materials, research, etc. This shift in the policy orientation has in the last few years led, in turn, to the emergence of a strong popular conception in and outside of the teaching profession that minority disadvantage in education is primarily a matter of Dutch language proficiency. As a result, mother-tongue teaching has come under attack. The report of the Scientific council proposed the removal of mother-tongue provision from the 'regular' curriculum. In another influential report to the Ministry of Education, a special advisory committee on educational policy for minority children made the same proposal (CALO, 1992). Recently, the Ministry of Education decided to place these lessons outside the regular school hours, a position which enjoyed a wide-spread support from the major political parties in the parliament (MOCW, 1995).

The above review of three main provisions of educational policy in the Netherlands indicates that the obstacles encountered by migrant children in education are for a significant extent rooted in ideological mechanisms which problematize migrants, their cultures, and languages. The programs are poorly constructed and implemented without careful and thoughtful planning. Curricular opportunities of minority children consist basically of four components (mainstream curriculum, mother-tongue teaching, intercultural programs, and Dutch as a second language programs), functioning in isolation from each other, displaying no coherency, and serving different, and possibly conflicting sets of intentions and goals. The mainstream curriculum occupies a dominant position and a strategic importance in the educational chances of minority children. This curriculum continues to maintain its mono-cultural orientation, being the product of and interwoven with the cultural, economic and political heritage of the Dutch society, as well as one of its key institutions for socialisation. As a whole, it is based on first-language assumptions. Its dominant position in the learning experiences of ethnic children implies a one-way process of adjustment. Intercultural elements added to this curriculum have the nature of comparing the cultural traditions of ethnic minority groups with the norms and values of the Dutch culture. Mother-tongue teaching is a mono-ethnic curriculum component, designed in accordance with the specific cultural and linguistic characteristics of respective ethnic groups. And finally, programs on Dutch as a second language still suffer from inadequacies in providing children with skills, necessary for a better curriculum access and curriculum support in the mainstream context. Further, the provision of Dutch language teaching in separate language classes denies minority children access to the full range of educational opportunities within the context of regular classes. In other words, while Dutch children engage in the full range of educational opportunities available through the mainstream curriculum, the minority child's engagement in the same curriculum can be estimated around 70 to 75 percent, due to the separate provisions of the three remaining components, whose relevance or effectiveness, as argued above, is highly questionable to their school success.

The high degree of fragmentation and the lack of integrity in the curricular offerings provided to minority children, together with the inferior nature of these offering, need to be recognised as the primary source of underachievement of these children in education. The curriculum is said to have integrity when it conveys a meaning consistent with the purpose to be achieved. Similarly, the design of curriculum has integrity if a strong, clear, and consistent message is conveyed as diverse parts are integrated into a unified whole. Said another way, there can be integration in the learner when the learner is able to relate what she or he is learning in one class to learning in another class. The quality of educational experience improves if curriculum has integrity and as learners are able to integrate their learning. In the case of minority ethnic pupils, one can hardly speak of a comprehensive and integrated curricular offer.

Given these patterns, it is not convincing at all to maintain that the multicultural initiatives in the Dutch primary education are geared into the realisation of changes in education in accordance with the pluralistic ideals. Minority children are treated as a separate group to be provided with educational opportunities, thought to be relevant to their specific ethno-cultural characteristics, but which eventually work against their educational career interests.

Researching Underachievement

At this point, I would like to consider the general trends in research findings concerning the position and problems of minority children in education, and more specifically the ways in which educational disadvantages are defined and studied (see for a review, Alkan and Kabdan, 1995). A striking feature of the mainstream research is the common agreement that the educational disadvantages of minority children in education can be explained exclusively on the basis of the socio-economic position of the minority parents. And, in this respect, there is no difference at all between these children and children of Dutch working class families. The common conclusion in all these studies is that the ethnic-factor plays no role whatsoever in influencing the educational performance of migrant children. Driessen (1990) stated, for example, that "in comparison with the social milieu, the ethnic background plays no role in the explanation of differences in test results and in the type of secondary school attended" (p. 354). Tesser et al. (1990) concluded from their research in the same way, that "... in the statistical sense, the disadvantages of minority children could be related fully to the educational level of their parents. With an equal level of educational attainment of the father, there is no significance that can be attached to ethnic background" (p.159). Similarly, CALO (1992), in its policy advice to the Ministry of Education stated strongly that "... there is no reason to believe that the educational disadvantages of minority children is influenced by ... the cultural and/or religious differences with majority children, other than that of socio-economic position" (p. 36).

The single-factor explanation of underachievement of minority children in these and many other quantitative studies has been critized basicly on two grounds. One line of criticism relates to the point that these results are based on limited data collected through the inclusion of general status variables in the design of the research, while the minority ethnic and majority groups included in these studies are to a very limited degree comparable to each other in terms of socio-economic position of the parents. There is now a growing recognition that the findings of these studies are inadequate, if not erroneous, in the clarification of complex realities that lie behind the low achievement of minority ethnic pupils (see, Teunissen and Matthijssen, 1996; Pels and Veenman, 1996; Ledoux, 1996). The second ground of critique stems from the findings of a limited number of studies using qualitative methods of research, which appear to indicate the importance of ethnicity-related factors in the educational performance of minority pupils. In his study of minority student perspectives in secondary education, Matthijssen (1993) proposed that a combination of ethnic-specific characteristic of minority children make them a group at risk. He concluded that, unlike Dutch children, minority pupils attach an extreme importance to receiving a diploma, accept the authority of teachers undisputedly, experience a social isolation from teachers and white students, and an isolation to a certain extent from parents, have specific sorts of language problems, and face with "light and unconscious forms of discrimination, with which most students do not seem to be having trouble" (pp. 51-52). In a similar way, Ledoux (1996) reported, based on interviews with ten Turkish, nine Moroccan, and eight Dutch individuals, that there were some differences among these groups, emanating from the ethnic background of the respondents. Namely, compared to Dutch parents, the Turkish and Moroccan parents had very limited knowledge of the Dutch educational system; they had a different attitude towards education; they had a higher aspirational level as a result of their being a migrant; they felt that there are prejudices in education over ethnic minorities, which lead to low expectations and inadequate guidance in the schools. Studies of similar nature, conceptualising ethnicity as specific personal characteristics and attitudes of minority groups, were conducted by Pels (1991) and Teunissen (1988).

Based on these critiques and findings, all these researchers urge that more attention be now given to qualitative research studies which would look into socio-cultural and socio-psychological characteristics of minority ethnic groups in an effort to explain the problem of underachievement in education.

Obviously, there are problems with quantitative studies which tend to reduce the reasons for underachievement of minority children in education solely to the SES of parents, leaving ethnicity-related aspects outside the analysis. Single-factor explanation of complex socio-educational problems is to be rejected. However, it is equally problematic to reduce the so-called ethnic-factor, as is the case in the above mentioned qualitative studies, to subjective, ascriptive descriptions, presumably shaping the specific social and cultural characteristics and orientations of individuals from minority ethnic groups. The major assumption here is that children from minority ethnic groups are socialised within homes and communities that prevent them from acquiring the cognitive skills and cultural characteristics needed to succeed in schools. And, if research can shed light on the socio-cultural and socio-psychological characteristics of these groups, school practices can be geared into compensating for the cognitive deficits and dysfunctional characteristics that many ethnic minority pupils bring to school (see, Banks, 1986).

The above consideration of research into underachievement of minorities in education and the proposals for new research directions demonstrate the point that the mainstream research excludes the structural and interactional aspects of school processes, including the curriculum, pedagogy and instructional modes, and evaluative procedures as potential sources of low-achievement among the minority ethnic youth. While one can not deny the existence of cultural and socio-economic factors and the influence that these can exert on ethnic minority students' performance, one can not maintain that schools have, per definition, a neutral position in relation to those processes outside the school, which generate differences in educational achievement within ethnic minority groups and between minority and majority students. If one is willing to give weight to the role of institutional practices and procedures in education, one can not avoid the question of whether there are also processes within the schools which act to reinforce such differentiation. The mainstream research presents no systematic account of these processes and their link to patterns of educational attainment of ethnic minority students. Thus, the problem analysis and policy proposals emanating from the mainstream research do not present any significant challenge to the existing practices and procedures in education. These studies let the institution of education off the hook by failing to make any reference to the important but complex interface between ethno-cultural discrimination and education. There is little, if any, significance attached to those structural factors such as the distribution and selection mechanisms, and other organisational and conceptual strategies within the schools, playing a role in producing differential outcomes for ethnic minority and white majority children (Alkan and Kabdan, 1995).

Reasoning

The ethnic identity model of multiculturalism as a basis for policy development in ethnic relations in education has proven to be irrelevant and non-functional not only for migrants but for the dominant society as well. The failure of this model is largely due to its inherently problematic nature of conceptualising ethnicity and the status of ethnic minority groups, especially in the area of educational decision-making. The preoccupation with a particular view of ethnicity based on subjective, ascriptive descriptions has been at the expense of a pursuit of the material and socio-educational needs of ethnic minority communities. In education, the underachievement of ethnic minority pupils relates in no small part to the irrelevant nature of policy and provision which takes the expressive dimension of ethnicity as a starting point. The curriculum experienced by the majority children and the curriculum provided to minority ethnic children are structurally and functionally differentiated. The fragmentation in the curricular opportunities of minority children, with components of inferior nature, need to be seen as the primary source of low academic achievement of these children. If education should serve the purposes of realisation of equality of opportunity, equality of esteem for all cultures, and opposition to racist discriminations and exclusions, there is a need to move away from the expressive towards the instrumental dimension of ethnicity. This would require a critical examination of at least five components of the school curriculum: needs assessment, goals and learning outcomes, implementation, teaching strategies, and evaluation. Needs assessment should focus on student knowledge, attitudes and skills and the analysis of the existing curriculum as a whole.

Teachers need to evaluate how existing programs address different content areas and to what extent this is satisfactory and relevant for the multi-ethnic nature of schools. Common programs need to include systematic integration of multicultural content across subject-matter areas, expansion of program objectives, and a focus on intergroup relations and issues. Learner outcomes need to be defined in terms of general as well as discipline-specific goals and objectives. Effective teaching requires identification of methods that work for a specific student population and use of general instructional strategies. In short, the education system, schools and teachers need to make all pupils achieve the best of their potential, and to critically examine curricular and instructional processes and practices which may be an obstacle to the realisation of equal opportunities for ethnic minority and white majority children.

Mainstream research has so far neglected the structural and interactional complexities involved in school processes in producing inequalities for minority ethnic groups. There is an urgent need for studies with a focus on interactions within the context of the school and classroom, with a particular attention given to the ways in which ethnicity of children is reflected in their relationships within the educational process. The focus on interaction provides a more holistic, comprehensive, and dynamic view than do other explanations of differential achievement. The school attempts to shape and regulate this interaction through decisions, measures and teaching-learning activities that are designed and implemented in response to the perceived needs and characteristics of the students. This is reflected in the nature of teacher-student relations, decisions concerning the school careers of students, assessment and evaluation of student progress, and in the interactional, social, management, and organisational aspects of classroom and school environment. Obviously, the school occupies a powerful, but not an independent position in this process of structuring ethnic relations in education. The nature of demands, reactions and expectations of ethnic minority groups need to be considered. Similarly, students develop perspectives, interpretations, coping and survival strategies, and specific forms of resistance and responses with respect to their school experiences.

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Education for the Multi-ethnic Society

Introduction

With reference to educational policy and practice in multi-ethnic settings in the Netherlands, a change in perspective has moved to the forefront recently. Rather than concentrating exclusively on the initial care of immigrant pupils, the emphasis is now on the conceptualisation of ethnic diversity and the accompanying measures taken at all levels in the school. The mission of the school, the school culture, the regular content of education and how it is taught are now at the centre of attention. There are a number of reasons for this.

In the Netherlands there is now a growing interest in issues concerning cultural pluriformity and social integration. The structure and development of the multi-cultural society concerns everyone, thereby putting the social integration function of institutions such as education in the spotlight.

Another reason for this change in perspective is related to the fact that the generation of youngsters who had already started school when they immigrated has gradually been replaced by a generation born in the Netherlands. They either do not need help with the Dutch language or need help of a different kind. It is less obvious what separate measures should be taken to solve the problems of this highly diverse group of pupils. Whether youngsters from ethnic minority groups feel at home at school and whether the school environment is as safe, effective and familiar for them as for the average pupil are indeed very important questions (Ogbu, 1992). It is also the responsibility of teachers, both in and outside the classroom, to give support and guidance to pupils from different ethnic backgrounds on how to live and work together.

A third reason for the change in perspective is more theoretical and is closely related to the thinking on culture and identity. In the past, the cultural comparison model has dominated the thinking on education and ethnic minorities (Pinto, 1990; Hofstede, 1991). There is now a growing opinion that this model threatens to imprison people within their own culture and their own ethnic identity. This has the effect of encouraging stigmatisation and is not appropriate in the Netherlands where a second and third generation of immigrants is growing up. In a different, more dynamic vision of culture and identity, the experience of living in an inter-ethnic community may initiate a change in the meaning given by an individual to her/his own ethnic identity and that of others. Ethnic identity is a social identity in this more dynamic vision and as such is subject to change. Ethnicity is not a fact of nature but a sense of belonging to a group on the basis of a common culture, ancestry or history (Barth, 1969). Everybody has an ethnic identity but not everyone is necessarily aware of it. It may be experienced as unimportant and self-evident, which is often the case with the majority group in a society. Alternatively, it may be considered to be an important and controversial part of identity. Individuals belong to several social groups and hence have several social identities. Not only an ethnic identity, but also a gender identity, a generation identity, or more domain-specific, a pupil identity may be differentiated. The importance of these identities varies according to the situation. These new theoretical insights imply a shift from thinking in terms of cultural differences combined with an essentialist concept of ethnic identity towards thinking in terms of cultural diversity combined with a concept of shifting, fragmented and contextualized identities (Hall, 1988). This new vision of the inter-ethnic community may exacerbate ethnic divisions but it may also lead to the development of a common culture and a new sense of belonging to a group. The quality of the inter-ethnic community and, as a result thereof, how cultural diversity is manifested in schools are therefore important.

There is little evidence of the implementation of this change of perspective in schools. Implementation is difficult as hardly anything is known about the meaning teachers and pupils from different ethnic backgrounds attribute to ethnic diversity. Knowledge and experience of the conceptualisation of ethnic diversity and the accompanying measures in schools do not exist.

Inspired by this new perspective, especially by the new questions on the conceptualisation of ethnic diversity and the accompanying measures that should be taken in schools, my colleague Sawitri Saharso and I decided to carry out research in nine secondary schools. This article presents some of the results of this research. The focus here is on the meaning ethnic diversity acquires in the classroom.

Research

The subject of the research was the ethnic dimension to everyday school life. The focus was on the meaning given to the inter-ethnic community by pupils from different ethnic backgrounds, including Dutch, paying special attention to identity, friendship and discrimination and to the meaning that ethnicity may acquire during lessons on the inter-ethnic community and discrimination[1]. The research only included schools with an ethnically mixed population. About eighty youngsters in nine different secondary schools in the Randstad[2] were interviewed. One group per school was selected and at least eight pupils from that group were interviewed. The research discounted the approach that defines ethnic identity as an unchangeable characteristic. Instead, it is defined as one of the many social identities which determine how people perceive themselves. It was important in this approach whether the youngsters described themselves and others in ethnic terms and whether ethnicity was of significance in their categorisation of fellow pupils. It was assumed that situational factors would influence this categorisation and hence would differ from school to school. Both school external factors, such as how people live together in their home environment, and school internal factors can play a role in this. An open approach towards the youngsters was appropriate in view of the theoretical position on ethnicity. The interview questions were formulated neutrally so that pupils would be able to express the meaning they give to ethnic identity.

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[1] Saharso (1992) reported the results on the immigrant youngsters interviewed. Leeman (1994) reported the results on the Dutch youngsters and on the practice of the series of intercultural lessons the youngsters attended.

In addition to interviews with the youngsters, structured classroom observations both before and during series of lessons on the mixed ethnic community were made. To get to know the youngsters of a group better, we followed the youngsters in their breaks and during lessons in other subjects.

The lesson observations also served the other research objective. They provided information on the meaning that ethnicity may acquire during the lessons on the inter-ethnic community and discrimination. During these lessons a record was kept of the subject, content, duration and type of activities, and notes were made on the interaction between teacher and pupils and between pupils. The aim of the research was to gain an impression of the normal pattern of interaction and of the confrontational situations regarding the inter-ethnic community and discrimination that may arise. The starting point for analysing the lesson observations was that the climate in which teachers and pupils live and work with each other has latent, implicit values that influence and mould all those concerned. Explicit values are found in the content of the lessons. Pupils do not passively accept the content presented to them, both written and oral. They react to it, thereby influencing the course of lessons and as a result, what is learnt at school about the world in general and about ethnic diversity in particular.

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[2] 'Randstad' is an umbrella term for the area in which the four major Dutch cities of Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht are situated.

Diversity During the Lessons

The meaning pupils give to their own ethnic identity, to that of other pupils and to the multi-ethnic society was diverse. 'Dutch' and 'foreigner' are evidently not unitary categories. In comparison to the strong distinction made between 'Dutch' and 'foreigner' in Dutch society, the meaning given to ethnic divisions by the youngsters interviewed was far less absolute (Saharso, 1992; Leeman 1994).

Schools traditionally have an integrative function. They are expected to develop a communal basis of knowledge, values and attitudes that bind people together and enable them to function within a community. At the same time, schools are expected to respect individual and cultural differences while creating a school climate which is safe and familiar to all pupils. The resulting tension that must be felt in ethnically heterogeneous schools requires the development of a policy with clearly defined objectives at both school level and teacher level.

The schools' task of fostering a sense of community is not easy in relation to ethnic diversity. Thinking in ethnic dichotomies such as Dutch/foreigner is prevalent. These dichotomies are generally associated with value loaded differentiations such as modern/traditional or smart/backward. Such ethnically based differentiation unavoidably has an influence on school culture. It encourages thinking in terms of immigrant and non-immigrant pupils and detracts from the individuality of the pupil.

Schools can do something about this by making ethnic diversity the subject of school policy. There is very little experience of this in the Netherlands. The schools participating in the research had not yet developed a policy on this. Racism and discrimination were rejected by all the schools; some had included this in their regulations. Lessons on the inter-ethnic community and the problems associated with it, such as discrimination, were explicitly taught at all the schools. Implicit lessons on the inter-ethnic community, which form part of the so-called hidden curriculum, had not been systematically thought about by the schools.

Education is a cultural practice and one would expect the dominant representation of the Dutch, of ethnic minority groups and of the nature of inter-ethnic relations to predominate. The research was restricted to the detailed study of intercultural lessons, most of which were taught as part of the subjects sociology or personal and social development. One of the central research questions was whether the dominant representation of the inter-ethnic community was apparent in the lessons. Was the dichotomy between 'us' and 'them', between 'Dutch' and 'foreigners' transcended? In other words: was there room for several perspectives of reality and for the development of a new sense of community.

The content of the lessons

Two aspects determine the content of the lessons: the explicit message in the curriculum material and the interaction in the classroom including the way pupils are addressed.

Only some of the pupils in a class were expected to learn something from the lessons. Most of the series of lessons were mainly taught to

Dutch pupils, with the objective of teaching them the moral lesson that discrimination is wrong. The purpose of these lessons seemed to be to improve the position of ethnic minority pupils, so were not really meant for them. Now and again, they were asked during the lessons to talk about their experiences of discrimination as examples to inform their Dutch classmates. In one or two exceptional cases, the lessons were aimed exclusively at the ethnic minority pupils. During one of these lessons (in a class of seven immigrant boys and ten Dutch boys) on how to defend oneself against discrimination, the teachers only addressed the boys with an ethnic minority background. They seemed to forget that there were any Dutch boys present; they might just as well not have been there. The role they would play in the lesson had been predetermined. They are the ones with power. They do not need to learn how to defend themselves and others against discrimination.

The choice of topics and the way in which the pupils were addressed during the lessons gave little opportunity for the dichotomy between 'Dutch' and 'foreigners' to be transcended. Generally speaking, the content of the lessons was not compatible with the diversity of meaning attributed by the pupils to ethnic diversity as identified in the research.

The course of the lessons

Interaction between participants, partly in response to the content of the lesson, determines how lessons progress. During the lessons, regular use was made of teacher-centred class discussion. While observing and analysing the lessons it was noticeable that subjects such as wearing of headscarves and the custom of arranged marriages were regularly brought up by pupils in a negative way. Teachers often had difficulty in these cases in regaining control of the lesson and safeguarding the immigrant pupils in the class from discriminatory remarks.

Discussion of these subjects in the classroom may provide a forum to air opinions on such practices, that they should be rejected and that 'foreigners' should adapt to 'the Dutch culture'. Sometimes, another more plausible explanation came to the fore. Sometimes these subjects were raised as a means of challenging the teacher, while he was doing his best to convey the message that discrimination is morally wrong. We saw this for example during a series of lessons on prejudice and discrimination in a class with very few immigrant pupils. We, as observers, were immediately aware of the poor relationship between the teacher and four friends, all Dutch girls, Marita, Dineke, Mariëtte and Edith. Almost every lesson starts with them provoking the teacher. During the series of lessons the four friends make 'racist' remarks. In doing this they are challenging the asymmetry of power between themselves and the teacher in particular. They provoke him, making use of his clear aversion to racist remarks. The topic introduced by the teacher is discrimination. He mentions discrimination against young people, against Amsterdammers and against 'foreigners'. One of the girls raises the culture of the Turks as a topic: 'Some of them have more than one wife. They arrange who you're going to marry before you're even born.' Now that the culture of the Turks has been raised as a topic, the teacher provides some additional information by explaining some of the differences between Turks from the city and those from the country. At this point, Mariëtte speaks up: 'There's usually eight children, that adds up.' (She makes a gesture meaning money, money). If we did that, we'd be kicked out of our own country.' The three other girls are somewhat indignant about this remark. Marita, Dineke and Edith all ask her why she is bothered about it. 'You don't have to pay it', they say in turn. Mariëtte doesn't stop. The teacher takes her remarks seriously and continues with his cognitive strategy of invalidating prejudices. At first Marita, Dineke and Edith did not back up Mariëtte's comments but in the course of the lesson they take her side. It does not seem to matter any more what is actually said. The girls are worked up. The atmosphere in the class is tense. The teachers carries on trying to invalidate the arguments with information when Dineke interrupts him with the comment: 'Harm, you've got to go home. There's just been a telephone call to say that your kid's not well.'

The teacher is very upset. He says that it is a good thing that there are no Turkish youngsters in the class. Ten minutes early, he announces that it is break time.

This example shows how the relationship between participants can influence the course of the lesson. The content and atmosphere of a lesson can take an undesirable turn as a result of this. This may in the case of controversial, intercultural issues put the safety of immigrant pupils at risk. The teachers whose lessons we observed had not, on the whole, developed a solution to this problem. They did not have the necessary intercultural knowledge and skills.

Didactic Methods

Interactive methods, such as discussion in small groups or with the whole class, in theory provide an opportunity for all pupils to air their views and hence an opportunity for different perspectives on the inter-ethnic community to be voiced, particularly in an ethnically heterogeneous class.

All the teachers expected the pupils to make a personal contribution to the lessons. The level of contribution by pupils varied considerably. Ethnic pupils were generally slightly reserved. An example:

The teacher of a class assumes that everyone is prepared to share their personal experiences. Pupils are given an assignment in which they are asked to complete the following sentences: 'Everyone always thinks that I...' and 'Nobody believes that I...'. Rashna, a Hindu, thinks of writing the following: 'Everyone always thinks that I come from Indonesia but I was four when I left Surinam.' After some hesitation she decides not to write this on her work sheet because she has heard that the answers are going be hung up in the corridor. She would be very easily recognisable. When the work sheets have been collected, the teacher suggests reading out one or two and asks the pupils to guess whose they are. Most of the pupils, especially the immigrant pupils, are nervous about this. After some protest, the teacher lets this drop.

During teacher-centred class discussions, a method that was frequently used, we saw that immigrant pupils in particular regularly found themselves in a difficult position from which they endeavoured to escape. Three immigrant pupils in one of the classes we observed, Gerolt, Rashna and Joyce, were unusually withdrawn and avoided eye contact during a discussion on 'being different'. They hoped in this way to escape being drawn into the group discussion.

The opportunity to introduce different perspectives on the inter-ethnic community by pupils of different ethnic background during the discussions is conditioned by the asymmetrical power relationships in the group and the safety of the classroom climate to discuss questions with freedom (Burbules & Rice, 1991). Most of the teachers did not appear to take this into account, which probably restricted the level of participation of immigrant pupils in the lessons. Several pupils confirmed this during the interviews.

The different meaning attributed to a subject by pupils can influence whether they are prepared to participate openly in discussions. This is particularly true of an emotionally loaded subject like discrimination. The different interpretations of a confrontation between Prewesh, who comes from a Surinamese-Hindu background, and the Dutch pupils in a class in Amsterdam are an example of this: Prewesh and Malini talk about their experiences of discrimination and Prewesh openly confesses that he often gets angry with himself because he cannot tolerate anyone making a critical remark about Surinam. Suddenly, he says: 'Why are we the only ones talking? What do the whites think about this subject?' He addresses his remarks to Max (Dutch) in particular whose negative opinions about foreigners are well known. Most of the immigrant pupils are not bothered by his opinions as he is open about what he thinks and is friendly towards them. Prewesh then says: 'Max is also good at talking about discrimination.' Without looking at anyone, Max quietly replies: 'Load of moaning about nothing.' Later, when I ask Anja (Dutch) about the incident, she says that she found Prewesh's remarks funny. 'Because, well, during that lesson he did most of the talking... and then he said: "Am I the only one who's joining in and saying something?. Because mostly... in things like racism and that sort of thing... and discrimination, people usually immediately ask whether black people or Jews sometimes feel discriminated against, not whites. Not so much notice is taken of them.'

Anja does not understand that Prewesh was in fact challenging the Dutch pupils to say something from the point of view of the perpetrator and that he expected them to recognise the position of the immigrant youngsters. In connection with his remark during the lesson, Prewesh says during the interview that he could not stand it that none of the Dutch pupils said anything. Discrimination is an important subject, particularly at their school where pupils come from different backgrounds. He does not really know why the Dutch youngsters in the classroom did not say anything: 'Maybe they're nervous about talking about discrimination. Because there are people who say: "We don't talk about that, that doesn't happen." But in fact it does happen, if you look around you, of course it happens and everybody has something to do with it.' He is in fact looking for recognition from the Dutch pupils that discrimination does exist and should be refuted.

The example shows that pupils have different emotional reactions to the subject of discrimination, just like they have different experiences of it. In this instance, it leads to a tense 'discussion' in the class. It is possible that when immigrant pupils like Prewesh are upset by something and talk about it in class, they want everyone immediately to understand and accept it. Classmates who have not had the same experience, however, cannot be expected to be able to imagine what that experience means and the experience may in fact not fit in with their understanding of the concept of discrimination. It is crucial that there is sufficient mutual trust for everyone to be able to talk freely, even dare to make outrageous comments and by listening to and observing the reactions of others, form an opinion. It is also crucial that the teacher is able to weigh up the situation and guide the discussion.

The didactic approach and how it is implemented condition, in case of value loaded subjects, the contribution made by pupils in the lessons. Teachers with intercultural insights and skills are here essential. In addition to understanding group processes, teachers will need to modify established didactic methods, such as the teacher-centred class discussion, if they are to succeed in getting pupils to contribute more to the lessons and achieve joint discussion on these personal contributions. Given the asymmetrical power relationships in the group and the possibility of an unsafe atmosphere connected with that, these modifications are essential in an ethnically heterogeneous group.

The dominant representation of inter-ethnic relations had the upper hand during the lessons observed. Both the presented content and the content that developed during the course of the lessons contributed to this. The diversity of meaning on the inter-ethnic community held by the youngsters interviewed was scarcely dealt with at all in the lessons. Teachers failed to encourage and support pupils in participating in a form of cultural production in which uncertainty and a different perspective are considered to be normal.

Guiding Diversity

Ethnically mixed schools have gradually become the norm in the Netherlands. The conceptualisation of ethnic diversity and the accompanying measures taken at all levels in the school are increasingly the centre of attention.

I have given an account of a research project on the conceptualisation and application of cultural diversity in lessons in secondary education in the Netherlands. Results showed a variety of approaches to ethnicity by the youngsters. A considerable number of them do not experience ethnic boundaries as absolute. This variety of approaches was not reflected in the intercultural lessons.

Schools traditionally have an integrative function. At the same time, schools are expected to respect individual and cultural differences while creating a school environment which is safe and familiar to all pupils. How the school conceptualises ethnic diversity and the accompanying measures it takes are very important. The schools participating in the research had not yet systematically thought about the implicit and explicit messages on ethnic diversity that pupils are exposed to in school.

A school that fosters a sense of belonging whilst respecting pupils' individuality, in which all its pupils feel safe, requires a knowledge of the diversity of meanings attributed by pupils to ethnicity and their different perceptions of each other and of the multi-ethnic community. Sensitivity and an understanding of the complexity of inter-ethnic relationships are essential. Armed with this knowledge and understanding, schools can experiment with their role in the multi-ethnic community.

Educating for a multi-ethnic society means developing a sensitivity to diversity from a historical perspective. It requires the ability and willingness to accept conflicting ideas and collectively to seek the common elements that bind a community together.

In addition to teaching materials and didactic methods which can provide room for multi-perspectivity, a competent teacher is essential for intercultural lessons. A teacher who, when dealing with topics closely associated with specific values, is aware of and open to the intercultural aspects of teaching a multi-ethnic class and has the necessary skills to give guidance on ethnic diversity. A teacher who is aware of inter-ethnic relationships and will take effective action when the need arises. A teacher who can guarantee a safe atmosphere for one and all. Depending on the topic under discussion, this teacher will be able to guide the youngsters in a form of cultural production in which different perspectives of reality and a sense of togetherness that transcends ethnic boundaries are the norm.

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Changes in Research on Multicultural Education in Germany

There is a never ending debate about the implications of the term 'culture' in our society. Therefore it might be wise stating right at the beginning that there is no unambiguous definition of Multicultural Education possible, as there is no clear or unmistakable definition of 'culture' existing.

Likewise the interpretations of the tasks of Multicultural Education in Germany have been manifold and very often contradictory. Since the development of this new branch of educational science in the 1970s - parallel to the change of the (West-) German society from a monoethnic to a multiethnic nation as a result of labour migration and world wide political and economic processes - politicians, journalists, and educationalists adopted or disparaged the idea of multiculturalism.

In 1993, in Budapest, I demanded immediate political action to generate fundamental changes into the general German school curriculum (Hoff, 1995b). I pointed out that it would be necessary to change more or less all relevant materials used in schools, to enable the education system to deal with the problems of racism, discrimination against minorities, and violence in particular.

Present Political Conditions

Very little has been happening since to approach these tasks. The general political and economic conditions have changed drastically during the last three years. The attempt to guarantee equally excellent working conditions and the same high standards of social security in the former GDR-territory (the so called "Neue Länder" - new states of the federation) resulted in enormous public debts, huge deficits in public budgets, high figures of unemployment, especially among young people, and drastic cuts in public spending.

In connection with the world wide recession, public opinion and the general attitude, or the general political morale seems to be moving into the direction of defending the privileges of the strong, the powerful, the economical potent part of the German population. During the last decades there has always been a three tier order among immigrants into Germany:

1. Fully accepted: The "resettlers", citizens of Russia, Romania, Poland and other states of the former Soviet Union and Warsaw pact organisation, who are able to claim some German forebears.
2. Basically left alone but not questioned in principle: guestworkers from the Mediterranean countries and their descendants with long lasting working permits and second best legal status to full citizens.
3. Discriminated against and hardly tolerated at all: asylum-seekers from all parts of the world, most prominent from former Yugoslavia and the Middle East (cf. Hoff, 1995a). Now people are becoming less willing to accept even the most privileged group any longer. With a reinforcement of immigration quotas the German administration is trying to regulate the influx of resettlers, who are no longer regarded as reliable voters of the Conservative Party but as expensive boarders and unwelcome competitors on the job market.

Focuses of Attention

As the political climate was changing during the last three years, research and the scholarly discourse in Multicultural Education was consequently defining new areas of responsibilities:

- considering the problem of "new" autochthone minorities (e.g. the Sorbes);
- combating new right-wing extremists among young people, using the British experiences in anti-racist education (approaches to violence prevention);
- adjusting the national curricula to a more European perspective by offering bilingual teaching even for autochthone majorities (e.g. Berliner Europa-Schulen).

Apparently experiences gained in taking care of the Danish minorities in Schleswig-Holstein next to the northern border of the old Federal Republik have been harmonised easily with those, developed during the GDR-regime in the states of Brandenburg and Saxony with the Sorbish autochthones. The minority language and culture is fully respected, the people involved do integrate into the German system of values completely. The only problem seems to be to prevent this small minority culture from extinction.

To deal with the two other objectives, it can be recognised some impact of Intercultural Education into mainstream schooling: anti-racist and bilingual education.

Anti-racist Education

In Germany 17 people, seven of them "foreigners", died as victims of right-wing violence in 1992. Two thirds of all right-wing violent crime was committed by people under 20 years of age (for more details see: Struck, 1995). People of all age-groups, but, again, predominantly the young, reacted against these atrocities with demonstrations, vigils, church services and the founding of neighbourhood initiatives. This caused a growing awareness of the problem of racism, as studies showed, that many young people began to see this as a key problem of society. While only 35 per cent in 1986 regarded racism that way , the figures changed to 40 per cent in 1990 and 65 per cent in 1992 (all figures: IBM Jugendstudien, Hofmann, W., 1995). Youth surveys (IBM, Shell, Der Spiegel) rate the sympathy effect in favour of right wing groups or organisations less than 10 per cent. But 17 per cent of those, who object to right-wing ideologies in the East and 7 per cent in the West (over all 10 per cent) recommend as a useful precaution to deal with this problem to send all "foreigners" back "home".

As a result of the recent racist violence, there is a growing demand for anti-racist education. Because of negative responses from foreign governments and international business partners to the surge of racist incidents, the willingness to act among German authorities grew substantially. The mass media started running programmes about the achievement of immigrants. Even asylum-seekers were given positive parts in German soap-operas and presented in youth magazines. There was also money distributed to research into violence and racist behaviour and in the new states specially trained street workers and action groups were established (Schill et al., 1993) to deal with the problem. As a result the Federal Minister for Youth could report a decline in right-wing violent crimes by 35 per cent in 1994 (all data: IBM, 1995, and Struck, 1995).

The necessity of anti-racist education can therefore be taken as widely accepted. It is a question whether it will be possible to act successfully

- in a state, which is by its constitution exclusive against non-Germans,
- in a society, which relies on blood-relation as the only natural way of becoming a member,
- in a system, which utterly fails in showing its young generation that they are needed by providing workplaces and perspectives for the overwhelming majority.

Bilingual Education

It was a merit of Intercultural Education research to disclose the obvious importance of social learning as a prerequisite of language acquisition. Since the 1960s the German linguistic profession had developed many different areas of research: they branch out to include studies of first and second language acquisition, in psycho- and socio-linguistics, in all levels of schooling, in mono- and bilingual alphabetisation.

Another influence came from the cross-cultural approach adopted by regional-studies experts within traditional foreign language teaching like English or French. They already had discovered the importance of implementing cultural studies in teaching foreign languages.

While originally these efforts where aimed at the language learning of 'foreign' minorities, now the general focus switched to 'Europe', the EU becoming a focus of educational policy in the 1990s. It can be questioned whether this view is just replacing old nationalism by new Euro-chauvinism. There are already two factions quarrelling, those who will only focus on member states of the EU and those who want to integrate others, basically Eastern European countries. But both exclude the needs of migrants coming from the Middle-East or North Africa, which would mean, no Turkish or Arabic in the German school syllabus!

Broadening the view among German politicians into a European dimension does leave on the other hand some credit points for school development. Since 1992 Berlin developed the model of "Europa-Schulen", meaning a set of bilingual primary schools. These schools offer a second language alongside German, introduced in the beginning in context of playing, but becoming a fully installed second language in the instruction of core curriculum subjects. The school employs mother-tongue teachers of both languages and is looking for children of a relevant bilingual family context for optionally 50 per cent. There is always one age-class instructed this way, throughout the six years of this school-type, alongside with ordinary monolingual classes. (Which means, that they start learning a third language - most likely English, if it is not the second one - as a foreign language in the 5th form.) As of now there are schools existing combining German with English, French, Russian, Spanish, Turkish, Polish. There are plans for Portuguese, Italian and Greek.

There is a severe risk that these projects may not be realised because of lack of funding. In the interest of intercultural understanding it would be vital to find support for these projects, which demonstrate that "language and culture are following different mutual dependent aspects of communication. That is why bilingual teaching can never be conceived of as monocultural or neutral in terms of culture" (Steffen, 1991, p.231).

Representation of Intercultural Studies in Higher Education

In the absence of reliable data it is difficult to say how effective Intercultural Education has been to combat racism. But it seems to be obvious, that "the main obstacle to intercultural learning is the failure of the majority to empathise with people of different cultural traditions" (Barkowski, 1992). Education programmes can only support developments in society, when there is a certain public consent on the direction into which a nation wants to go. "What is needed is active protection against discrimination, based on equal treatment and an equal legal position given to all inhabitants" (Brumlik & Leggewie, 1993). As pupils in East and West of Germany have one of the longest compulsory schooling times in the Western world, one might question whether the existing schools are able to handle the problem of racism and discrimination adequately at all. The crucial question is whether there will be a strong public demand for school reform, to open the gates for Intercultural Education in mainstream classrooms, especially in 'White' schools (see: Hoff, 1995). This would not only prepare the new generation to function efficiently as members of the diversified European society, but to tackle the great challenges of the future.

During the winter-term 1995/96 my institute did a survey on "intercultural studies" among all German universities and Teacher Training Colleges in Social Science Departments (incl. not only education but language, anthropology etc. as well). We wanted to know, where and to what extent is "intercultural studies" represented in the resp. subjects.

Here are some results:

Total of institutions questioned: 63

Total of institutions answered: 36

1 university explicitly denied the necessity of intercultural studies as an independent subject.

5 universities are offering "Ausländerpädagogik" as an aspect in pedagogic university diploma studies.

4 universities are offering "Interkulturelle Erziehung" as an aspect in pedagogic university diploma studies.

6 universities are offering Intercultural main areas in general educational studies.

12 universities are offering additional curricular elements leading to a special certificate either in "Teaching German as a Foreign Language" or in a general teaching qualification.

4 universities integrate the same into a M.A. in a modern foreign language.

8 universities accept individual focusing on multicultural topics by students in general educational studies leading to all relevant final certificates.

It is therefore to early to assume that MCE is generally accepted as an equal discipline in educational studies in Germany.

In summary, the following conclusion is to be based on the above discussion. In Germany, like in other European countries, the curricula, school systems, and pedagogics in general are nationally focused and not adequate to a multicultural society or the "age of globalisation". Multicultural Education is likewise an educational system of the immigration country and not one of the countries of the origin of the immigrants. There is a lag of relevant instruments to evaluate intercultural learning. Targets and goals of Multicultural Education tend to be vague. (How to measure e.g. tolerance, international understanding, intercultural respect etc.?).

The general effect of Multicultural Education has to be considered as of comparatively little impact among the complete range of acts of educational policy. The educational profession in general is not prepared to respond to the demand of their 'interculturalists' to change paradigms in favour of a "multiculturalisation" of the subjects in total.

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The Discourse of Strangeness and the Way it Causes Helplessness in the Field of Education

In Germany as well as in other European countries, multiculturalism is discussed in various fields, for example politics, sociology or educational science. Spread over the same fields, there is the furtive glance of the critical and radical sub-discourse of strangeness. In this paper, important streams of the discourse will be presented in an exaggerated and provoking fashion. The two main streams of the radical discourse of strangeness show that on one hand strangeness is totally incomprehensible and on the other hand strangeness itself is created under structural conditions, thus it is a derived quality. Therefore, any pillar of order becomes fragile.

The following theses will be discussed in this paper:

1. *The discourse of strangeness is undiplomatic in the way that it shows the stranger to be incomprehensible.*

   Two people meeting and expecting to know and understand each other will find out, that they will always come to the point, where they do not know each other. This is an absolute separation between myself and the Other; it is radically spoken the incomprehensibility of the Other, who therefore remains a stranger to myself.

1. *The discourse of strangeness endangers the discourse of multiculturalism because the stranger disrupts any system of order.*

The idea of a multicultural society is built on the idea of a pluralistic and rather open system of order: cultures which can be segregated from each other live together in harmony. The concept seems to solve heaps of the problems of modern societies, but reality proves, that living together in harmony is not quite as simple as supposed. May it be the stranger, who again disrupts the new system of order?

3. *The discourse of strangeness is subversive: it discloses that by practising homogenisation institutions themselves produce strangeness.*

From a structural point of view, the stranger is a construct. Organisations and institutions are naturally interested in keeping up orders, their very own orders. They have the power to create definitions and categories such as "culture", following their own purpose only. A person becomes part of a certain category, he or she is pressed into. Acting like this, institutions construct strangeness and even establish hierarchies. Hereby they cause massive discriminations in the first place and start a process of ethnisation, leading into a process of self ethnisation in the second place.

4. *The discourse of strangeness paralyses the optimism and thirst of action of the discourse of intercultural education in the way that it critically reflects their educational program.*

The program of intercultural education is based on the same assumptions as the idea of a multicultural society: members of different cultures are able to enrich each other through contact. But school as an institution follows its educational goals by practising homogenisation. All the "Others", the different ones, disrupt the established system of order upon which school relies. The Stranger may be a handicapped, emotionally disordered or a foreign child; they all have in common that they do not fulfil the norms of the institution school. School is irritated by heterogeneity. As an institution, school responds to this irritation in its classical habit. Foreign children are categorised as strangers and segregated as such, in order to reintegrate them into the school system programmatically. May the program of intercultural education be no more than an attempt of the school as an institution at keeping its system of order?

5. *The discourse of strangeness indicates that an individualised education is of significance.*

The discourse of strangeness may remind us teachers, pedagogues or others to go beyond our categories, knowledge and definitions in order to open ourselves to the Stranger child, to let the child be our guide to its individual needs and personality.

The Stranger and the Discourse of Multiculturalism

The discourse of multiculturalism is very well known. Multiculturalism as a term includes several different theories of social life of different cultural groups. Since in Europe countries usually are defined by nationality, that concept of a multicultural society is predominant, in which the dominant culture of the defined nation is surrounded by gradually integrated minority cultures (i.e. Leggewie 1993). Yet any concept of multiculturalism presumes that there are cultural identities and that members of one culture constitute a group, who can in one way or another collectively deal with other cultural groups.

1. Strangeness is incomprehensible

Especially in the philosophical discourse of strangeness, we are confronted with the question of strangeness between myself and a person I meet. There turns out to be a radical otherness between myself and the person I am facing. I will never be able to really understand the Other, the Stranger. Therefore I will also never be able to identify him. All acts of identification turn out to become powerfully overwhelming. Understanding the Other would then be an act of violence, that means an act of ethical implication. But standing face to face with the Other, he meets me in the centre of my own identity as I am struck by his homelessness and lawlessness, because he is not a member of any system of order I know. At this point the Other constitutes my ethical identity, because he forces me to act ethically without my planning or my willing. It is my choice whether I approach the Other and open myself towards him or harden myself against the Other and become guilty in ethical terms (Lévinas, explained and commented on in Lippitz 1993).

If two people facing each other cannot identify the Other, how in the world can a society deal with the task of otherness or radical strangeness? A simple experiment will prove the basic demand of a programmatical multiculturalism impossible to meet. Reaching equality in value of all cultures by increasing the public reputation of those less esteemed or even discriminated can be called a basic (and very noble) demand. Now try this experiment: close your eyes and create an image of a close relative or friend. Was it easy? Close your eyes again and imagine a group of strange people waiting for the bus. Did it work? Any picture we create of the Other turns out to be two dimensional and somewhat lifeless. Creating an image of one person we know is unsatisfactory. And, creating a lively image of a group of strangers is nearly impossible. Yet, in the case of multiculturalism the program tries to lift up the image of this group of strangers to the liveliness which we only experience in ourselves, not even experience it in the image of our closest friend. Regarding what we know about strangeness or otherness, we foresee that this intention is entitled to fail.

But there is an alternative and rather practical strategy of achieving equality in a society as Bertrand Russell and John Rawls show us: We create the images we have of ourselves as poor in dimension and liveliness as the image we have of Others. Russell, i.e., suggested, that we should exchange the names of the countries, including our own country, while reading the daily news. In this way we can find out whether our reaction to the news results from prejudice against a certain country or else from moral judgement on the event. This kind of experience produces a symmetry between the images of others and the image of myself: they are reduced in their liveliness (Scarry 1993).

We have seen how important the status of the Stranger is in the meeting of two single persons and what kind of "manners" one must conclude for social life. Now, we will have a look at the role the Stranger plays in the framework of a state: In a state built on nationality, every member of the nation is defined as a friend and all the others are enemies. Friend and enemy are territorially separated from each other. This is the system of order, where every person seems to find its place. The Stranger, however, cannot be integrated in the dichotomy of the order. He, the one "who comes and stays", is neither friend nor enemy and at the same time is both. The Stranger claims to be the object of responsibility as friends are, but he was not asked to come, in that aspect he is just like the enemy. The Stranger or even a group of Strangers seem to be representatives of ambivalence, a quality this kind of system can barely deal with. But having this nature of experience of strangeness is a characteristic of modern consciousness (Baumann 1992).

The concept of multiculturalism is not based on dichotomy as the nationalistic systems of order; it rather is a pluralistic and open concept. On the other hand, community life of segregated cultures in harmony is pictured in the concept of multiculturalism. As the permanent discussion proves, this idea of multicultural society, which can be identified as simply another sort of order, has to be critically examined.

2. *Strangeness is a derived quality*

Who is the Stranger, who interferes with the system of order? From the structural point of view he is a construct made up by organisations and institutions, which have the power to create definitions and which orient themselves to homogeneity. Social institutions have a distinct interest in keeping up order, their very own order. And they have the power to carry it through with subtle methods. So organisations and institutions create the multi-cultural society after their ideas by making up categories and classifications: arbitrarily language and confession are set to define a culture. The created order does not only establish cultures and in doing so constructs strangeness, it also has a hierarchy building effect. The problem of strangeness must not only be seen from the perspective of people, it strongly needs to be seen from the perspective of institutions as well, because with their practice of homogenisation they are the root of the most serious discrimination (Radtke 1992a, b).

Organisations and institutions usually serve their own purposes, they are not interested in a single person's needs. But they get a process of ethnisation going, which in turn leads into a process of self-ethnisation. Thus the created construct of strangeness is misused to carry through the interests of an organisation. Because of this construct, a circle of ethnisation and self-alienation is born. These dangers which derive from an orientation towards the concept of multiculturalism will be explained by the example of the institution school.

Intercultural Education and the Strange Child

The concept of intercultural education as well as the concept of multiculturalism is based on the idea that different cultures can enrich each other through contact and cultural exchange. But, they also contain the longing for security in a community and a system of order.

School is caught in a vicious circle which the concept of intercultural education is intensifying rather than breaking up: In the name of homogeneity differences are wiped out and produced as well. School as an institution follows its educational goals and practice, such as giving school grades, teaching age-groups or creating curricula, to name a few only showing that school relies on homogenisation. Anything which is different may disrupt the organisational order and therefore should be wiped out. Handicapped, disordered or foreign children are "different" in "normal" school systems in the way that they do not fulfil the norms school deals with. These children, who cannot be homogenised, are classified and made different or strange in order for them to be reintegrated collectively under the structure of some sort of special learning program, such as intercultural education. School is not actually irritated by foreign children, school is just unable to deal with differences of learning habits. In the case of foreign children, it follows the traditional dichotomy of thinking and separates those who fulfil the norm from those who do not fulfil the norm, the Strangers. Without this sort of cultural classification, would there perhaps not be as many "strange" children? The created image of the stranger advances to a fictitious reality. Correspondingly, school as well as other social institutions reinforces the process of self-ethnisation and -alienation. The self-definition as a member of a certain culture is the basis for multiculturalism.

The vicious circle of categorisation and programmatical reintegration does not only impair school, but it also distorts the biographies of single persons. The separations which are produced by the cultural categorisation in the concept of intercultural education unwillingly lead to discrimination: the emphasis on cultural differences in school provoke "cultural" rivalry and conflict between students. Certain cultures are looked at as inferior cultures; members of this culture will have great trouble in all institutions and organisations as long as the institution does not need them as a resource of any kind. Separate ethnical education, which is supposed to preserve "cultural identity" and strengthen the community spirit, becomes a self-fulfilling-prophecy, because cultural discrimination is one effect of the emphasis on cultural differences (Radtke, 1992b).

Almost any social problem can be explained by cultural differences. The powerful institution does not take the blame, it blames the Stranger or a group of Strangers, although the specific strangeness is the very creation of the institution.

A Possible Prospect Stressed Pedagogically

The foreign child focuses and proves again that the two educational goals of the school system, cultivation and individualisation, are a permanent source of problems. The foreign child reduces the significance of one certain culture and in the educational situation it appeals to us as the Other, face to face, before we can keep it at a distance by our knowledge about the cultural group it supposedly belongs to.

In the "Geisteswissenschaftlichen Pädagogik", a philosophy of education which stands in the tradition of hermeneutical thinking, it is spoken of individualisation through cultivation, which means that a person acquires the culture and develops it further productively.

But this is only possible as long as the concept of culture is not dubious. A foreign child cannot be integrated in the dominant culture straight away. Yet the child needs help without being integrated in the dominant or in another culture. With its helplessness it appeals to me as an individual in a radical way. The foreign child remains a Stranger without home and relation to an order and I may not identify this individual. Therefore the foreign child puts an emphasis on the pedagogy of thinking in the tradition of hermeneutical philosophy in a new and radical way, which has taken its leave of the "bourgeois concept of forming" and the thinking in categories of compact cultures.

Individualisation of education shall not at all mean that racism must be fought in the centre of the individual; it is rather a call to listen to the child, meet with the child as the Other and risk the decentration of your own identity through the experience of its otherness.

Stressing cultural differences encourages a longing for knowledge about this culture. Knowledge about the culture in combination with categorisation of children tempts us to place the knowledge onto the child and thus to see cultural differences only. In this way we most certainly miss the child's personality and its individual needs. Of course, knowledge is an important qualification for understanding, and we usually organise our knowledge in categories. But we see it as an indication of the critical discourse of strangeness, that in the concrete educational situation we let ourselves be guided by the strange child and be ready to distrust our knowledge which we ought to keep at a reflexive distance.

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Assyrian Youths in a "Concentration School"[1] in Sweden. A Case Study[2]

Introduction

During the past decades Sweden has gained world-wide renown for an immigrant and refugee policy, the main characteristics of which have been equality and freedom of choice. Refugees received education, employment and housing, as well as health insurance, subsidised health care and, when appropriate, unemployment insurance and pension provisions. All children, who lived in homes in which a language other than Swedish was spoken, were guaranteed instruction in their own language. Swedish language courses were provided free of charge for all adults as well.

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[1] Roosens (1995) uses the concept of concentration schools to define schools in which more than 50 percent of the pupils come from low income immigrant homes.

[2] The present study is part of a series of studies on social competence. The Swedish part of the study was undertaken in the autumn of 1995, during a sabbatical leave that the second author spent at the Institute of International Education, Stockholm University. The first author collaborated in this study.

The magnitude and the generosity of the immigrant and refugee policy sketched above was dependent upon the relative affluence of the Swedish state during the 1970s. In the 1980s, however, stagnation began to occur, resulting in pressure to make cutbacks in these areas as well (Miron, 1993). One of the areas that has been the object of cutbacks is schools. Some critics report that schooling has received a disproportionately large amount of cutbacks, in relation to other areas, while emphasising that little effort has been made to safeguard the general standards of quality for such at-risk groups as immigrants. It has become clear that in Sweden certain groups of immigrant children have increasingly had problems in achievement, mirrored in the increasing numbers of students who leave the ninth grade compulsory school without fulfilling the requirements for a diploma (Skolverket, 1996).

Drastic and repeated cutbacks have created a new atmosphere of overloading and stress in Swedish school. In the long run, it is primarily resource-weak children who are endangered when teachers are overloaded and are subject to stress and loss of a sense of efficacy. However, schooling of the whole pupil population is also affected.

Research

The present study investigates problems in teacher-pupil relationships that may serve to hamper the important role teachers have as intermediaries between the resources immigrant pupils have, such as knowledge, skills, motivation, etc., and the resources that are available in the broader community. We have focused especially on perceptions of social competence, inasmuch as it would seem that they are pivotal in relation to interaction and, therefore, the learning that takes place in the classroom. The following questions guide this study: Are teachers culturally sensitive in their approach to children? To what extent are pupils' and teachers' interpretations of socially competent behaviour comparable?

We assume that compatibility of interpretations promotes shared responsibility for social interaction in the classroom for teachers and pupils alike. We furthermore assume that a qualitative difference exists between how teachers and pupils, grounded as they are in different cultural arenas, interpret individual pupil behaviour as socially competent or socially incompetent.

The Methods

Participants

All of the pupils included in this study attend a school in a suburb located south of Stockholm in which more than 50 percent of the pupils enrolled are underprivileged children primarily from homes with immigrant parents. All of the pupils are in the fourth, fifth and sixth grades. The study involved 123 pupils, 79 of which are Assyrian, from either Turkey or the Middle East. There are 61 girls and 62 boys. There are six teachers included in the study. Four of the teachers are female and two of the teachers are male.

Procedure

The present case study was done in order to provide qualitative background material for a broader understanding of the quantitative data collected by means of the Revised Class Play scale (RCP) used to access pupil social competence (Masten, Morison and Pellegrini, 1985).

The RCP scale was administered in all of the classes. The RCP originally consisted of thirty one-sentence descriptions of behaviour. Fifteen of these describe behaviour that is socially competent, according to Western norms, labelled 'sociability/leadership', fifteen other items describe behaviour that is socially incompetent, according to Western norms, labelled either 'aggressive/disruptive' or 'sensitive/isolated'. Examples of the 'sociability/ leadership', 'aggressive/disruptive', and 'sensitive/isolated' items respectively are 'Makes new friends easily', 'Picks on other kids' and 'Rather plays alone than with others'.

Before the results of the RCP scale were given to teachers, they were interviewed in order to ascertain (i) to which degree the teachers' perception of pupils' social competence agreed with that which pupils' had given and (ii) to gain insight into what teachers consider to be problematic in their classroom situations by asking them to describe their classes, their methods and their expectations. These interviews were structured interviews.

At the beginning of the interview, teachers were asked to give a general and overall description of their classes. Then they were asked to identify their pupils both verbally and by means of a ranking task in accordance with the categories that were used in the RCP scale: sociability/leadership, aggressive/disruptive and sensitive/isolated. Ranking was made on a 5-point scale. The purpose of this measure is to determine to what extent teachers and pupils perceived the social competence of pupils in a similar manner. Teachers were also asked to participate in a sorting task, in order to determine to which extent pupils and teachers agreed on the meaning of the role descriptions used in the RCP scale. Finally, they were asked to discuss their impressions of their pupils' expectations for the future.

Only a portion of this data will be reported here due to the limited scope of this paper. Further information on the results of this research endeavour are to be found in the report dealing with the larger study (Vedder & O' Dowd, 1996).

Data Analysis

The RCP-scale is a sociometric scale which is designed to measure "relationships among individuals within a group" (Proctor & Loomis, 1951) or, as Kerlinger puts it, "to measure social choice" (Kerlinger, 1973). By means of computer analysis, the scales were analysed to compile individual scores for each pupil as far as the characteristics studied, pupils' ethnic origin and gender were concerned. These scores were then analysed in relation to the data derived from interviews and ranking.

The choice of this scale in particular was based on the fact that it has previously been used in the United States, the Netherlands, and the Netherlands Antilles. Thus it has the advantage of being a relatively well-refined tool for the measurement required in this study. Lastly, the use of an existing scale gives another dimension to this study: it serves the purpose of "adding to accumulated knowledge" (Dane, 1990). The RCP scale used in this study is an adapted and translated version.

Background

The majority of the Assyrian pupils included in this study live in the same area. These pupils comprise a group that has a strong ethnic identity, as they consider themselves to be a "chosen people," with a 2000-year long history of persecution. The area in which these pupils live has previously been occupied by many different kinds of immigrant families other than Assyrians. During the last five years, however, Finnish and many of the remaining Swedish families have moved to other areas. Many of the parents of the Assyrian children in this study are illiterate and unemployed, and the majority of them are not proficient in Swedish. The Swedish language skills of their children who are pupils in the school in question are for the most part insufficient as well. The majority of them (61) receive Swedish-as-a-second-language instruction. The Orthodox Church plays an important role in their lives. The active participation in Church matters is a vivid contrast to the highly secularised Swedish society. In many other ways, the values and mores of this community provide a contrast to the values and mores of the Swedish society. According to several of the teachers who have been interviewed, conflicts and disputes that occur in the community are brought into the school. For example, a pupil whose mother has divorced her Assyrian husband is discriminated by peers in the classroom since the community considers her mother's behaviour "immoral". Generally, traditional gender roles are maintained. Conflicts have been seen to arise between parents and teachers in regards to the role of the teacher: teaching is an authoritarian practice in the Assyrian culture as is parenting. Some parents have complained that Swedish teachers do not "act like adults," in accordance with what constitutes adult behaviour by their standards, and that they consequently do not win the respect of pupils.

In the following, a summary of the data collected in the teacher interviews will be presented. After this presentation, some of the data collected using the RCP scale and the teacher ranking will be presented.

Class Descriptions and Teachers' Overall Impressions

During the interviews, each teacher described her/his class. The variety of classroom situations that these descriptions revealed is interesting. The majority of the teachers described the indirect effects that unemployment, divorce and other family tragedies have on their pupils. Several teachers pointed out that the needs of children have accelerated, in proportion to the increase in cutbacks, affecting social services. In one class, the presence of two pupils with hearing impairments strongly influenced the character of the class. In another class an emotionally disturbed child seemed to fit in the class without unduly influencing the character of the class. One teacher described her class as the most interesting group of pupils she had had during her teaching career: "Each and every one of them is a strong individual in his or her own right."

During the course of the interviews, teachers distinguished between what came to be known as "good leaders" and "bad leaders" among their pupils. The good leaders were those pupils who were deemed to be socially competent and who supported their teachers, while the bad leaders were also deemed to be socially competent, but they were often in conflict with their teachers and posed problems for them. In relation to the "good" and "bad" student leaders, teachers were asked to define the methods these leaders used to maintain their position/status. According to the teachers, the "good" leaders gained and maintained their position/status primarily through their proficiency in Swedish, while the "bad" leaders gained and maintained their position/status by coercion. ("Bad" leaders either used physical violence or the threat of physical violence to force other pupils to obey and follow them.) Pupils who were weak academically and who lacked proficiency in Swedish could gain and maintain a "good" leader position/status by excelling in sports.

In conjuncture with this, we asked the teachers to describe the methods they used to curb disruptive behaviour in their classrooms. On this point teachers were less verbal. This is interpreted as a result of the fact that the methods that they have at their disposal are limited. Swedish laws prohibit the use of physical punishment, a situation that, in itself, is irreproachable. However, there have been cases in Sweden in which teachers have unjustly been accused of violence, making them wary of conflicts with disruptive pupils in which they may run the risk of false accusations. Ekstrand (1994) asserts that this legislation has given rise to problems. Among children and youths it is common knowledge that such legislation exists, and it may serve not only to deter adults from using physical punishment, but also to indirectly render them helpless when pupils become physically abusive. The threat of physical abuse and physical confrontation is becoming more common in Sweden (Vogel, 1994).

It became apparent that teachers are dependent to a large degree upon the "good" leaders in their classes to help them maintain order and to curb disruptive behaviour. As one male teacher said, "I have my group of strong girls upon whom I depend."

We finally asked teachers to discuss their pupils' expectations for the future with regard to their potential and to social expectations. In this context the concept of the proximal environment was found to be useful [3]. The proximal environment of these pupils offers a contrast to the Swedish culture, that is dominant outside of the housing complex in which the majority of these families live the greater part of their lives. One teacher said that it had become apparent that the majority of the pupils seldom leave the "Hill", a term commonly used to denote the area in which the school is located. Many pupils have never been in Stockholm, for example. She stressed that it is the policy of the teachers to interest pupils in activities in the community, in the hope that they will eventually seek participation in activities outside of their immediate surroundings, facilitating their languages skills and broadening their horizons, as it were. In the classroom context, teachers said that they often deal with pupils who define themselves in terms of opposition to the dominant Swedish culture. "I don't do that. Swedes do that. I am Syrian," is a common means by which some pupils define their identity. Marriage, non-martial sexual relations and non-marital births are issues that especially receive attention perhaps due to the fact that they are issues in which the social norms of the proximal environment of these pupils and the dominant social norms differ greatly and to the fact that these are areas of special interest to pupils in pre-puberty. There can be no doubt that these are especially important topics for female pupils.

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[3] The concept of the proximal environment to signify all those persons who constitute the immediate surroundings, as it were, for children is based upon an article by Brofenbrenner and Ceci (1994).

In this environment, there are many girls engaged in "cocooning" (Roosen, 1995). They dream, plan and prepare themselves for their sole occupation in the future as wives and mothers. There are, on the other hand, girls who seriously plan careers and seem more intent on assuming, at least in part, some of the attitudes and values of the dominant Swedish culture in which women combine work with their roles as wives and mothers, sometimes in opposition to the wishes of their parents and sometimes supported by their parents. However, the majority of the girls chose traditionally female occupations, something which they have in common with Swedish girls of their age. There are also boys who plan for their futures in terms of the dominant Swedish culture. There are several boys who have expressed interest in fields such as law and medicine. Others speak in term of becoming successful, without relating it to a specific occupation.

Teachers refer to their pupils' future occupations and future plans in relation to their proximal environment and in relation to the dominant culture. Teachers commonly use the expression, "if she/he gets off the Hill." In response to queries as to whether or not pupils' expectations were realistic, teachers consistently referred to pupils' expectations for their future occupations in relation to both of these worlds: the proximal environment that is their cultural setting, which in this case corresponds to their immediate physical surroundings, and the dominant Swedish culture, that can constitute a counter-culture for the pupils who define themselves in opposition to it.

Teachers pointed out that there is no future for many of the pupils included in this study outside of that which constitutes their immediate surroundings, the "Hill". This is due to the fact that their

Swedish language skills are insufficient. This has consequences for their school achievement and in extension for their futures. The drastically increasing numbers of students who leave high school without a diploma and the high level of unemployment that has been reached during the last few year can have far-reaching consequences for both the individual and society.

Teachers express concern for their pupils. However, only two teachers spoke of these problems in political terms, expressing a desire to see the *de facto* segregation of their pupils reduced. One of the teachers mentioned that a parent had confided in her, the parent's former teacher, that she was upset about the fact that her children did not speak Swedish well. When asked within the framework for the interviews, there were several other teachers who had had similar experiences with former pupils, now parents, who were concerned about the fact that their children spoke poor Swedish. The explanation that the principal offered for the low competence in Swedish among the second generation immigrants is that, when their parents came to Sweden as children, they came from countries in which education was considered extremely important. They strove to learn Swedish and to excel academically. However, according to the principal, "They found that one could get along without an education in Sweden," as the principal put it. Their children, in turn, do not strive to learn Swedish, nor do they strive to excel academically.

Cutbacks have been made for many years in the resources allotted to this school. At present new cutbacks have been announced, a fact that has caused bitterness among the staff. The teachers and staff are "frustrated". The size of the teaching staff has been reduced to a minimum. There are not sufficient funds for new school books. Extra resources for pupils who need special education and/or extra instruction are inadequate. Despite these difficulties, the teaching staff tries to arrange activities for their pupils, i.e. two teachers took their classes to ski at a mountain resort. The funds for the trip came from a variety of fund-raising activities that the teachers and pupils had undertaken together. Teachers have initiated school activities during the summer for pupils, although a lack of funds has limited activities to a two-week long summer school for first graders, only. During the week-long spring and autumn vacations teachers arrange activities for those children whose parents lack the resources to provide activities for their children during these school vacations.

Comparison of RCP and teacher ranking data

In this section a comparison of the results of the RCP scale completed by pupils and the data collected with the teacher ranking task will be undertaken. In the following a brief description of the general tendencies that have been found in a comparison between the pupils' assessment of socially competent behaviour and socially incompetent behaviour, as it is recorded in the RCP scores, and the teachers' assessment of socially competent behaviour and socially incompetent behaviour, as it is recorded in the teacher ranking task, is presented.

Teachers ranked their pupils, using a 5-point scale in which 5 represents the highest value and one the lowest. Thus, a ranking of 5 for sociability means that the pupil is ranked as being highly socially competent, while a ranking of 1 means that the pupil is ranked as having very little social competence. The scores that each pupil received on the RCP are included as recorded. A high score indicates that the pupil in question has been assigned a role/roles by many pupils who feel that the pupil has the characteristics that the role represents. In other words, a pupil who receives a high score for aggressive/disruptive behaviour is a pupil whom other pupils have assigned to roles that are characterised as aggressive/ disruptive. The scores children received from their classmates for social competence/leadership, aggressive/disruptive behaviour and sensitivity/ isolation were standardised within class and gender, in order to be able to use the scores independent of class. Since most of the children in the classes were immigrant children, we calculated the scores on the basis of the choices made by immigrant children. Taking the choices of the Swedish children as a starting point would mean that we would have missing values for many children, due to the fact that the relatively few Swedish children in this material do not even choose all children. The resulting z-scores were compared to the scores given by teachers. Table 1 presents the results (Pearson p.m. correlations, à =. 05).

Table 1.

The correspondence between teachers' and pupils' evaluations of children's' social competence/leadership, aggressive/disruptive behaviour and sensitivity/isolation (p<.001).

Teachers in X	Soc. Competence	Aggressive/ disrupt.	Sensitive/ isolated
	n = 123	n = 104	n = 123
imm. children	.59	.54	.31
imm. boys	.59	.54	.29
imm. girls	.59	.54	.31

The table shows that the agreement about children's social competence, aggressiveness and sensitivity between children and teachers is hardly influenced by the gender of the choosing children. The correlations for social competence and aggressiveness are moderate, but they are low for sensitivity. We also explored whether children or teachers evaluate that Assyrian children differ from the other children in their classes in regard to the three qualities of social behaviour we assessed. Both immigrant children and teachers agree that Assyrian children and other children do not differ in regard to social competence/leadership and aggressive/disruptive behaviour. They disagree, however, with regard to sensitivity/isolation. Again teachers see no difference between the two groups, while the immigrant children clearly mentioned non-Assyrian children (n = 44) more often (mean .52, s.d.2.2) than Assyrian children (n = 79, T= -.29, s.d. 1.5) for social roles representing sensitivity/isolation (T = -2.38, p<.02, two sided). The negative mean score of the Assyrian children suggests that immigrant children generally see them as assertive.

In the interviews as well, teachers disagreed with the pupils' perceptions of children as sensitive. One teacher commented in regard to a boy whom her pupils had identified as sensitive/isolated, " I don' t think of him in those terms. Sure, he is quiet, but he has a lot of integrity. I don't consider him to be as isolated as his classmates do". Several teachers used the expression, "it is a question of interpretation," as far as the discrepancies between their and their pupils' classification of sensitive pupils was concerned.

Discussion

The following questions guided this study: Are teachers culturally sensitive in their approach to children? To what extent are pupils' and teachers' interpretations of socially competent behaviour comparable?

On the basis of the data presented, we have found that pupils' and teachers' interpretations of socially competent behaviour appears to be comparable to some extent. The fact that a discrepancy exists between how pupils and teachers interpret sensitive behaviour can be interpreted as a justification for the assumption that teachers may not be culturally sensitive in their approach to their pupils. Furthermore, the fact that teachers in most cases found it difficult to accept their pupils' perceptions of classmates' behaviour as valid and insisted, instead, that their perceptions were "correct" may very well be the result of cultural insensitivity.

It is not possible to draw any conclusions, however, as to the source of discrepancy between how teachers and pupils interpret sensitivity. We suggest, however, that both the interpretation of and the expression of sensitive behaviour is culturally-bound. It is apparent from the results that teachers and pupils find it less difficult to agree on the interpretation of socially competent behaviour and aggressive behaviour than on the interpretation of sensitive behaviour. Whether or not this has to do with the successful transfer of teachers' "Swedish" norms to the pupils or the cross-cultural validity of the scale is difficult to say, as yet.

Within the framework of the school, it is possible that conflicts may arise due to the different interpretation that Assyrian pupils and teachers have in regards to socially competence behaviour. In the Swedish context, assertiveness is not valued as positive social behaviour. Assertive behaviour can easily be misinterpreted in the Swedish context as being pushy behaviour.

The teachers included in this study exhibit a deep commitment to their pupils. Although one can question the suitability of teachers who are apparently "burned out," it is evident that these teachers are committed to their pupils. On occasion we have had reason to reflect upon the caring role of teachers and the appropriateness of teachers becoming possessive in relation to their pupils, a trait that two of these teachers exhibited. With regard to the well-being of pupils, it is questionable whether possessive teacher behaviour is advisable. It is also doubtful if the practice of using "good leaders" as a means by which to curb the disruptive and aggressive behaviour of the "bad leaders" is the most optimal manner by which to monitor classroom interaction.

All of the teachers feel that their pupils' lack of language proficiency is a major problem as far as their academic achievement and their future careers are concerned. The teachers in this school know their pupils' parents, although they do not know them as well as they might due to parents' lack of Swedish language proficiency. A lack of Swedish language skills seems to be a source of disparity and even conflict for pupils and their parents alike. The long term consequences of decreased funds for Home Language instruction for this group of immigrant pupils may prove to be extensive.

We feel that further research is needed in regard to the extent to which teachers define their pupils as "good" or "bad" leaders, and the consequences this practice may have on pupils' attitude to leadership. We suggest that further research should be done on the topic of the different interpretations that are given to social behaviour and the effects this might have in the classroom context.

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Luca Queirolo Palmas, Francesco Barattini (Genova)

Local Educational Policies and the Schooling of Immigrants. A Case-Analysis of Genova Schools[1]

Introduction

This paper relates provisional and still open reflections, drawn from the research on schooling of nomads and immigrants in seven different Italian towns. Under the supervision of Genova University our inquiry makes use of various qualitative and quantitative techniques. We present here some considerations from the analysis of the case of Genova.

In the Italian schools, schooling of nomads and immigrants is organised by a set of regulations, only recently formalised in consequence of the great migration increase begun in the Eighties. The main components of these regulations are:

- free admittance to educational institutions;
- an integration-based educational organisation (e.g., opposition to the establishment of special courses for nomad and immigrant pupils, from which it comes the principle of displacing them in different classes);

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[1] Paragraphs 1, 2, 3 were written by Luca Queirolo Palmas, paragraphs 4 and 5 by Francesco Barattini

- centrality of activities directed to promote tolerance and cultural pluralism;
- choice of the class based both on age and previous education;
- insistence on Italian to be taught as a second language.

All these conditions, when they are applied, compel the school organisation to significant efforts for the realisation of the flexibility of offered teaching and the personalization of educational approaches, as they require the mobilisation of resources such as the training of teaching staff, and a wide-range structuring of intercultural didactics. The success of this project depends on the inner working of the educational system and not only on its admittance conditions.

Analysis of Local Policies

All the above conditions, even though many of them have legal power, are just a set of opportunities. Like Elster asserts (1989), social rules cause expectations and contribute to make other people's behaviour more foreseeable. Giddens (1976) separates constrictive and authoritative function of rules. Insistence on the latter aspect means that in the production of interactions all rule elements can be considered as a set of pretensions.

Our research's leading idea moves from the following thought: it is the local contest, with all its complexity, which directs the ways of appropriating the possibilities the law creates, develops their virtualities or emphasises their lacks, and transforms pretensions into actions. Local contest is an ambiguous expression in itself, meaning both the peripheral apparatus of the educational system (schools, districts, Provincial Education Offices), and the local

Public Bodies of territorial administration, and humanitarian associations, traditionally sensitive to emerging needs.

Local immigration's particularities (e.g., increase in family reunions; expansion of mixed marriages; increase in the years of stay in Italy with a continual stay in one town; increase in the amount of regularizations; the prevailing of official employments over hidden economy forms) represent variables explaining the evolution of the case we are here considering, so that the foreign pupils' schooling becomes one true index of this change in the single's immigration project. This is a first sign of an overcoming the double social space that is characteristic of immigrants: on the one hand, their disponibility to painful living and working conditions -often accompanied by marginality and social exclusion-, and on the other, the sense of prestige felt by people maintaining relatives from far away. These two aspects consequently reconstruct their ethnical and cultural belonging in mythical terms (Anderson 1995). Many migratory projects are based on a structural commuting between hard working periods abroad during the moments of higher profitability and showy (as Veblen says) consumption periods during long returns to the birth countries.

When we consider the local educational policies we find three typologies of subjects:

- first, we find the real decision makers, or those who govern the educational system,
- second, we find an institutional net, involving civil service peripherical terminals, local Public Bodies, a repressive legal machinery,
- last, we find the non-profit area, known in Italy as the private-social area.

An integration-addressed educational policy can be effective when all these subjects are able to interlace their acting lines, to coordinate their resources and competences, to word co-operatively polical and administrative decisions.

In the analysis of the Genova case, we have considered the immigrants' inserting processes in our educational system with the criteria accompanying this process (that is, all forms of support for the school integration, while we have noticed a radical division of intervents between gypsy and foreign youngsters.

Nomads in Genova Schools

Nomad communities living in the Genova district are lodged in four stay camps, generally provided with very precarious structures and services. Moreover, the displacement of camps has been often contested by local inhabitants. The issues concerning the Nomads are generally conflictual: there are conflicts among the social services that have nomad minors in their assignment and the single school where they are enrolled; there are conflicts among the schools, and there are conflicts between parents and teachers. The conflict dimension compels all the agents to very close co-operation forms in order to precisely regulate the case.

Given the above, an informal but working network among the Provincial Education Office, the Municipal Social Services and the Minors Court has been constituted. The common goal is the management of enrolments, so that nomads' presence is spread around more schools (at the moment there are 3 primary schools and 5 secondary schools, with a total of 103 nomad pupils). These schools can have recourse to additional teachers to attenuate conflicts, move towards specific educational approaches and, more rarely, to implement intercultural programs.

Some results have been produced in the field of attenuation of conflicts, while the reduction of absentees, the development of educational abilities and the transition from primary to secondary schools are still problematic. The network functions for organising enrolments and regularly frequencies. The Municipality reports the names of pupils for compulsory schooling to the territorial pertinence school, the Provincial Education Office distributes presences so that congestions are avoided, and the Minors Court directly intervenes in all cases of school evading. The Provincial Education Office assigns additional teachers and takes care of their refreshing. Municipality, with conventions with service co-operatives, manages nomad pupils' transport to school, subsidises refectory service and contributes educational instruments to the school.

In short, the policy of nomads' schooling has been organised around the general aim of basic education, integrally reached in almost ten years. On this aim, success and failure are computed with reference to the reduction of the degree of absenteeism (at the moment about 40%).

These initial results indicate however some paradoxical situations: in view of the oppositions of trained neighbourhood committees, the Municipal policy relating to the installation of camps fluctuates - entire families must move from one side of the town to the other for periods shorter than one year- and compels educational institutions to break with the educational continuity of enrolled nomads or to accept their minor frequency due to the distance between the camp and the school.

Integration of Foreign Pupils

The presence of foreign pupils in Genova schools is limited, when it is referred to absolute values, and very limited in comparison with the other E.C. countries, but it is high when it is considered in terms of its percentage (1% of the scholastic population) in relation to the national average (0,33% in the 1992/1993 school year). As a matter of fact, we remember that Liguria, the region where the Genova province is located, is the Italian region where the birth-rate has been the lowest in the last ten years, with a remarkable fall in the number of pupils in primary and secondary schools, which consequently stresses the foreigners' presence. (see Table 1 and 2)

Table 1 - Genova e Provincia - Foreign student's trend - 1995\96

Source: Provveditorato agli Studi di Genova, Ufficio studi e programmazione

	Infant	Primary	Low Secondary	Secondary	Total
1992-93	-	291	141	-	-
1993-94	-	345	164	165	-
1994-95	136	362	195	212	905
1995-96	141	433	210	237	1021

Table 2 - Genova e Provincia - Foreign student's ratio - 1995\1996

Source: Provveditorato agli Studi di Genova, Ufficio studi e programmazione

	Infant	Primary	Low Secondary	Secondary	Total
Foreign Student	141	433	210	237	1021
Total student	7880	26486	18226	28590	81182
Ratio (x 100)	1,36	1,63	1,15	0,83	1,26

Within the territory, foreign pupils is mainly gathered in the Genova metropolitan area, where two cases can be noted:

- a widespread dissemination of few pupils (1-5) in many schools (nearly all), and
- a high concentration of compulsory school age foreign pupils (15-30) in about ten scools, all located in areas with difficult social conditions (mainly in the Old Town), or in the nearness of the religious institutes housing immigrant minors.

Finally, their presence is almost only detectable in the public school. The size of the foreign pupils in the Genova province is continuously and gradually growing and is propagating from primary schools to the secondary.

In this sector, collaboration among the involved actors is remarkably low. The Provincial Education Office follows and stimulates all the aspects involving the inclusion, laboratory didactics and the teaching of Italian as a second language. With these policy areas in mind, it provides additional resources to the schools that show a convincing planning. The Municipality is more explicity oriented to the development of interventions on cultural exchanges and the promotion of admittance to vocational training in the schools within its competence. A record of contract between the Provincial Educational Office and the Municipality in order to integrate the double line of schooling and didactics, on the one hand, of interculturalism, and supports (refectories, books, libraries) on the other, has never been formally subscribed because of the problems of funding and costs sharing. The actions of non-profit organisations for foreign minors are rather limited and are fundamentally concentrated on intercultural aspects. In short, they have a witness role, but they initially had prominent importance in notifying the emergence of this problem.

The common general aim of the different agents is that of displacing or of territorially redistributing. As a matter of fact, in Genova there is a high concentration of immigrants in some quarters. More carefully examined, the displacing aim has a purely enunciation character: local Public Bodies do not have enough resources at their disposal for conditioning the choice of settlement of the immigrants, while the rent market is still rewarding strategies directed to spatial concentration because they are cheaper and more rational. This situation is mirrored in analogous terms on the educational policies level: the aim of displacing foreigners on more schools depends on the immigrants' choice of settlement area and goes against the school organisation machinery. The dispersal of migrants to many different schools requires a growing availability of additional resources in order to implement specific educational approaches and other integrative projects. Every year in the Genova province there are only 20 additional teachers per about 1100 foreign pupils and 100 nomads.

The consequent situation is the following: either a policy is pursued, of displacing presences with a renounce to the support for the schools, or a policy is preferred, not only of easy admittance, but also of maintaining the concentrated character of the school's enrolments. The only way out from this bottle neck concerns organizative reform,

- on a micro-level by means of the establishment of a pool of schools and of teachers connections,
- on a macro-level by means of a policy of extension of the spaces of mobility and flexibility of teachers.

The Prisoner's Dilemma in the Welfare State Crisis

Why then a whole of actors succeeds on reaching a high level of collaboration in some aspects, while on other issues the plain intentionality of all the actors is not enough for producing the same gap in the formulation of public policies? Games' theory formalises the figure of the prisoner's dilemma (PD). It is the reasoning model (as Bagnasco writes) that supposes a situation "where two people must decide whether collaborate -and they both would have advantages from that- or not, without knowing what is the other doing. From this situation it comes that they both decide not to collaborate since it seems more rational. As a matter of fact, the decision of doing what is due exposes to the risk that the other doesn't behave the same, with the consequence of loosing resources, energies and the invested time. Advantages possibly deriving from a collaboration fade away: if there isn't a reason justifying reciprocal trust the two people will not collaborate, at least for not to loose. They are prisoners of the situation they are in " (1996:75).

In the case we briefly described, the situation is slightly different because there is a set of rules acting above the single agents and the networking aim seems to be widely shared; nevertheless these rules neither can make behaviours foreseeable, nor explicitly include instruments able to prime a collaboration among the different players. The point of the problem just lays on the technology of social action, as Jon Elster affirms; that is to say, on a system of positive and negative stimulations leading to collaboration. Structurally examined, all the local educational policies of foreigners' schooling must reckon with a lack of both material and immaterial resources at disposal. More generally, it depends on the local forms of structural adjustment of Italian public deficit and of overcoming the national fiscal crisis. That is to say, decentralisation of competences and roles to peripherical public services without a proportional passage of financial endowments or without the possibility of making an autonomous imposition of taxes. On the other hand, from the welfare state crisis comes the growing importance of the whole non-profit sector.

For the agents, to find additional resources for social policies involves political costs higher than the benefits they expect. More generally, inclusion policies can rely on resources produced by an improvement of the system efficiency and not on expectations of growing social investments. The lean production model, where competitiveness is depending on a constant reduction of the manufacturing process fat pockets, seems to be consequently transferred on a political level.

The motivation to interlace policies doesn't seem to be a sufficient condition for collective action. In the case of nomad minors' schooling the high degree of the conflict has nevertheless the effect of producing a punctual solidarity among political and educational decision makers in relation to a strong aim of social control of this case: global advantages of collaboration seem clearly more than the specific costs it involves. It is a contributing factor the time-effect, after ten years of interactions among the involved agents, a factor that Axelrod shows as a constitutive element of a repeated prisoner's game, thinking it is able to reduct defection choices. But in the case of non-E.U.-citizen minors' schooling the relative novelty of the case, the impossibility of reducing the integration problem to social control, the lower weight of the conflict and its transversal and framed acting on the determiners, and the lack of resources joint with the integration policies nationally formalised contribute to rationally develop strategies with a lower degree of collaboration.

In conclusion, this short excursion on the local policies reveals how ruling machineries are a set of opportunities to which the acting of the single subjects can stick, but in the same time it points out how the receiving and applying of those rules depend on the multiple forms within agents' motivations combine with the material and immaterial resources they have at disposal.

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Karmen Trasberg (Tartu)

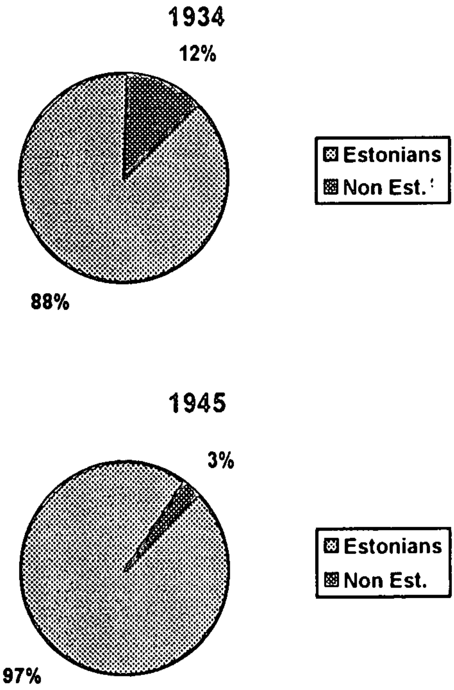
Integration of Russian-speaking Students into Estonian Society

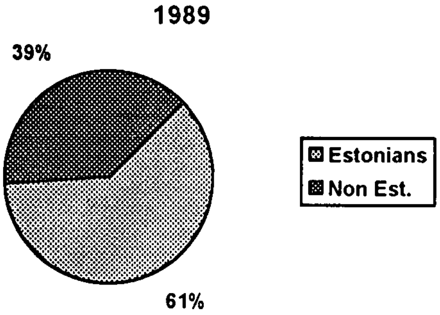
In many parts of the world , the problems of identity and the purpose to obtain and maintain cultural autonomy of nations grow every day. The retention and development of national cultures is one of the guarantees for peaceful coexistence in every society. The aspirations of the minorities for the cultural autonomy are closely connected with the possibilities for obtaining education.

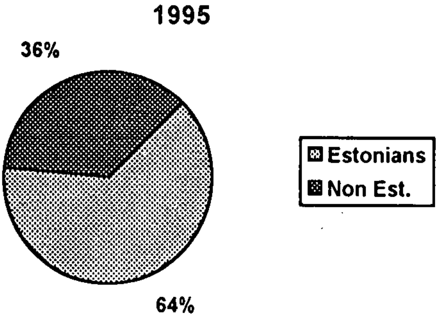
Societies become more and more multinational. Today heated discussions concerning bilingual education are being held. Learning and teaching languages is a very important issue in many parts of the world. Estonia is not an exception. Opening the society and moving towards the European Union requires from the society to follow the way of modern integration. However, the subject of the minority problems in the Estonian context has some differences which can hardly be found in any other European country. At least we used to think so.

Estonians have lived on their present territory of rather stable boundaries for more than 5000 years, being in this respect one of the oldest nations in Europe. After being ruled by different nations for 700 years, the Estonians could still persist as a distinct ethno-cultural entity. During the years of own statehood (1918-40), Estonia had several ethnic minorities (Swedes, Russians, Germans). Minorities formed about 12% of the whole population. As a result of the Second World War, German and Soviet occupation and repressions, Estonia lost 1/5 of its population including its traditional minorities - German, Swedes and egalitarian groups of the Russian community. Being incorporated into the Soviet Union, massive immigration flow, mainly from Russia, took place. The impact of the changed geopolitical situation is reflected in radical shifts in the composition of the population (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Ethno-demographic situation in Estonia







Today by the term "minorities" we in general mean Russians. To be honest, they are not the only minority group. There are many other nations in Estonia as well. In 1994 Estonia had a population of 1,506,900 of whom 962,3 thousands were Estonians, 436,5 thousands Russians, 40,5 thousands Ukrainians, 23,6 thousands Belorussians, 15,1 thousands Finns, and in addition other nationalities with a relatively small number of representatives. The legal status of the language of instruction is regulated by the Law on the State Language and laws on educational institutions, according to which the language of instruction in state educational institutions (incl. universities and applied higher educational institutions) is determined by the Ministry of Education; in municipal schools by the council of the local government and in private schools by the owner.

During the Soviet period, Estonia had a bilingual education system, with a high representation of Russian language and culture in Estonian schools. At the same time the teaching of the Estonian language and introducing Estonian culture to Russian-speaking schools was unsatisfactory. Russian schools in Estonia followed All-Union curricula, thus consciously ignoring Estonian culture. The children from migrant families grew up virtually without knowledge of the Estonian language and were isolated from the Estonian community. But the ethno-linguistic division of education did not cause any remarkable inequality as to the level of education.

Estonia's strategy in education must proceed from the fact that the education will be based predominantly on different languages also in the future. But the national minorities, which have only cultural autonomy, are able to provide only limited schooling in their own languages. Estonia has to work hard to unify national curriculum of Estonian and non-Estonian schools. In this, the following is of primary importance:

- the teaching of the Estonian language, history and culture in all schools;
- the integration of humanitarian values of European culture;
- keeping of cross-cultural contacts with neighbouring nations, ethnic groups of which are living in Estonia.

The further development of ethno-cultural identity of the non-Estonian groups would obviously differ to some extent from the cultural development in Russia and other post-Soviet states.

From a theoretical point of view and considering also practical needs, it is important to know whether the culture of establishing minorities and foremost the Russians will develop as:

- the cultural periphery of the Russian (or other) culture?

- or as a local variant of the entire cultural system?
- or as a cultural convert and cross-cultural bridge between Estonia and the other nations?

The current situation corresponds more or less to the first option. It is to say - being some kind of cultural periphery. Speaking about the further ideal type of development, that should be the formation of the local version of minorities' culture which can play the role of a cultural bridge between the Estonians and the other nations. The relationship between the minorities and the Estonians is different from the past. All of them have got a new status as a result of Estonia's independence since 1991. The psychological adaptation has been somewhat difficult to the Russians. Before the independence of Estonia, they used to have majority in the former Soviet Union. Now they are in the role of the minority in a small country.

In the 1990s, the transition period of the development of the education in Estonia began: new educational laws were adopted, programs carried out, textbooks published, and a principally new curriculum designed. This process is going on both in Estonian and in Russian schools where the education of minority is only one problem area among the others.

We have some difficult problems today. First, because of psychological reorientation, it seems to be obvious that any representative of the great Russian nation has to acknowledge his belonging to a minority in new social conditions. They have to adjust to the new status of their mother tongue. This process may require a considerable period of time. Our results from the studies in the recent years show that significant changes have taken place in motivation to learn the Estonian language, which has become "more popular" among minorities.

Second, it is much easier to introduce a new curriculum, adopt new laws, change topics and programs, than to put them into practice. The schools with Russian-language instruction have an additional task of integrating other language speakers into the Estonian society. The Law on Basic and Secondary School, approved in September 1993, foresees the transfer to Estonian-language instruction in all state and municipal gymnasiums by the year 2000. The basic Russian-language schools must give their students sufficient knowledge of Estonian for that purpose. But today we have only 40 per cent of the teachers who have graduated from university as professional teachers of Estonian as well as foreign language. Hence it is difficult to reach the desired level during the next four years.

Third, the current issue is the new status of the Estonian language and the content of the examination for naturalisation as a citizen. The language test requires not only fluent Estonian, but also extensive knowledge of the facts concerning the country where they live. Traditional courses of the Estonian language cannot give the desired results. It means that it is necessary to introduce new subjects and that the whole system must be changed. This gives rise to a new conception of a "Russian school in Estonia" which, in principle, is different from a "Russian school in Russia". Such developmental logic is typical of all the previous republics of the Soviet Union.

We have missed a special organisation for studying and resolving the educational problems of the minority at the state level. In July 1993, the "Round Table of Nations" was called into existence. That special institution focuses on socio-economic and national problems, including education. Under the guidance of the Representative of the President, teachers discussed the perspectives of Russian schools in Estonia. All the participants have agreed that we have only one perspective for Russian schools - *integration*.

The general opinion of the Russian-speaking community is that general education in all forms should be given in Russian, but the teaching of the official language should be more effective. The problem is especially urgent in these regions where the Estonian speaking environment almost does not exist and it is possible to learn the language only in the Estonian language lessons. The Estonian experience has shown that teaching these students only in language lessons has not made it possible to integrate Russian-speaking students into Estonian society.

At the University of Tartu, the project: *SOFT INTEGRATION INTO ESTONIAN SOCIETY* is being carried out. One possibility for soft integration is a set of subjects called *ESTICA*. The program consists of everything that concerns Estonia in general (country study, literature, geography, culture studies) and is being taught in the Estonian language. The "Soft Integration" aims are to improve language skills, teaching of the Estonian culture. The program gradually adjusts the traditions and customs of the other nations without any prejudice. Also, the program teaches how to adjust to the norms and values of Estonian society and find ways in understanding and acquiring them.

Today the motivation for Estonian language studies is very high among Russian students. Recent studies show that Estonian language has the first place among the other subjects in Russian schools. That supports the integration processes. Estonian society does not need very fast and intense integration processes.

Some 400 pupils of Russian schools participated in the ESTICA experiment. For them, three experimental textbooks were published, that have had remarkable success. The general introduction of ESTICA will take place in the forthcoming century.

Estonia has been an independent state for five years already and the question of Russian speaking people has still not been solved. This question is the main political pointer of balance and it needs a solution in the future as soon as possible. We have to understand that the future of the Russian school is very closely connected to Estonian future.

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Zoltán Vastagh (Pécs)

Conflicts and Co-operative Pedagogical Strategies in the Context of Multicultural Education

Introduction

"Humanity is running a race with itself. As technology develops, the destruction of humanity looms ahead more and more threateningly." These words written by Lorenz in 1988 warn us that our world is in danger and if we intend to save it, some urgent steps are to be taken in the field of public education and teacher training. Efforts should be made to help pupils to learn not only the teaching material at schools, but the established values of life as well. The adaptation of this new approach will result in significant changes in all aspects of education from objectives to methodology.

The Marxist ideology that prevailed in Hungary over the last decades did not favour the search for different ideas, or better alternatives. Although the change of regime in 1989 created a radically new situation, the transition has brought a lot of difficulties and the new endeavours are still rather feeble.

It is a promising development that the ecological approach is gaining ground. As Lányi (1990) put it, ecology has revealed that only associations based on diversity are fit life, true cohesion can be developed only between different entities. In pedagogy the acceptance of diversity means that we can accept the variations in the cultural, religious and personality values of the pupils and develop activities that enhance this attitude. Speciousness should be avoided. Real qualitative improvement cannot be achieved without a complete renewal (change of paradigm). We must face conflicts as they arise, and find more efficient methods for the transfer of values and norms, as well as more human techniques for the resolution of conflicts.

The Department of Pedagogy at Janus Pannonius University developed a new model for teacher training as early as the 1970s. This meant a shift from the traditional training that focused mainly on subject-matter to a more person-oriented (or functional) training. Since then more attention has been paid to the personality of the trainees: our goal is to develop a kind of co-operation which will induce them to make efforts for self-improvement on their own.

A team is working at the Department developed a model for the analysis of pedagogical conflicts (Komlósi, Dudás and Vastagh, 1987). In addition to the standard components of training, i.e. lectures and practicum, we introduced a special component for the development of skills which runs parallel with the other courses. Although this practical and person-oriented model proved very successful (Vastagh, 1988), due to lack of resources only a part of it has been implemented so far.

Integration of the New Attitude into the Educational System

Teacher training and public education can work efficiently only if curriculum is regularly updated. We found the activities of an American team particularly useful in this respect (Boy and Pine, 1988). What they did was to integrate the requirements of psychosocial development into the training of teachers so that it could be incorporated into their school work. In terms of the psychosocial conception of education, the teacher contributes to the development of the pupils as individuals in their own setting and in the course of collective activities. In this conception the quality and standard of the time, spent together with the pupils are the basic values. This is in a good agreement with the theory of "experience sharing" described by Mérei (1947).

The exercises related to psychosocial development are the following:

- to gain experiences in self-understanding and self-valuation,
- to set intellectual objectives and make efforts to realise them,
- to defer fulfilment of desires, recognise true sources of pleasure,
- to practice independent decision-making,
- to take responsibility for one's own behaviour,
- to practice living independently from others,
- to establish communicative relations with others,
- to practice how to endure conflicts and solve problems.

Researchers have pointed out that these exercises have to be present in every curriculum from the kindergarten to the university. In practice, however, this systematic process of development is difficult to realise because of conflicting interests. Coxhead (1992) reveals that the Irish curriculum developers, for example, have incorporated the methods of managing social conflicts into a very carefully deliberated system. This curriculum includes among others topics like mutual understanding, cultural heritage, public health and communication. Making pupils aware of feelings and developing this awareness is also part of this curriculum. Bell (1994) reviewed the main objectives of education in the various European countries. He summarised the perceptible results of intercultural efforts. He emphasised the importance of incorporating the following values into educational system: global environment, understanding different cultures, personal identity, national identity, and European citizenship.

As provided by the 1993 Act on Public Education, a National Core Curriculum was developed for Hungarian schools in 1995. This curriculum integrates the following areas of education: mother tongue, literature, one modern foreign language, mathematics, man and nature, the earth and our environment, arts, informatics, human life and technology, physical education and sports. In addition, special attention is paid to teaching Hungary's relations to Europe and the other parts of the world, as well as the environment and communication skills.

The National Core Curriculum contains a separate chapter on the specific principles governing the education of national and ethnic minorities. These principles include the conservation of their identities (together with the acquisition of their own, other tongues, getting familiar with their historical and cultural traditions, the acceptance of diversity, tolerance and co-operation). An important objective is to ensure that "pupils coming from the minority groups and the majority together should participate in education relating the minorities living in the country and learn -according to the parents' wish- the language of the particular minority". This intercultural program fosters the school performance of the pupils from minority groups and helps them to fit in society more easily. The document supports special projects enabling Gypsies to catch up with the majority (within or outside the curriculum, in groups or individually).

The implementation of the National Core Curriculum is in progress and will be complemented with a unified system of requirements and examinations.

Schooling of Minorities in Hungary

The census in 1990 provided the following data on the number and percentage of national and ethnic minorities in Hungarian schools:

Minority group	Number	Percentage
Gypsy	48 072	0.46
German	37 511	0.36
Croatian	17 577	0.17
Slovak	12 745	0.12
Rumanian	8 730	0.08
Polish	3 788	0.04
Serb	2 953	0.03
Slovene	2 627	0.03
Greek	1 640	0.02
Bulgarian	1 370	0.01
Ukrainian, Russian	674	0.01
Armenian	37	0.00
TOTAL	137 724	1.33

In Hungary minorities are scattered all over the country. The main reason for that, especially in the case of Germans and Slovaks, is the policy of forced relocation after the World War II. As a result of this policy, Hungarians are now an overwhelming majority (more than 75%) in the settlement areas of minorities. The use of minority languages is also declining. This is explained by that before the change of regime the minorities had no right to establish their own organisations. The number of mixed marriages is increasing, which also contributes to the dominance of the majority language.

The 1993 Act on Minorities guarantees the schools for minorities, the training of teachers for these schools and also the good relations with the parent country as well as the availability of educational material. In spite of this support, experience has shown a decline in the education of minorities except for the Germans.

The following three types of schooling are available for minorities:

1. Courses in the minority language,
2. Bilingual education (where some school subjects are taught in the minority language),
3. Minority schools (where practically every subject is taught in the language of the minority).

Most of the schools belong to the first type. Hardly any schools belong to the third type, because children of minority do not speak their mother tongue.

The position of the Gypsy population must be treated separately. Most of the Gypsies live below subsistence level. The number of the unemployed is the highest in this ethnic group. Their health and housing conditions are extremely poor. Their number is estimated to be about 500 000, and is continuously increasing. The number of Gypsy pupils is around 20-25% in some schools. The problems they have to face are aggravated by the existing prejudices. In the classes they are usually segregated and often drop out. In 1993, only 13% of the Gypsy population was qualified as skilled worker and only 1% got the GCSE. (Halász and Lanner, 1996). The cultural traditions and characteristic organisations of the Gypsies have disintegrated, and they are only beginning to rise into the middle-class. Government projects and other national regional projects have started to remedy the present situation. In the long run, experiments aimed at offering better schooling opportunities for the gypsy population are promising.

Our department has been engaged in interdisciplinary studies and research concerning the development of schools for some time now (Vámagy, 1993). The only secondary school for Gypsies in Hungary was established in Pécs, in 1994. A department of Gypsy studies was recently founded at the Teacher Training College of Zsámbék. All these efforts are strongly dependent on availability of resources.

In conclusion it can be stated that the tensions experienced all over the world and also in our immediate environment make it imperative to improve the skills and support the personalities of educators. The main task of the Department is to experiment with the efficient methods of teacher training, focusing both on the individual, and the school and promote those which prove to be successful.

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III.

Teacher Education

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The European Dimension in Initial Teacher Education: Curriculum Issues

The creation of the European Economic Area (EEA) and global economies in the world have brought a new pragmatism, and, created new demands and challenges for educational systems to prepare young people to live and work successfully in a multicultural, multilingual, international community. As we approach the 21st century, a megatrend for education world-wide is its europeanisation and internationalisation. In a community where there are increasingly more opportunities for international collaboration, teachers and other professionals need to be prepared more effectively. This paper discusses a case of curriculum innovation when introducing a module on "Europe and Education", for British and ERASMUS students, in a British University.

The European Economic Area: A World Economic Power

The European Economic Community (EEC), fundamentally an economic entity, has grown up to play a leadership role in world trade and has gradually taken up political responsibilities too. In January 1993 the Community met its target for the creation of a frontier-free internal market. The European Economic Area (EEA), formed on 1st January 1993, includes the 19 member states of the

EC and the EFTA countries (Austria, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Iceland, Switzerland, Liechtenstein). The four fundamental freedoms of the EC - the free movement of goods, services, capital and people - have been extended to the EFTA countries. Thus, the world's biggest integrated market, the EEA, has about 380 million consumers stretching from the Arctic to the Mediterranean and it accounts for almost half of the world trade. At present the EU, USA and Japan are the three pillars,

> "on which the global system of pluralism, democracy and market economy is built. Solutions to specific international economic and even political problems will depend on a common approach by all three". (Commission of the European Communities 1993, p. 4).

Demographic ageing, however, presents a problem for Europe when considering the population explosion world-wide. Demography, global competitive forces and the changing nature of employment due to modern technology, are three powerful sources influencing the future of work (DES, 1988) and so of the world. Demographic changes can have serious implications for employment, the use of leisure, social life, economic growth, competitiveness and so on. In 1991, the European Community had 340 million citizens and 130 million people were aged under 25 years old. The success and the future of the European Economic Area largely depends on the abilities, skills and qualities of these young people (Commission of the European Communities 1991, p.2).

As we approach the 21st century, education faces many challenges. Articles 126 and 127 in chapter 3 of the Maastricht Treaty, drew attention to the development of distance education, the learning of languages, the use of modern technology, vocational integration into the labour market, adaptation to industrial changes and co-operation between educational and training establishments. Moreover other challenges include access to education, equal opportunities, lifelong learning, a decline in public financial support, linking the academic and technical spheres of knowledge etc. A megatrend for education world-wide is its europeanisation and internationalisation. The quality of education and vocational training systems is a crucial factor for the success of the European Economic Area in a competitive, global environment. Its success depends on a well-qualified, highly skilled, workforce but also on "people who have the capability to operate across national and cultural boundaries" (Memorandum on Higher Education in the European Community, December 1991). Education, as the Commission of the European Communities pointed out in 1992, is

> "a key issue for debate among the Member States of the European Community and it has a higher priority than ever before" (p.5).

The EU has launched several programmes to enable young people to move around and to contribute to the europeanisation process in higher education and vocational training. Some examples are "Youth for Europe", ERASMUS, LINGUA, COMETT, PETRA etc. The freedom of movement is also encouraged by the transferability and mutual recognition of educational and professional qualifications in member states, under arrangements adopted at EU level. But, it is essential to equip young people with appropriate knowledge, understanding, skills and attitudes so they can respond to the new challenges and opportunities. As official documentation can show, the European Dimension in education does not only concern knowledge of European matters, but, most importantly, the development of such attitudes, concepts and values like democracy, human rights, interdependence, unity, tolerance, diversity, equality, social justice, peace, concern for the global environment, respect for an inherent, common wealth of European civilisation and so on (Bell 1991, Shennan 1991).

The European Dimension in Education

The European Dimension (ED) in education is a key concept and a strategy of the EU to promote European awareness and citizenship and help the success of the Single Market. Firstly, the concept appeared in the Resolution of the Council of Ministers of Education of the Community in December 1976. A significant step for the strengthening of European awareness and identity has been the Resolution adopted by the EC Council of Ministers on 24 March 1988. This required member states to set out their policies for the incorporation of the ED in education and to implement a number of measures and actions (88/C177/02). It aimed:

- to strengthen young people's sense of European identity;
- to prepare them to take part in the economic and social development of the Community, as stipulated in the Single European Act;
- to make them aware of the advantages and challenges the Commission presents;
- to improve their knowledge of the EC and to realise the significance of the co-operation of the member states with other countries of Europe and the world.

All member states have now a statement of policy with objectives for the ED in education. The British government, in February 1991, published its statement of policy aiming at:

- helping pupils and students to acquire a view of Europe as a multicultural, multilingual community which includes the UK;
- encouraging awareness of the variety of European histories, geographies and cultures;

- preparing young people to take part in the economic and social development of Europe and making them aware of the opportunities and challenges that arise;
- encouraging interest in and improving competence in other European languages;
- imparting knowledge of political, economic and social developments, past, present and future, including knowledge about the origins, workings and role of the EC;
- promoting a sense of European identity, through first hand experience of other countries where appropriate;
- promoting an understanding of the EC's interdependence with the rest of Europe, and, with the rest of the world.

Thus, teachers are expected to encourage European awareness of the geographical diversity of the European region, the political and social structures, the historical forces that shaped Europe, the multilingual nature of Europe and cultural wealth, the need for collective responses to the economic, ecological, social and political challenges, as well as respect for religion and moral values, tolerance of other races and so on (Bell 1991, Shennan 1991, DES 1992).

Schools and teachers, therefore, face new challenges and opportunities. According to DES (1992) these challenges are the development of European awareness in a school curriculum policy statement, linking this with multicultural education, an examination of the potential of ED in various national curriculum subjects, the identification of possible ways of teaching about Europe in the curriculum and the provision of resources. Moreover, COMENIUS, which is part of the SOCRATES programme during 1995-1999, provides new opportunities in the areas of multilateral school partnerships and European education projects, intercultural education, and in-service training.

The European Dimension in education, however, presents various problems and issues. The concept is a complex one and it is not very clear to the various interested groups, e.g. teachers, administrators, trainers, students, parents etc. Some important issues include the agreement over a common school curriculum or not, the definition of an appropriate curriculum content, the use of appropriate teaching and learning methods, the provision of teaching materials and resources, the need for specialist teaching staff or not, staff development for European awareness, positive attitudes towards other cultures, language learning, IT skills, etc. One may ask, how feasible or successful can the idea of the ED in education be, given the different organisational structures, institutional constraints and everyday practices? This remains to be seen in the future. Teachers are key agents for children's socialisation, curriculum innovation and the process of europeanisation in education. There is an urgent need for the European teacher to reflect on the concept of ED, to re-examine one's own beliefs, attitudes and practices, to have an open-minded spirit, to look for and share good practice with other schools, to find resources for the classroom, to attend European awareness sessions, to learn foreign languages and so on. In a "People's Europe", teachers and other professionals can move freely to work in other member states. But, educational systems can vary a lot in terms of the school curriculum, the teaching and learning situation, resources, the role of parents, cultural expectations and other areas. Initial and in-service training need to prepare teachers more effectively for the schools of the new Europe.

Developing the European Teacher

The European Dimension in teacher education is supported by student and staff mobility in higher education institutions, curriculum development, the recognition of programmes of study and transferability of professional qualifications, school multilateral partnerships, European projects, staff development and so on (e.g. ERASMUS, COMENIUS and other EU programmes and actions).

ERASMUS (European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students) has been a well-known, successful programme in teacher education and higher education generally. It will be succeeded by the new SOCRATES programme in 1997-98. This enables individuals to acquire first hand experiences of the educational systems and the socio-economic life in other member states. In addition, mobility for teaching staff aims to improve the quality of training across Europe. ERASMUS, COMETT and LINGUA were introduced in 1987 and the TEMPUS programme in 1990-91; the latter provides for the needs of central and eastern Europe. Benefits of ERASMUS include students' experiences of new courses, teaching and learning methods and resources in the home institution, proficiency in languages, development of communication and problem solving skills, intercultural understanding etc. Student teachers can acquire first hand experiences of schools in other member states, collect resources, and make contacts and friendships with other European teachers for networking in future. But, the preparation of students for visiting a host institution or country is an important issue for ERASMUS to be a more effective and useful experience.

Research findings from various ERASMUS reports have shown that generally students assessed cultural and linguistic outcomes more positively than academic outcomes. Although students acquired much knowledge, opinions of the host country and stereotypes on the whole did not change substantially (Reilly 1993). ERASMUS is an expensive EU programme, serving a limited number of students, but it will always be a vital source and an effective strategy for first hand experiences, European mobility and citizenship. Currently, other areas of great interest for the europeanisation of higher education include the academic recognition or transferability of credits and programmes across institutions, the use of open, distance learning and curriculum development.

Next, the paper discusses a case of curriculum innovation when introducing a module on "Europe and Education", for British and ERASMUS students, in a department of Education Studies in a British University. A research study in that institution highlighted the need for curriculum development and europeanisation of university experience (Alexopoulou and Holmes, 1995). All fifty students from eight different departments agreed there was a distinct lack of European awareness and knowledge in the curriculum of their programmes of study. Students considered that European knowledge in the curriculum and their university experience is "quite important" (36.1%), "important" (27.8%) and "very important" (18.1%). Moreover, 76.1% of the sample thought that European knowledge is important for employment. All students showed enthusiasm for having ERASMUS students in their classes, but only some of them had met a few ERASMUS students. Concerning the level of European knowledge, 33.9% of the respondents replied they "knew enough", 31.9% "knew very little" and 16.1% "knew nothing". More than half of the sample pointed out that information about Europe mainly came from newspapers and the media, and not from their university curriculum. If this data is representative, then it seems that some higher education institutions may need to prepare students more adequately for life and work in the new, united Europe.

In 1995, the new "Europe and Education" module was introduced in semester two for the first time and it has been attended by students in the BA Combined Honours degree studying education and another subject area, and by ERASMUS students from Germany, Greece and Spain, so far. The tutor kept a research diary and more data were collected by the use of questionnaires and interviews with students. Firstly, one of the common answers for choosing the module was that "it is new" or "it is different". This can show that some students need to recognise more the significance of European knowledge for their profession and life in the new Europe.

Dissemination of appropriate information, training of staff and an appropriate institutional ethos could help for the above. All students said they enjoyed a lot and found most interesting the presence of ERASMUS students in the module. This proved to be a very useful resource for the teaching and learning situation in the classroom. ERASMUS students offered first hand knowledge and experiences of their educational systems and cultures which often led to lively discussions and reflection on the commonalities and differences in education and socio-political life. The above had often motivated all students to participate in sessions. Sometimes discussions moved away from the focus of sessions but this was still useful as information about other educational and cultural topics was provided, serving the European Dimension both in spirit and objectives.

Most of the students pointed to such benefits of the course like an increase of their European awareness, of feelings of European identity and citizenship, and of knowledge about education or cultures in Europe and opportunities available for young people. The module also helped students to learn about, recognise and respect similarities and differences in education and socio-cultural life, and, it encouraged co-operation, tolerance, respect for other cultures and reflection on one's own beliefs and attitudes. It was rewarding when a few British and ERASMUS students mentioned that it was one of the best courses in their degree programmes. Student presentations, as an assessment strategy, promoted literature search skills, independent learning and team work skills. Further, two students participated in an ERASMUS Intensive Course for one week at Crete University in Greece and presented their research projects. Two Greek ERASMUS students produced a booklet about life in their host institution and town. In 1996, two ERASMUS students from Spain and Greece carried out research in British schools. All the above were useful for curriculum development and helped students to improve their research skills which are important for University and life generally.

Organising modules on European education can be a lengthy and not easy task. Some resources may not be available in all institutions, e.g. library materials, tutors with enthusiasm and expertise in this field, ERASMUS students etc. The literature is still limited compared to other areas. Networking with colleagues abroad can be useful for the provision of curriculum documents, videos, photographs etc. Visits to international conferences or abroad also offer opportunities for collection of materials. For instance, the tutor in this module had videos from schools in Norway, Greece, Thailand etc. The presence of ERASMUS students, however, will always be a most useful resource providing for a rich, fruitful interaction in classrooms. In the first year, in 1995, there was a small group of students but the room allocated was too big and the lighting conditions were not suitable for the use of overhead transparencies. It is important to provide an appropriate room for such courses so as to encourage classroom interaction patterns and learning activities which promote group work, co-operation, and the ED spirit generally. In addition, as a student suggested, it would be useful to organise a social event in the beginning of the module every year for individuals to get to know each other better. The above could be helpful for some British students too, as the research showed that most of the ERASMUS students felt that British students needed to approach more, and become more open or sociable with, ERASMUS or non-British students. H.E. institutions need to make better use of, or create new, opportunities in order to encourage a greater interaction between British and ERASMUS students.

Furthermore, British and ERASMUS students often have different educational experiences and expectations which may affect academic achievement, student satisfaction or other areas. The research showed many examples of the way practices varied, compared with other universities in Europe, including smaller numbers of students in classrooms at British universities, the use of group work, workshops, or videos, assessment methods involving student presentations, critical reviews of articles, research projects, a theoretical or practical emphasis in sessions, the use of databases for literature search, IT skills and so on. The Greek ERASMUS students said they had not been used to the presence of mature students and so they felt very surprised and reserved in the classroom in the beginning. Cunningham (1993) pointed out that British ERASMUS students are

> "still more likely than their European counterparts to have an informal, challenging relationship with their teachers, to manage some of their own learning with greater freedom of choice, and to expect more personal attention from tutors. It is not surprising that exposure to more didactic, formal, less participatory approaches produces discomfort, especially where this is accompanied by welfare-related problems. It can be equally threatening for continental students in British Universities to encounter expectations of more involved and assertive behaviour on their part"
>
> (Cunningham, 1993,p.16).

Tutors, therefore, need to show sensitivity and understanding, provide time and put effort to help ERASMUS students to adapt and develop their potential. More research would be useful to explore the impact of different higher education systems on the experiences of ERASMUS students from various EU member states. In modules on European education, the tutor's knowledge, skills, experiences, personality and enthusiasm about Europe are crucial for the success of the course, serving so the ED spirit and objectives. A Europe-friendly climate or ethos in departments and institutions is also very important. More research is needed to explore the impact of such courses on students and staff at individual, group, departmental and University levels.

In a community where there are increasingly more opportunities for international collaboration, teachers and other professionals need to be prepared more effectively. Teacher education programmes should offer appropriate knowledge, skills, attitudes and experiences, in three main areas: European education, Professional education and Personal education. The curriculum needs to consider more seriously such topics like the European Dimension, European educational systems, citizenship, human rights, media, IT, intercultural education, language awareness and environmental issues. Then, issues of curriculum coherence, breadth, balance and progression in programmes of study will have to be examined. It would be useful if student teachers carried out some of their school practice in schools abroad. In a "People's Europe", personal development is very important and training should encourage communication, interpersonal and conflict resolution skills, assertiveness, sensitivity and respect towards other cultures, empathy, an open-minded spirit, a desire to travel, a deep commitment for honesty, tolerance, social justice and ethics. Higher education institutions must re-examine their structures, policies and practices so as to respond to new challenges. The europeanisation process in higher education requires a careful analysis of curriculum provision, innovation, availability of new resources, effective use of EU programmes, training of staff, a Europe-friendly institutional climate, as well as the presence of staff and students from EU member states who can be a valuable resource in higher education environments. But, there should be more effective structures of support in order to help individuals - EU students and staff- to achieve their potential in multicultural environments, when faced with organisational constraints, micropolitics, non-positive attitudes and other barriers. More research is needed to investigate the experiences and issues concerning EU citizens working together in multicultural organisations, in various member states.

The socio-political, economic, demographic, cultural and environmental conditions of the 21st century call for innovation in the education system and a reform of educational provision. The incorporation of the European Dimension spirit at all educational levels, will help individuals to become more aware of their new role, responsibilities and opportunities as European citizens to build together the future of the new, united Europe successfully.

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Teacher Training in Europe

Towards the 21st Century

Introduction

Teacher Training in the 21st Century will be at the critical interface of changing needs and demands in Europe. Preparation of teachers will call for flexible approaches and, in particular, a critical examination of values under-pinning the relationship between teachers and pupils. The challenges facing those who wish to become teachers may call for a more radical approach on the part of teacher-trainers. New modes of assessment, alternative frameworks for progression, increased diversity of school provision and increased tension between the academic/vocational divide, are just some of the dilemmas to be faced more acutely in the not too distant future.

This paper attempts to place recent developments in teacher education in a cultural, social and political context. A series of constraints to professional development are identified, and this is followed by a review of the challenges to be faced by members of the future teaching force in Europe. The demands arising from a rapidly changing agenda are taken into account and a case is made for a model of continued professional development based on the promotion of critical thinking and the goal of enlightenment.

The Societal Context of Educational Developments

Durkheim's influential writing on education is of value in emphasising the interdependence of society and education. The notion that 'education perpetuates and reinforces ... homogeneity by fixing in the child from the beginning the essential similarities which collective life demands' is a powerful reminder of this relationship. School is society in microcosm and in Durkheim's terms is a 'first initiation into the austerity of duty'. (Durkheim, 1961). In recent times this relationship has been given great emphasis by nation states based on the assumption that schools are culpable if things go wrong in society. Education systems at all levels are called to account in terms of countering a range of adversities, including youth crime, drug abuse, lack of vocational and entrepreneurial skills and a presumed decline in moral values in society at large.

Of course there are informed observers who might confirm that schools do, indeed, have their shortcomings in these terms. Hargreaves (1982), for example, has suggested that schools in England and Wales spend more time on fostering individual success than they do on group life and community values. It is claimed that this results in alienation and disaffection for many pupils who may reject the values of the school and of the wider society. If this is so, then education is not succeeding in transmitting shared values, or promoting solidarity in the way Durkheim suggested it should.

But then Durkheim was certainly aware of such problems. Individualism and self-interest may be particularly problematic in periods of rapid social change.. Moral obligations may be less clear and behaviour less guided and disciplined by shared norms. Whether, or not, we accept Durkheim's suggestion that professional ethics, to be promoted and sustained by professional groups such as teachers, are the key to a future moral order, the teaching profession is likely to be charged with that responsibility on many occasions, in many countries. Subscribing to a personal service ethic which emphasises altruism, regard for others and responsibility to the community, is likely to present major challenges in the years ahead.

Our understanding of these terms is further qualified if we consider the work of teachers as professionals to be constantly underpinned by political, economic and cultural trends. Apple (1985) refers to attempts to bring school policy and curriculum into closer correspondence with industrial needs, noting how this involves not only 'capital's overt encroachments' but also social practice *within* the routine activities of schools. In considering the increasing influence of new technologies on work and education Apple raises key questions about the assumed benefits of the economic utility approach to educational policy. The role that schools and teachers should play in these changing circumstances of a post-industrial society is far from clear. Changes in society and the economy, linked to dramatically changing occupational demands, have consequences for schools and for the future professional development of teachers.

Diversity within Broad Frameworks

It would appear that European systems though retaining their own unique characteristics, also demonstrate convergence on some key aspects of educational provision. With increasing sophistication of communications and extensive networking, the advent of the European Community and the removal of barriers between Eastern, Central and Western Europe, such common ground is likely to be extended at all levels in education systems. Pascal, Bertram and Heaslip (1991) commenting on educational change in Europe identify a range of common responses in eleven different countries. In all cases education was central to the political agenda, with demands for curriculum reform, vocational education and training, parental involvement and market competition. The same authors also identified a series of concerns which had implications for educational policy. These were:

- Changes in the labour force
- Equality of opportunity with a focus on race, class, gender and special needs
- Changing patterns of family life
- Changes in the role of women
- Expansion of pre-school provision
- Lowering the age of admission to school

MClean (1993) notes that virtually all European countries have a national curriculum which outlines what should be taught in schools. Although there is variation in the amount of state control from the centre and the balance between state intervention and regional or local interests, in most cases national curricula are 'broad frameworks to be observed in principle rather than to the letter'. MClean also observes that in most European countries national curricula and teaching practices are sustained by corporatist traditions; that is by an underlying consensus about the role and purpose of education.

Certainly government policy towards education is influenced by national and international considerations including, for example, the need to be competitive in the economic sphere. There is concern for value-for-money, for maintaining standards and a form of education that is relevant to the future needs of young people. At the same time, beneath the surface of these agreed goals there are diverse ideological pressures influencing curriculum reform. As MClean acknowledges, these are apparent throughout Europe with some groups supporting traditional, selective curricula, others championing liberal approaches that respect the autonomy of teachers and pupils, while a third faction promotes the importance of utilitarian curricula with a focus on vocational relevance.

Diversification and de-regulation, whereby schools and their communities are given a greater say in the finance and provision of education, also appear to be emerging features in many education systems. Such changes are being debated in Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia as well as France, Spain and Sweden. Lawton (1992) observes that such changes are also evident in the UK, New Zealand, some Australian States and various US and Canadian cities. Green (1994) explains this trend in terms of 'legitimation crisis' in which there are doubts about the ability of education to meet current challenges and fulfil societal expectations. Changes are driven by the need to improve effectiveness through new managerial structures and in response to populist demands for the exercise of choice in schooling, either for personal educational benefit or for cultural survival.

Over and above these concerns about the extent of diversity it is worth remembering that the EU has already exerted influence in the field of education, in itself serving to bring about convergence in practice. This has been accomplished through the various funding programmes of ERASMUS, LINGUA, PETRA, COMETT, FORCE and EUROTECNET, followed by the two major projects of SOCRATES and LEONARDO. Sultana (1995) has suggested that the EU Commission's influence is wide-ranging, and is effective even outside these official education initiatives. This is because of the recognition that education and schooling 'have a powerful role to play in the promotion of European unity.'

The Status of Teachers as Professionals

The status of teachers as professionals has remained questionable throughout recent history; they are often, as now, at the centre of conflicting interests and demands but rarely, if ever, in a position to change things, should they wish to. In Britain teaching has become increasingly subject to technical rationality with priority given to practical concerns in the classroom, competency and appraisal. This is particularly evident in the reform of teacher education where previous liberal and progressive approaches have come under attack from government interest groups and the press. As Furlong (1993) observes, these initiatives in relation to teacher education can be taken as an attempt to de-politicise teachers and ' to reconstruct the very notion of professionalism itself.' In this situation it is hard to envisage moving towards any alternative model such as the one advocated by Avis (1994) in which there is concern for the politics of difference or 'radical pluralism', or the suggestion by Furlong that teachers may become 'transformative intellectuals', promoting critical thinking and emancipation amongst their pupils. Such goals, it could be argued, are, nevertheless, important ones to keep under review and work towards during the 21st Century.

Over and against these prospects there is the situation outlined by Walsh (1987) in which teacher appraisal is symptomatic of a general reduction in autonomy with teaching development being controlled in line with central objectives and priorities. Ball (1990) extends this argument by suggesting that the advent of the National Curriculum, National Testing, Local Management of Schools and teacher appraisal, collectively amount to 'a significant change in the labour process, ethos and conditions of work of teaching, a process of *proletarianisation.*'

Trends of this kind have been discussed in relation to the Dutch system (Sleegers and Wesselingh, 1995) and in Sweden (Kallos and Nilsson, 1995). Kallos and Nilson outline the changes over the last thirty years or so in the Swedish comprehensive system. During the 1990's there has been an emphasis on diversity, competition and marketing and 'quality as a demand on teachers and schools'. It is pointed out that the Market rather than the State is invoked as a significant metaphor with the Swedish comprehensive system as a model for the rest of the world replaced with Sweden as a mirror image of other industrialised countries.

Judge (1995) has investigated the images of teachers, comparing those evident in England, France and the USA. In England perceptions of teachers have changed from being guardians of tradition to change agents with their role defined in the following terms.

> 'What is required is a teacher who will be competent and effective, in touch with the real world, responsive to the messages of an eloquent market, attentive to measured results, sceptical of all forms of 'theory', enterprising and competitive. Such a teacher has only two masters: a central government which defines what must be taught, and a local community which through parental choice mediates the inescapable laws of the market.'

It has to be noted that changes in the French system are of a different order. Judge suggests there has been a change away from the teacher as *fonctionnaire* towards increased professional status as *professeur*, coupled with the public expectation that teachers will serve as *animateur* of pupils rather than the transmitters of a received culture. Such observations, to which can be added the significant differences in the American context identified by Judge, suggest we need to guard against any simplistic assumptions concerning trends in teacher professionalism. There are strong cultural influences, born of tradition and varying constellations of societal influences which ensure continued diversity.

Teacher Training

A review of teachers professional development in Europe by Archer and Peck (1995) acknowledges diversity of approaches but notes that there is also convergence on some dimensions of training provision. Qualified teachers, for example, can obtain confirmation of civil servant status from their Ministry of Education; this applies in many countries including Denmark, Germany, Greece, Netherlands and Spain - but not in England, Eire or Belgium. General trends include lengthening and upgrading courses, especially for primary teachers, the development of close relationships with universities and an increased emphasis on in-service training.

Eggleston (1991) identifies what he considers to be a common pattern in many parts of Europe, though the span of this claim is not fully identified.

> 'The pressure on teacher training institutions and on the whole practice of teacher training is immense. The replacement of institution-based training schemes for 'on the job' training in schools and colleges, the diminution or even elimination of any study of pedagogical theory and the compulsory return of teacher trainers to work in schools - all these 'remedies' are being publicly argued. Some commentators have compared the situation to the sacking of the monasteries of Europe in medieval times.'

In a later article Eggleston (1995) reinforces this account by adding further developments which include the increased financial control of training establishments by central government and the exercise of quality control by government inspectors.

The Changing Agenda for Teachers

There is considerable debate about the post-modern consequences of diversification and de-regulation, though Green (1994) argues that these trends may not, necessarily, constitute a break down of traditional unities and cultures in society. In relation to the school curriculum it may be possible to couple diversity with the provision of more inclusive, genuinely pluralist forms within a common framework, applied consistently to all schools. This has implications for teacher training for within this basic uniformity there will be a need to adapt teaching to a diversity of cultures. This already constitutes a major challenge to teachers in many parts of Europe.

Recognition of diversity seems an appropriate goal for all countries to pursue but there are many world-wide trends which single nations cannot afford to ignore. Globalization of economic life and communications technology constitutes a threat to nation-states as separate economic, political and cultural entities (Hargreaves, 1994). At the same time there is a resurgence of ethnic, religious and linguistic identities with different groups and sub-groups defying constitutional accord. Such developments create a rapidly changing agenda for teachers with national curricula providing only a partial basis for successful professional action.

There is a dilemma concerning the relative merits of a federalist approach to education, which recognises the prospect of a culturally and politically unified Europe, and what MCLean (1993) describes as the 'centrifugalist' approach, where priority is given to cultural diversity. MClean also acknowledges that the Maastricht Treaty is supportive of federalism and harmonisation of systems but argues the case for recognising diversity as 'legitimate and desirable' for historical, cultural and social reasons.

Such a balanced approach does seem highly acceptable but the goal of harmonisation is, of itself, a challengeable concept, likely to be attacked on many fronts. In a penetrating critique of EU policy on education Sultana (1995) draws attention to the 'centripetal forces of Europeanisation' which are 'pulling culture and knowledge towards the metropolitan centre'. These processes are seen as in direct conflict with the 'centrifugal forces' of local, regional and national concerns where there may often be an interest in preserving heterogeneity. In the late 20th century it is certainly critical for those in the teaching profession to be well prepared if they are to respond effectively to the multi-dimensional character of schooling in Europe and to the changing mosaic of these pull and push factors.

Shennan (1991) is also aware of these dilemmas. In a comprehensive review of teaching about Europe undertaken on behalf of the Council of Europe reference is made to the Council for Cultural Co-operation's prediction of social characteristics for the future of European society. These include the need for a broad policy of cultural pluralism and social integration and protection of the environment, for example, but also recognition of the increasing divergence and tension between the values of the family, the school system, the media and religion. Shennan also refers to a European Forum at Lyon in 1989 which coined the formula 'Mobility, openness and solidarity' but notes that education systems are still likely to be affected by national interests and traditions; the divergent nature of national traditions is one of the inhibiting factors in 'Europeanising' the curriculum. Although attempts have been made to gain recognition of vocational and professional qualifications in European Community Member States, this has been paralleled by more individualisation of education systems and increased diversity in the classroom. Shennan argues for recognition of educational diversities suggesting that uniformity is neither a realistic nor a desirable goal. Although Shennan makes the case for harmonisation in relation to Education for Europe, it is clear that this is no easy task. An obvious starting point would be achieving consensus and a common philosophy for teacher education and teacher training but this may require radical thinking and sophisticated modes of implementation if some of the intransigent barriers to change at the national level are to be removed.

Pupils' Needs in a European Context

In considering the requirements for teacher education in a European context it is imperative to take into account the particular needs of pupils. On this basis we can begin to identify the key issues that provide a focus for teachers in their efforts to anticipate the nature of their future roles. Shennan identifies a number of gains that pupils may expect. These include entitlement to an education which prepares them for active citizenship in Europe, based on an understanding of cultural, political and social issues, and avoidance of bias and stereotyped thinking. Effective teachers in the 1990's and beyond will need to be cognisant of these goals and teacher educators will have to ensure that teaching about Europe in this broad sense is on the agenda as a key element of their training programmes.

These sentiments are considered in some detail by Lynch (1992) in relation to the theme of citizenship in a multicultural society. Lynch is concerned with the systemic goals of education seeing these as responsive to 'the imperatives of human dignity, justice and rights, social responsibility, interdependence and....full development of the human personality.' The challenges apparent in the series of objectives identified by Lynch are enormous but it is hard not to acknowledge their centrality in educational development. Examples of what Lynch has in mind include social literacy and intercultural competence as a means to combat prejudice, discrimination and social injustice. He also proposes the development of agreed 'reflective moral bases for human behaviour in culturally diverse communities.' In the present climate of nationalism and, in some countries the resurgence through violent conflict of nationalism combined with ethnic and religious identity, goals such as these seem extremely hard to attain. There is, as always, a need to place the efforts of future teachers and their mentors in perspective and to acknowledge that educational principles and philosophy will always be circumscribed by the realities of the social and political arena.

It is apparent from discussion of this kind that there is a growing awareness of the limitations of single-nation initiatives and the emergence of global rights and responsibilities; citizenship and education with citizenship in mind needs to take into account the pressures apparent in the contest between single-nation nationalism and the drive towards internationalisation. It is necessary, in any case, to recognise that the three levels of group affiliation, local community membership, national citizenship and international citizenship are likely to be increasingly interdependent. In Lynch's view, 'It is the task of education to prepare children for those three levels of consciousness, rights and responsibility, interweaving preparation simultaneously and interactively, intellectually and experientially through the formal schooling of the child.'

Promoting Critical Reflection

For teachers such goals imply an attitude and a mode of training and education that corresponds to the realisation of these messages within school systems. More than ever these kinds of demands require the development of critical reflection as an essential complement to the acquisition of the skills of teaching and classroom management. Many years ago Dewey (1929) argued against the products of an unquestioned, routine tradition and the 'rules of practice' in education, preferring instead the development of critical intelligence whereby teachers would become inquirers, investigating and reflecting on their work. This assertion stands in marked contrast to the current highly politicised move to promote an instrumental, competence-based approach to teacher training which discounts reflection in favour of immediate proficiency in the classroom.

Fortunately the conception of the reflective teacher has remained constantly under review (Calderhead and Gates, 1993, Hullfish and Smith, 1961, Foster, 1985, Grimmett and Erickson, 1988, Russell and Munby, 1992, Schon, 1987). There are also links with critical theorists such as Apple and Giroux. Giroux and McLaren (1987), for example, regret that in the North American context, there has been no threat to the paradigm of teacher as classroom manager for a more 'emancipating model of the teacher as critical theorist.' Ruddock cites Giroux and McLaren, as well as Wilson (1989) in support of her case for providing new (as well as experienced) teachers with the means to go beyond the purely practical so that they become involved in serious reflection on education and social issues. In addition it is argued that this should involve ways that are intellectually challenging, classroom-based research and , possibly, critical action research. It is possible that foundations of this kind, with a focus on 'education' as a necessary adjunct to 'training' will be vital in terms of preparing teachers for the range of activities that constitute the development of a truly European approach to schooling.

Of course there will also be a need to anticipate new forms of organisation and flexible approaches to teaching and learning. Teachers of the future will have to prepare for more open classrooms and learning networks which take into account changes in the nature of working relationships, patterns of consumerism and new forms and combinations of knowledge and understanding. It is likely that there will be an emphasis on collaborative approaches to learning which challenge conventional models of the teacher-pupil relationship. As Dalin and Rust (1996) point out students may be teachers and teachers students and there may be a need for more emphasis on co-operative learning, drawing on parents and other members of the community. The idea of teacher as role model may undergo considerable transformation in these circumstances. Some possible futures are hinted at in Woods' (1993) discussion of critical events in the classroom and the way in which the use of expert, outside professionals in the school complements the work of the teacher. If we add to this the potential of learning networks based on e-mail conferencing (already forming the basis of links between some schools in different European countries) then Dalin and Rust's conception of the expanded classroom begins to look a real prospect in a not too distant future. The adjustments that the teaching profession will have to make are potentially enormous in terms of the range of expertise required, with role differentiation based on new and emergent specialisms.

For teacher educators the responses are going to be equally challenging. Even if we wish to defend training institutions against the current charge that they are not meeting the demands of advanced economies, there may still be reason for criticism. Observers in the 1970's were aware of many shortcomings in terms of the conservative nature of teacher education which often served to replicate existing conditions in schools. Despight the critical approach of the philosophy or sociology of education at the time, for example, the residing hegemony of school organisation remained unscathed - newly qualified teachers quickly adapted to the existing regimes in schools in order to survive (in the author's experience some radical thinking, mature entrants to training programmes withdrew in anticipation of the enormous gaps between their own conceptualisation of educational goals and what was being practised within the system). It could be argued that the education of teachers, and even of the organisation and mobilisation of a teaching force needs to be radically re-drafted if we are to cope with the changes signalled by such authors as Dalin and Rust (ibid) or Hargreaves (1994).

The two extracts below give some idea of the sorts of challenges likely to be faced by the teaching force of the future.

> 'The day is past when technology appears to threaten individuality and takes away special cultural norms and tastes. A new type of worker will emerge, who adds to the already dizzying variety that automation can provide. That worker promises to go beyond the piano-player type of variety that automation promises and addresses the special tastes and nuances that only humans can provide. That worker will be a product of a school experience that has emphasised the creative aspects of life, the value of originality and the importance of individuality and cultural variety.'
>
> (Dalin and Rust, 1996, pp 132)

> 'Collaboration has come to comprise a metaparadigm of educational and organisational change in the post-modern age. Paradigm shifts- profound alterations in our fundamental understandings of how the social and natural worlds are mutually constituted, what are its central problems, how can we best enquire into them, and how we should act on the basis of this knowledge - are nothing new. Historically, conditions of rapid and radical social change have typically given rise to such paradigm shifts. But the post-modern age, with its qualitative leaps in instantaneous development and dissemination of communications and information, and with the increasing pace of change that results from this, brings into being an acceleration and diversification of paradigm shifts themselves. A fundamental problem of postmodernity, therefore, is one of needing to generate metaparadigms of understanding, analysis, change to interpret, analyse, synthesise and respond to the more specific paradigm shifts in technology, organisational life, intellectual thought and the like that are occurring and will occur with increasing speed in years to come within education and outside it.'
>
> Hargreaves (1994, pp 244)

If we accept these descriptions of a not too distant future then teacher education and its training variants will need to develop a more open, questioning approach that focuses on the personal and the authentic level of teachers' work. As far as European education is concerned then there is a need to think beyond Europe, heeding Sultana's warning that the official agenda may be too narrow, linking education to the organisational capacity of capital in a technocratic mould. Sultana quotes from Said (1993) arguing that there is a need to ' "write back" to the metropolitan cultures, to disrupt the European narratives, to vigorously contest any essentialist nationalism by continuously pointing out that "the history of all cultures is the history of cultural borrowings".' Such comment sends out substantial intellectual and cultural challenges and it would be unrealistic to assume that the trainee teacher alone could contemplate, let alone implement changes of this magnitude. Taking this on board would mean underpinning the intellectual force of teacher education at several levels, involving many partners. Most importantly it will be important for governments to recognise that the professional interests of teaching, and the future welfare of European citizens, can only be met if there is a willingness to resource a critical thinking model of professional development; a model that is open and enlightened rather than closed, directive and custodial. It is also abundantly clear that there will be a key role for those in universities to continually charge, and re-charge, the critical thinking batteries of teachers at every level in the system.

Fortunately some of these issues are being addressed in the literature on teacher education with a new wave of concerns apparent including the value of exploring teachers' voices and the practice of narrative work (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990, Clandinin,1992, Ruddock and Wellington, 1989, Schratz, 1993, Thomas, 1995). A critical aspect of narrative work, for example, involves collaboration based on close relationships and an open-ended, inductive review of a teacher's personal practical knowledge. This kind of activity is a useful microcosm example of the way the principles of openness and collaboration might be pursued. The spirit of this approach is indicated in the statement below from Clandinin (1992).

> 'In narrative inquiry we offer ways of telling individuals' stories - researchers' and participants' - as embedded within particular cultures and histories. Accounts of how the individual is shaped by the larger professional knowledge context and also the ways in which the professional knowledge context has been re-shaped in the unique situation in which the individual lives and works are constructed.'

Mapping the possible changes which will effect schooling in Europe is a major task that has occupied many educational commentators and other agents for a considerable time. The following examples are, inevitably selective but are intended to provide some indication of the issues to be addressed.

- The inclusion of teaching about Europe in the school curriculum, including reference to cultural identity and preparation for life in European Society (Shennan, 1991).
- Education for citizenship as a priority for all teachers, promoting commitment to human rights and social responsibilities (Lynch, 1992).
- Curriculum development and the training of teachers will need to address controversial issues and manifestations of social injustice, such as racism, sexism and anti-semetism (Clay and Cole, 1992).
- Where there is substantial political change and re-orientation of systems as in Central and Eastern Europe, then teachers face immense challenges in terms of re-shaping schools and establishing curricula responsive to new demands (Phillips and Kaser, 1992).
- Questions may need to be answered concerning the span of responsibility for schools. There may be increased competition with other institutions which may be able to claim to satisfy learning requirements. There is a fast developing learning market outside the formal school system, with informal learning rivalling formal provision (Dalin and Rust, 1995).
- The European Cultural Foundation's project, Education for the Twenty-First Century, is committed to lifelong education and proposes that many educational needs will be met by non-school institutions, such as libraries, museums, cinemas, laboratories, etc. - these are envisaged as key players alongside TV and computer terminals (Dalin and Rust, 1995).
- Abbot, in the context of Education 2000 proposes the creation of a new model of learning and links conceptions of the learning process to proposals for a radical re-structuring of how education is to be acquired (Abbot, 1994).

It is not the intention of this paper to formulate recommendations for the future form of teacher education in Europe, though it is hoped there are many recognisable pointers for reform apparent in the discussion. Sufficient to say that changes are probably needed at many levels and that certain guiding principles might support consideration of the way ahead. These would include,

- establishing the intellectual requirements for understanding the role of the teacher in the new Europe.
- establishing the intellectual requirements for adapting to change, to cope with and adapt to new and overlapping fields of knowledge.
- the need for collaborative and critically reflective approaches to learning processes and to the organisation of learning.
- the recognition that learning patterns may be varied and more flexible than at present in the school system.
- the recognition that the roles of teachers may be radically transformed in concert with the involvement of other experts in the field.
- the advent of continued professional development for teachers, so that the distinction between initial, or pre-service training, and in-service training will become less distinct.
- the establishment of closer links between universities and schools, especially through the development of joint European projects.

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Teacher Education in Europe

The Case of Pedagogical Departments in Greece

Introduction

What it means to be a European teacher is a question to which every teacher in Europe has to respond. The freedom of movement and employment within the countries of the European Community provides a challenge in the case of the teaching profession, especially at the compulsory level where there are many changes in the 1990's. Today the teaching profession is characterised by a loss of status, decreased attractiveness and an uncertainty about job security and tenure. All these elements affect the mobility of teachers within the European Union, if one takes into consideration the various policies of the individual member states. Variations concerning the profession include assessment, salaries, length of probationary year, career prospects, and so on. The examination of the teacher training programmes in the EC can provide not only examples of tendencies or different models for the education of prospective teachers, but it can also reveal common concerns and expectations about the future of intercultural education and the promotion of European identity.

This paper aims,

a) to describe and analyse the content and the structure of the programmes which are available in the pedagogical departments of the Greek universities,

b) to compare the content of the intended curricula in the different pedagogical departments, as these are responsible for their own programmes.

Discussion will be based on some preliminary findings from an ongoing research study, examining the structure, goals, content and duration of programmes in Greek pedagogical departments.

The clarification of the pattern of the above departments, the examination of their programmes and their flexibility to adapt to new challenges and emerging needs of society, can develop further our understanding about the role which the pedagogical departments have to play to meet the demands and expectations of the teaching profession. This could also illustrate to a certain point the way these departments view the future preparation of prospective teachers in the European context, concerning their skills, knowledge and development.

Background to the Study - Teacher Education

During the 1990's the events that took place all over the world and especially in Europe affected to a large extent education, learning and professional training and raise questions as to whether, or not, schools prepare citizens of tomorrow to take part in an active, social, economic and successful life. Fullan and Miles (1992) point out that modern societies are facing terrible problems and educational reform is seen as a major source of hope for solving them. One crucial key component is the answer to the question: 'How does one learn to teach pupils effectively and efficiently?' The question about the correct kind of education for teachers - especially in the primary school - is still a question which is disputed on the basis of opinions, beliefs and decisions of different 'actors'. It must be noted that teaching has not acquired the status and prestige of other academic jobs in the last decades. Only during recent years has the importance of this job and its professional aspect been emphasised. As Brant (1993) noted,

> 'Professionalisation means not only higher pay, of course, but everal other things, all interrelated: high admission standards, excellent undergraduate and graduate preparation, continuing education on the job, desirable working conditions - including adequate supplies and equipment, opportunities to interact with colleagues, and reasonable latitude in making decisions.'

According to Stein (1991) the extent of a teacher's formal education is a reliable predictor of appropriate professional behaviour. This characteristic appears in many countries accompanied by demand for continuous in-service training. In some countries there are also further training schemes which are flexible and based on the needs of a school area.

The education of primary school teachers mainly concerns two fields, that of academic knowledge and that of educational courses along with pedagogical practice. The general questions are how best to integrate theory and practice, and how these two areas should be interrelated for the benefit of teaching. Close attention is now paid not only to the selection procedure but also to the upgrading of teacher education courses.

An ideal teacher training department according to Fullan (1992), must be dynamic and innovative,

> 'trying to,
>
> 1. commit itself to producing teachers who are agents of educational and social improvement,
> 2. commit itself to continuous improvement through program innovation and evaluation,
> 3. value and practice exemplary teaching,
> 4. engage in constant inquiry,

5. model and develop lifelong learning among staff and students,
6. model and develop collaboration among staff and students,
7. be respected and engaged as a vital part of the university as a whole,
8. form partnerships with schools and other agencies,
9. be visible and valued internationally in a way that contributes locally and globally,
10. work collaboratively to build regional, national and international networks.'

Addressing the kind of programmes that should be adopted in such departments of education, Katz and Raths (1992) point out not only the necessity of high standards but, also, put some critical questions regarding the structure of courses, which can affect, positively or negatively, the quality of future teacher training. They call these questions 'dilemmas' and distinguish these in six categories: coverage versus mastery; evaluation versus affection; current versus future needs of candidates; thematic courses versus eclectic courses; emphasis on current practice versus emphasis on innovative practice; specific versus global assessment criteria.

Fullan and Miles (1992) identify some reasons for the difficulty of implementing such reforms and there failure to be successful, especially when there is no close and sincere co-operation among the interested actors. They justify this on the idea that, 'education is a complex system and its reform is even more complex.' A simple answer to the question, 'Why does teacher education need to be reformed?' is that new and extended programmes must help the teacher to cope with different changes and challenges. The content of the programmes must prepare a teacher to be an active agent in the classroom, a person who can make the right decisions, who will be equipped with quality in his/her instruction, who will be in a dynamic state to revise continually both knowledge in teaching and in learning.

Prospective teachers, according to Ryan (1960) must be equipped with creativity (teaching methods), organisation (well prepared) and understanding (friendliness, warmth, patience). Ball and McDiarmid (1990) refer to the positive effect of subject matter knowledge to teaching. Reynolds (1992) notes that teachers with limited background in a subject, either circumscribe lessons to include only those areas that they have mastered or try to present skills without 'the conceptual underpinnings that students need for generalising to other applications.' Shulman (1986) states that teachers with deeper knowledge of their subject can give better conceptual explanations and answers and can do this with more confidence. Nevertheless there is no clear evidence that more content knowledge leads to better teaching, especially when such knowledge in the programmes is given at the expense of educational courses (Veenman, 1984).

The term 'pedagogical content knowledge' introduced in 1986 by Schulman was taken as an important element in many programmes of education departments. According to Johnston and Ochoa (1993), this term has four elements:

> 'a) conceptualising subject matter, b) understanding the specific subject matter content, c) discerning students' conceptions or misconceptions of particular subject matter, d) knowledge of curriculum - the resources and materials available for teaching particular subject matter.'

Cruikshank (1987), shows that departments should adopt new and challenging courses, for example, a course in reflective teaching is appropriate as it seems to be a 'particular instructional programme that is used to make participants more thoughtful and wise about their instruction.' A necessary complement to subject knowledge and to educational courses is the teaching practicum which improves student-teacher performance in all 'dimensions of effectiveness' (Darling and Hammond, 1991). Gaede (1978) used the term 'reality shock' when student-teachers face classroom reality, while Weinstein

(1988) adopted the term 'unrealistic optimism', that is the 'tendency to believe that problems experienced by others won't happen to me.'

Later on it is experience that will generate what was taught in the teaching programmes, and this experience will demonstrate how to approach lessons with different kinds of learners and how to connect lesson content to other areas of learning (Grossman, Wilson, Shulman, 1989). Becoming a teacher is not a magic event which can happen at once but rather a process which takes some time and , according to Kagan (1990), it begins with 'classroom management and organisation, moving to subject matter and pedagogy and finally to what students are learning from academic skills.'

Teacher Education for Primary School Teachers in the Pedagogical Academies (1933-85) and in the Universities (1985-97)

The first teacher training colleges for primary school teachers were established in 1834, a few years after the Greek War of Independence and the nation's liberation from the Turkish occupation which had lasted for about 400 years. Until 1983 one can discern many attempts and proposals for better quality or upgrading of the training of teachers but most of these were not adopted or they were postponed. Among the various reasons were those concerning changing government policies, social, economic and academic factors and periods of war.

One important turning point for these reforms was the abolition of the existing low-status schools of teacher training and the establishment of six Pedagogical Academies (Law 5802/1993) with two year studies starting in the academic year 1934-35. The persons who introduced these reforms and the teaching staff in the new institutions were mainly educated in Germany and, for this reason, the overall function of the colleges was, more or less, similar to the model of that country. The necessary prerequisite for admission to these colleges was the same as that required for admission to universities, that is the certificate of completion of secondary education (gymnasium). Despite the short duration of studies, it was, at the time, one of the most successful training programmes for primary school teachers. The focus of the two year curriculum was on specialised pedagogical training, accompanied by high status training in subjects of general interest, which were taught to students in primary school.

Unfortunately, the efforts for promotion to 4-year institutes remained static. One person who influenced their establishment, George Paleologou, the Secretary of the Ministry of Education, found the opportunity to upgrade their institutional status, using the compulsory Law 953/1937 which stated: 'The Pedagogical Academies are Schools of Higher Education in which the primary school teachers are also trained professionally; the duration is of two years but it can be extended by a Kings' Decree.' This article was never abolished but the pedagogical institutions never received the academic recognition they deserved. The reason was that their upgrading status was made by a compulsory law without additional steps which could satisfy such a process (for example, internal re-organisation of studies, etc.)

Until the seventies, three additional factors enhanced the status of this job: a) the permanency of the teaching post, b) the improvement in the teaching career ladder, c) the equation of the teaching job to that of the civil servant. Since then the salary and the recognition of teachers remained very low. The educational reforms undertaken by the Greek Ministry of Education and Religion in 1964 and 1977 mainly aimed at democratisation of the educational system. No economic charges, abolition of entrance examinations for the gymnasium, and nine year compulsory school attendance are some of the characteristic steps made to create schools in which the individuals would become 'responsible and free personalities' (Law

309/1976). All these changes took place without any thought about the quality and promotion of the two-year colleges into four-year university departments.

The pedagogical academies were about twenty in number and the content of their programmes consisted of 23 subjects ranging from pedagogy and psychology courses, to religion and practical training. Coursework required 33 hours weekly. In 1983 these pedagogical academies were integrated in the universities and the new Departments of Education appeared. This change was completed in 1988-89. The new programmes are of four-year duration and lead to a regular university degree. Despite the organisational deficiencies and the limited economic resources, the value of the pedagogical academies is considered positive, and led to the development of primary school teachers who try to modify their role for the benefit of their students.

> The teaching job in primary schools went through various stages, inconsistencies and adventures and not only survived, but it has also finally emerged as a job having its own personal, social prestige and recognition.'
>
> (Pirigiotakis, 1992)

Among the actors who postponed the extension to four-year university studies it was not only the state but the universities themselves by maintaining a rigid and hostile attitude. Sutton (1993) notes a similar American view;

> The idea that teaching is less important than other professions may be grounded in economic advantage. Accepting teaching as an equal profession would reorder campus priorities and redistribute resources across professional programmes, thereby affecting the prestige and fortunes of many. The result would be dramatic and unpredictable. A safer choice is to deny teaching full professional status as long as possible.'

It is worthwhile to remember that it was, and still is, the Ministry of Education that certifies primary school teachers when they submit their papers so as to appoint them to public posts (normally after two years probation). Public recruitment mechanisms (called epetirides) are still in use for the objective appointment of teachers; the first prerequisites are, the date of degree award and the grade of the degree. Pesmazogluo (1992), referring to this, mentions that,

> 'state patronage has been a chronic feature of Greek society since its inception as a nation-state in the early nineteenth century. A permanently over inflated public sector has provided the most important employment outlet for university graduates for the past 150 years. In fact, it has been pointed out political patronage became coterminous with employment in the public sector.'

It is for this reason, perhaps, that the Ministry of Education gave the right in 1984 to graduates of other university departments or technological institutions to enter, if they liked, to the second year of the pedagogical academies, through typical examinations, and graduate as primary school teachers. The percentage of the applicants was rather high. In 1985-86 the admitted applicants were about 2,400. This procedure was justified as an attempt to upgrade the teaching profession of primary school teachers, and it was kept until the abolition of the pedagogical academies.

Pirgiotakis' research (1993) about this turn of university graduates to the primary school job confirmed the hypothesis of the study;

> 'the external dependence of persons is stronger than that of their economic incentives, which can function under normal social and economic conditions; those graduates turned to this job, although they were always underestimating it.'

About 5,000 university graduates (mainly from the Faculties of Law, of Political and Economic Sciences), entered the primary school teacher line of employment, reaching the total of about 20,000. Taking into consideration the fact that about 1,000 teachers are appointed as civial servants in the primary school every year, it is rather difficult to reach any conclusion at this time whether or not these new teachers can positively affect the concept and route of teaching professionalism and its social recognition.

The issue of how to upgrade the studies of about 40,000 state primary school teachers (at least to enable some teachers to pursue postgraduate studies), graduates of the Pedagogical Academies was dealt with by a Law decree in 1990. By this they were given the opportunity to get a PD degree, following a certain number of the undergraduate courses of the pedagogical departments (based on the years of public service at schools). However, in reality, only a small number of teachers is accepted by the PD (less than 500 are admitted every year), by lot, making this procedure time-consuming.

The Pedagogical Departments (PD) in Greece

The pedagogical departments were established in accordance with the State Law 1286/82. The aims of the departments as specified by Article I, paragraph 2, of this law are,

- to develop and advance the pedagogical sciences through educational research and teacher education,
- to instil in its graduates the appropriate academic and scientific orientation necessary to their profession,
- to contribute and promote the level of education by catering to the ever-increasing needs in the field,
- to contribute in the search for solutions to educational problems,

The departments are located in nine different cities involving the universities listed below.

Alexandroupoli	University of Thrace
Athens	University of Athens
Florina	University of Thessaloniki
Ioannina	University of Ioannina
Patra	University of Patra
Rethymno	University of Crete
Rhodes	University of Aegaeo
Thessaloniki	University of Thessaloniki
Volos	University of Thessalia

Although each department is responsible for the organisation and implementation of its own programme, there are some common features. These can be summarised in three groups:

1. Courses in the pedagogical departments are offered on a semester basis/ Classroom instruction is very often of a three hour per week duration; one credit corresponds to one hour instruction per week and between one and three credits when the instruction is combined with practical exercises or seminars. Grades in each course vary from 1 to 10. Student teachers must attain a pass mark of at least 5/10 in each required course. For the final degree grade the mark of each course is multiplied by a 'factor of importance' and the figures from these multiplications are added together and then divided by the total number of all the factors. The factor of importance ranges between 1.0 and 2.0: courses carrying 1-2 credits take (1.0), 3-4 credits (1.5) and more than 4 credits, 2.0.

2. Instruction is conducted in the form of lectures, seminars and teaching practica which can include, also, practical exercises, pedagogical workshops and research. Lectures provide an overall introduction to particular areas of study. In seminars student teachers study in depth a particular theme within a defined subject under the supervision of their instructor. Practical exercises refer to independent courses which contribute to

students' further development of general knowledge and general education. In table (5) teaching practicum refers to those types of practicum which include classroom observation and student teaching in primary schools under the supervision of the teaching staff.

During the didactic methodology courses student teachers are exposed to different instructional methods. It is a common policy in the departments to allow students to undertake seminars, workshops and teaching on the pre-condition that they have successfully completed the relevant theoretical courses.

3. The standard period of time required to get a degree is eight semesters (four years) and the concurrent model is adopted. Some departments give direct attention to the specialised, rather than the all round skills teacher (Table 1).

Table 1. Availability of specialisation in the Greek Pedagogical Departments (1995-96)

PEDAGOGICAL DEPARTMENT	SPECIALISATION	REMARKS
Alexandroupoli	Compulsory (semester 6&7)	Choice of specialization from defined areas
Athens		
Florina	Compulsory (semester 5-8)	Choice of specialization from defined areas
Ioannina	Compulsory (semester 1-8)	Specialization from combination of certain subjects.
Patra		
Rethymno		
Rhodes		
Thessaloniki		
Volos	Compulsory (semester 8)	Choice of specialization from defined subject areas.

Two pedagogical departments (Rethymno & Thessaloniki) provide a non-compulsory type of specialisation, allowing the student teachers to focus on the areas of their interest. From those PD that have adopted certain routes for specialisation, three offer defined areas for choice and one offers four defined combinations of subject areas.

Student teachers of the PD in Alexandroupoli choose in addition to their course in the sixth and seventh semester one of the following areas of specialisation; Greek or Physic, Mathematics or Clinical Psychology and Special Education for minorities. In the PD in Florina the areas include Physical Education, Aesthetic Education and Music, while in the PD in Volos the focus is on Special Education, School Support and Music Education.

In contrast with the previous PD, the department in Ioannina gives broader combinations from the area of schools subjects and any available thesis as well. The choice includes attendance in one major subject (Greek or Mathematics) and two minors (Archaeology, Biology, Linguistics, Philosophy, Informatics, Culture, Sociology, Classical Studies, History, Chemistry, Physics). The second major subject has to be attended and completed successfully as well (9 credits). The total number of subjects (19) are available during all semesters. The following tables clarify the four types of choices and the credits which student teachers have to acquire (19x3 = 57 credits).

Table 2. Combinations of specialisation in the PD in Ioannina (1995-96)

Subject	Combination A	Combination B	Combination C1	Combination C2
Greek	24	9	24	18
Mathematics	9	24	18	24
CC	12	12	15	15
CC	12	12	-	-

Subject	Combination D1	Combination D2
Major (Greek or Mathematics)	24	9
Major (Greek or Mathematics)	9	24
CC	12	12
Thesis	12	12

Note; CC = Compulsory Course

Prospective teachers who feel able to demonstrate proficiency in research or analysis of teaching practice can work on a thesis related to their academic areas (Table 3) under the supervision of members of the teaching staff (one or two). When there is joint writing of the thesis, it is required that each contribution be made evident.

Table 3. Requirement of a thesis for a degree in the Greek Pedagogical Departments (1995-96)

Pedagogical Department	Credits	Semester	Topic
Alexandroupoli	12	8	PPS or SS
Athens*			
Florina	8	6 or 7	PPS or SS
Ioannina	12	7 or 8	PPS
Patra	9	7 or 8	PPS or SS
Rethymno**			PPS
Rhodes	12	7 or 8	PPS or SS
Thessaloniki	12	8	PPS or SS
Volos			

* The general assembly of the department decides every year whether, or not, student teachers will submit a thesis.

** The general assembly of the department defines every year the standard of the thesis.

PPS = Topic related to the psychopedagogic sciences

SS = Topic related to the school subjects

This assignment must be completed during the sixth/seventh semester (Florina), the seventh/eighth (Ioannina, Patra, Rhodes) or the last semester (Alexandroupoli and Volos).

Three PD (Alexandroupoli, Ioannina, Rhodes) consider this as equal to 12 credits, two (Florina, Thessaloniki) to 8 credits and one (Patra) to 9 credits. Only Ioannina requires first the successful attendance of the course Methodology of Educational Research (level II). All the departments allow their students to take compulsory courses of equal credits to those of a thesis. As far as the topic itself is concerned, there is flexibility concerning the proposed themes from psychopedagogy and school subjects (Alexandroupoli, Florina, Patra, Rhodes, Thessaloniki); other departments expect their students to focus on the areas of pedagogy, social sciences and psychology (Ioannina, Rethymno) or their specialisation fields (Alexandroupoli).

In many countries student teachers have already taken the advantage of various programmes of the European Union, participating in cultural and school exchanges during their secondary schooling. Such active participation has taken place, for example, in the Euroclasses-Eurocreativity projects. These activities include, among other things, artistic and literary productions about Europe, raising people's awareness about cultural unity and diversity in European countries. This year is expected the announcement of the European Year of Education by the member states of the EC, paying particular attention to mobility of teachers at European level and to the benefits of the new educational technologies.

Therefore it seems necessary for well qualified teachers to meet the highest academic standards in at least a second language. At the same time oral and written proficiency in this foreign language can create new teachers who will be willing to keep pace with foreign research findings or to pursue postgraduate studies more easily. All Greek pedagogical departments now require teacher students to attain a level of competency in foreign languages (Table 4), either before graduation or before undertaking the writing of a thesis (Alexandroupoli).

Although three PD offer credits in their language courses (Florina 8, Volos 6, Rethymno 12), only one (Rethymno) allows these credits to be considered in the final grade of the degree. In one PD (Rhodes) student teachers can take credits to be considered in the final grade of the degree. In one PD (Rhodes) student teachers can take these credits as a compulsory course. The duration and the level of the courses vary among the departments; in some (Alexandroupoli, Patra, Rethymno, Rhodes) the courses are offered during four semesters (at 4 levels) while others offer less (Florina: beginners/advanced terminology, Ioannina: beginners for two semesters, intermediate for one, advanced for one, Volos: compulsory for two semesters, optional for two semesters). All the courses incorporate texts from literature/pedagogy and scientific findings in an effort to create benefits for future professional teachers and researchers.

Table 4. Foreign Languages offered in the Greek Pedagogical Departments (1995-96)

Pedagogical Department	Foreign Language	Credits
Alexandroupoli	E - F - G	
Athens		
Florina	E - F - G	8 credits
Ioannina	E - F - G - I - R	
Patra	E - F - G - I - R	
Rethymno	E - F - G	12 credits
Rhodes	E - F - G	
Thessaloniki	E - F - R	
Volos	E - F - I	6 credits

Note: E = English, F = French, G = German, I = Italian, R. = Russian

It is well known that prospective teachers need opportunities to construct their knowledge, acquire new models of teaching and analyse more coherently the teaching-learning process. Whatever supervision model is going to be adopted, it is important to provide many opportunities for the blending of theory and practice; student teachers will not only practice technical skills but they could become true students of teaching by adopting the role of the reflective practitioner. The teaching staff, the classroom teacher and the student teacher can become critical friends who are prepared to share visions, values and goals.

The majority of Greek PD incorporate various types of clinical cycles in their programmes (Table 5). Four PD (Alexandroupoli, Florina, Ioannina, Rhodes) define this period of practice within three phases, two PD (Rethymno, Volos) within four phases and the rest at different stages of their programmes.

Table 5. The Teaching Practicum in the Greek Pedagogical Departments (1995-96)

Pedagogical Department	Cycle	Semester (1-8)	Remarks
Alexandroupoli	I	5	4* weeks
	II	7	4* weeks
	III	8	2 weeks
Athens		3/4	0
		6/ 7	h + h
		8	1 week
Florina	I	2 /3 5 6	0
	II	7	9 h
	III	8	2 weeks
			(1+1) + 10 h

Ioannina	I II III	6 7 8	3** weeks 3** weeks 3** weeks
Patra		1 6 7 8	0 0 + pw + h 1 week 1 week 4 weeks + pw
Rethymno	I II III IV	5 6 7 8	0 8 h + 15 h 0 + 40 h 2 weeks (1+1) + 10 h
Rhodes	I II III	5 6/7 8	0 h + pw 4 weeks
Thessaloniki		5 / 6 7/ 8	0 + pw = h h
Volos	I II III IV	5 6 7 8	0 8 h h + pw 2 weeks

Notes: * = class observations, pw and teaching at schools

** = the first week is devoted to class observations, the other two weeks to teaching

h = hours per semester

o = observation in schools

pw = pedagogical workshop

This emphasis seems to rest on the idea that student teachers are given more opportunities to look in depth at the issues and difficulties of their future profession. The common pattern identified in the departments is the organisation of small teams between student teachers and university co-ordinators. The first steps facilitate observation at schools, evaluation of teaching and a general introduction to school life. Afterwards the teams focus on pedagogical workshops, practical exercises and seminars at the university; very often some departments put more emphasis on additional pedagogical workshops (Table 5). Then methods of instruction and practice of teaching in the classroom are followed by sessions of discussion, analysis, feedback and evaluation.

A first concern in every PD seems to be the encouragement of students to teach at different grade levels and in different school subjects. Moreover, this has been extended in pair teaching, where both students have the chance to observe each other's work so as to gain insights and ideas regarding their own practice.

A second concern is centred on the use of various mechanisms such as portfolios, educational technology and guided instructional strategies to help students organise better their practicum and to provide them with extra enrichment experiences.

Two PD (Florina, Rethymno) require their students to teach one week in schools where one teacher takes all the classes, while in three PD's (Alexandroupoli, Rhodes, Volos) they should attend schools run by one or two teachers. In two PD (Florina, Rethymno), students are provided with additional periods for practising their specialised areas at school; the other three PD's (Alexandroupoli, Ioannina, Volos) do not extend their defined practice period (two weeks) for more specialisation. Students take over the teacher's role in a class continuously from one week (Athens) or two (Alexandroupoli, Florina, Ioannina, Volos), to four weeks (Patra, Rethymno, Rhodes). This kind of classroom experience takes place usually during the eighth semester, but in three cases

(Alexandroupoli, Ioannina, Patra) it covers the last three semesters. It is necessary for student teachers to have completed the methodological courses and in some cases the compulsory courses of these subjects before starting their teaching at schools.

It is evident that a teacher's programme cannot provide the student teachers with all they need to know for their teaching career; however, it can provide them with the knowledge, skills, dispositions and sensitivities which are necessary for an effective beginning and for subsequent development as professionals.

Many interrelated elements can be taken into consideration for such a successful programme but in this case study the focus has been on only one element, that is the curriculum of the Greek pedagogical departments. In Table 6 the courses have been categorised under five areas so that the frequency and depth of various elements can be appreciated.

Table 6 Credits offered in different courses of the programmes of Greek Pedagogical Departments

Pedagogical Department	Cred. for gra-du-ation	Psycho-pedagogical area (C+CC)	Hum. Sc Math (C+CC)	Oth. cour-ses (E)	Metho-dology in the Tea-ching of Hum. Sc.&Mat (C)	Tea-ching Prac-ticu (C)	Remarks
Alexandroupoli	168	63	30	30	12	9	12SP 12T
Athens	188	64 (48+16)	64 (52+12)	36	20	4	
Florina	170	46 (36+10)	68 (44+24)	4	40	4	8FL
Ioannina	144	60 (39+21)	57		27		
Patra	174	81 (63+18)	45 (27+18)	24	12	7	5PW
Rethymno	156	60 (24+36)	30 (12+24)	27	15	12	12FL
Rhodes	150	56 (40+16)	50*(30+20)		*	10	18S 16R
Thessaloniki	151	76 (52+24)	69*(54+15)		*	6	
Volos	174	48	27	54	33	6	6FL

note: * = The courses include both the subject area and the didactic methodology

C = Compulsory courses (the first number in brackets)

CC = Compulsory choice courses (the second number in brackets)

E = Elective courses

FL = Foreign language

PW = Pedagogical workshop

R = Research

S = Seminars

SP = Specialisation

TH = Thesis

Conclusions and Implications

The general objectives of the nine pedagogical departments, as mentioned in their programmes can be summarised as follows:

1. An attempt for a general vision to develop a free and democratic spirit in student teachers for the search of knowledge through common effort and democratic attitudes.
2. A commitment to promote those necessary skills for understanding and coping with contemporary social problems.

3. A role to enrich the social life and cultural development of student teachers.
4. An effort to facilitate those abilities and skills in prospective teachers so as to enable them to help their pupils develop cognitive skills and critical abilities.
5. An engagement to make student teachers appreciate the values of co-operation and peaceful co-existence among the different people of the world.
6. A tendency to involve student teachers in critical inquiry concerning school and teacher practices and perceive themselves as researchers.

All the courses (compulsory) have been perceived as a body of knowledge which has to be passed to student teachers in the programmes through lectures, seminars and practical exercises. In many cases student teachers have the opportunity to construct their own curriculum and specialise in various areas. However, positive results depend on the successful delivery of the programme and the quality of the courses. It should be remembered that teacher education is not confined within four years of studies but it begins at school. It seems to be a process of lifelong learning and common visions of every member of the educational community. For this reason some answers concerning teacher education should be provided early so as to minimise conflicts and controversies that might arise as a result of different beliefs among the key players of the implementation of programmes in PD. Such questions can be:

- What types of teaching practicum should be provided to student teachers so as to help them to begin successfully and develop professionally throughout their career? Who can be the ideal persons for supervision and mentoring?
- What is the role of the pedagogical departments within Higher Education and how can effective relationships be built with other PD, university institutions, schools and teachers? How can they

create organic links with all parts of the education system through research, dissemination of studies and collaboration?

- How can teacher educators help prospective teachers to improve the quality of their learning and the moral dimension of teaching? Do the conceptions of teacher educators about the education of teachers influence their practice and to what degree? What are they doing on their own to challenge these conceptions? What is their role in the structure of the programmes? Are they prepared to learn from and with teachers in common activities?

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Tatjana Koke (Riga)

The Importance of In-service Teacher Education during the Period of Transition

Priority objectives of the educational reform are to create the preconditions necessary for the existence of a sovereign Latvia in the 21st century, its integration into the economic and cultural processes of Europe and the world. The transition from autocracy to democracy, from a centrally planned economy to a market orientated one obviously determines new demands for both initial and in-service teacher education. Following the International Standard Classification of Education (ICED) we keep to the definition of education as „organised and sustained communication designed to bring about learning" and find it more appropriate to deal with teacher education instead of training which is mainly directed towards the acquisition of skills. The changing world of today requires not only skills from today's teachers but also qualities like flexibility, adaptability, creativity, more competence etc.

Since the restoration of full independence in 1991, Latvia has had to cope with the threefold challenge of the consolidation of independent statehood, cultivation of democracy, and the transformation to the market economy. This transition period has been accompanied by serious economic difficulties in Latvia: GDP decreased by more than a half within four years, subsequently, the level of unemployment increased, schools have been constantly underfinanced, etc.

Regardless of these difficulties, education remains the priority, because the country's future prosperity and stability depends not only on sustainable growth of the economy but also on the constant development of a civil society, the most important prerequisite of which is highly educated and intelligent people. Besides Latvia has had almost universal literacy and high levels of educational attainment since the end of the nineteenth century. The geo-political position of the country and its limited endowment of natural and energy resources suggests that the country's future and international competitiveness will depend on both a highly educated and qualified population and an intellectually capable economy. The ethnic and linguistic diversity of Latvia's population also makes particularly important the role of the educational system and teachers in particular as a vechile for integration. Thus, the central issue appears to be the desirability of a well-motivated, flexible teaching force that is in a good position to respond to the changing and increased demands of the society in Latvia. The objective condition for having the teaching force of above mentioned qualities is the availability of facilities to improve professional status through opportunities for teachers' further education.

During the past five years all levels of education in Latvia have been experiencing forceful changes, which have presented new kinds of challenges to the country's educational institutions and their staffs. There has been a transfer of decision-making power from the centre to educational institutions. The responsibility for the content, administration, finance and competitiveness of education has been passed on to individual schools within the large education sector which may achieve the further development of the professional level of the teaching staff.

At the same time we are fully aware about the fact that someone cannot 'be' developed, and that simple fact brings to light why educational well-meant progressive changes have failed time and time again and far too often seem to disappear almost without leaving a trace. Ultimately, it is the teachers who implement virtually all the changes in the school environment. More so, it is almost the universal truth that no reform has succeeded without teachers' participation.

One of the most important prerequisites for high teaching quality is the level of education of teachers. The latest statistical data show the following situation (see Table 1)

Table 1

Educational institutions	Higher education %	Incomp.higher/ secon.pedagogical %	Secon.gen./ profes.ed.%
Primary schools	57.40	29.51	13.09
Elementary schools	68.49	17.72	13.79
Secondary schools	80.02	11.59	8.32

For different reasons, a dangerous tendency is observed - the average educational level of the teacher is decreasing; no wonder that this development causes serious anxiety. 84% of the teachers with 10 and more years of experience, have a higher education, while among young teachers with up to 2 years of experience those with higher education constitute only 47.3%. In other words, there is a trend towards a decrease of educational attainment of teachers. One of the reasons traced back in the recent past is that until 1994 teachers partly were trained at the secondary professional educational institutions. Today this situation is improving because teacher training institutions have been transformed into higher educational establishments. Still there remains another reason for the low standard of education of teachers, namely, low salaries and low prestige of the teaching profession in society. The purchasing power of teachers decreases dramatically day by day, while the difference in wages between teachers and other staff working in state or private enterprises is growing. Therefore, young and well educated professionals prefer to find a job in a private company regardless of their qualifications.

As in the majority of European countries, the teaching profession in Latvia is characterised by a continuing trend towards an increasing age. In Europe more than half of today's teachers are over 40, in Latvia the majority of teachers is about 50 years old. Thus, the age structure of the teaching community is not balanced. The proportion of the teachers is increasing. On one hand, this situation has ameliorated the teacher shortage, on the other hand, the extensive experience of those teachers in the Soviet type schools may very well hinder the reforms of the curriculum and teaching methods. The recent legislation changes have stated that teachers working after the retirement age may receive both salary and full pension. As a consequence, many of them will continue teaching. Anyway, these teachers must be included in a broad and diverse continuing education programme. Till now only 12% of them participate in continuing education programmes.

Facing this situation, in autumn 1994 the government of Latvia set the improvement of the teaching quality and the raising of the social status of teachers as a priority. Changes in the economy require young people with personal initiative, independent thinking and responsibility. Are our schools and teachers able to promote these qualities? Unfortunately, in the majority of cases both at primary and secondary level of teaching Latvia has still the authoritarian system of the previous era. Even though changes are taking place, teaching is still extremely traditional and authoritarian. Teacher controlled instruction and one way communication dominate. The system of marks apparently exercises a high level of control. Therefore, the education of both pre-service and in-service teachers must be altered in order to motivate teachers to develop the above mentioned qualities, otherwise they cannot encourage their students to develop initiative, independence, responsibility and other qualities needed for contemporary life.

Until 1990, all in-service training of teachers was organised and provided by the Teachers Qualification Improvement Institute. The teachers had to attend compulsory courses once every five years.

They were financed by the national budget. The curriculum was comprehensive, based on a system-wide approach which actually failed to be effective because it ignored teacher and classroom needs. The participants had no opportunity to make any proposals or evaluation of the content of the course.

The monopoly of that institute has been abandoned now. Courses are offered by different institutions and are financed by different sources. Since 1993 there is competition is held among the institutions offering teacher in-service education courses. That secures an efficient use of the national budget and stimulates the institutions to be more competitive. Nowadays, the teacher in-service study programs (usually from 36 to 120 hours) are carried out by:

- higher educational institutions like The University of Latvia, Daugavpils Pedagogical University, etc.
- institutions like Teacher Continuing Education Support Centre,
- local municipalities,
- different foundations e.g. the Democracy Development Centre, etc.
- international organisations and programmes e.g. British Council, Goethe Institute, TEMPUS and PHARE projects, etc.

The courses within in-service education focus on topics of methodology, educational philosophy, interactive teaching methods in different subjects and emphasize new approaches to teaching and learning across the curriculum, thus, promoting teachers' interest in research and offering the challenge to be innovative. The staff delivering the courses are usually university lecturers, experienced teachers with Masters' or Doctoral degrees, experts from the Teacher Continuing Education Support Centre or colleagues from abroad. An essential aspect is that they do not act like consultants or experts from outside; they try to motivate the participants to use their knowledge, skills and experience for the improvement of their studies.

The structure and content of in-service teacher education has to go hand in hand with the system of initial teacher education. After the reform of teacher education in Latvia the future teachers are educated at academic institutions of higher education in Bachelor's/Master's Degree programmes and/or professional development programmes. The above mentioned programmes in education are offered by the University of Latvia, Liepaja Teacher Training College, Daugavpils Pedagogical University, Latvia Sports Education Academy, the Riga College of Teacher Training and Administration and other institutions of higher education. In the majority of cases the content of these programmes is divided into three basic sections:

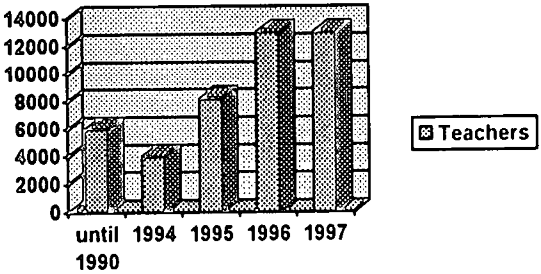
1. education, psychology and other social sciences,
2. didactics of different school subjects,
3. general education studies.

At the University of Latvia there are two possibilities of persuing teacher education. Either it is arranged in a way, that an academic programme (subject-orientated) and professional studies lasting four/five years take place at the same time and/or there is a consecutive arrangement: professional studies start after four years of academic studies within one year of intensive studies the degree in education is obtained. Institutions of higher education are exploring ways to improve the quality of education and psychology courses and try to find a union between theory and school practice that, in a way, is constantly changing because of the impact of social changes. The diversity of available courses has grown, a transition is being made from preparing teachers to teach only one subject to teach several subjects, so that teachers can cope with interdisciplinary topics and devote more attention to students' intellectual development. Declining birth rates in recent years suggest that the demand for teachers will decrease in the future; broader qualification will enable teachers to be more competitive on the labour market. This social situation definitely will have an impact on the system of in-service training in Latvia.

For the time being some teachers improve their professional training on their own, others in professional associations; some attend seminars or courses in local education centres, others apply for courses in Masters' or Doctorate programmes at universities or other institutions of higher education. The Teacher Continuing Education Support Centre's aim is to develop a unified system of teacher education and continuing education; in the near future there will be a proposal to establish regional centres and school support centres in order to encourage teachers to find the most appropriate type of further education facilities.

In 1995, the government provided financial assistance (fees and transportation costs) for teachers attending courses at institutions of higher education. More than 8 thousand teachers improved their professional skills and knowledge in 156 continuing education courses. Namely, every fifth teacher had the opportunity to participate in these state funded courses last year. The number of participants has increased substantially compared to the preceeding year. However, in accordance with the Law of Education (1991) over a three year period everty teacher is entitled to a 30 day paid period for professional training, which means that 13 thousand teachers should be involved every year.

There are the following expectations concerning the number of teachers to be involved in in-service teacher training (figure 1).



The state budget of 1995 anticipated granting 150,640 lats (approx. 320.000 USD) for the organisation of continuing education courses; the sum exceeds the previous years' allocation by 2.5 times. The biggest amount of this money was allocated for the payment of lectures, the development of teaching materials, rent, etc. The 1996 budget proposes to allocate an even larger sum; but there is a serious concern that the allocated funds are not going to be spent effectively, because:

- continuing education courses are still organised according to the availability of lecturers rather than according to the demands of teachers themselves,
- choice of lecturers remains extremely limited, especially, in the most demanded subjects, like school management and administration, educational policy, educational statistics, etc.
- there is a shortage of good teaching materials,
- teachers are often incapable of using literature written in a foreign language.

Besides, there are psychological barriers and we fully share R.Schollaert's opinion that any implementation of change interferes with other people's lives and, naturally, resolves in resistance against that change, because:

- it causes anxiety and threatens the level of competence, thus creating a negative effect on teachers' self- image,
- often it creates overload and fragmentation,
- the conditions for implementation of changes at schools very often are not adequate which makes teachers feel quite sceptical,
- sometimes well meant innovations reduce the initiative of teachers and make them feel like only the executives of the findings of others.

The results of the 1995 investigation proved the necessity to promote further education of teachers on the basis of the human paradigm, among the most demanded topics are:

- effective schools in a democratic society,
- human pedagogy,
- leadership and management,
- innovative activities in educational process,
- school curriculum today and in the future, etc.

Thus, priority areas in continuing education for the next two years include improving the professional skills of administrators; specialists in the sociology of education and economy of education.

Apart from the further development of professional knowledge these courses will improve teachers' professional autonomy, their ability to plan the educational process, to set goals for the current educational activities to take the responsibility for the results of their work and to become more self-confident. There is no doubt that only the individual is in charge of their own personal and professional development. The only thing outsiders can do - regardless of how competent and skilful they are - is to have some impact by serving as facilitators in a self-determined lerning process.

Hopefully the enrolment to properly organised in-service education will be of a supportive nature to meet the needs of teachers as they were stated at the forty-fifth session of ICE „Strengthening the Role of Teachers in a Changing World", namely:

- ensure their continuing personal development, including the upgrading of knowledge and teaching skills,
- be aware of the values and attitudes which lead to a healthy human society,
- be involved actively in the affairs of the local community and society,
- provide effective management of the learning environment and resources,
- be skilled in linking the curriculum of the school with the needs of the community,
- be skilled in counselling individual children and the management of groups of children,
- be skilled in the use and choice of a variety of teaching methods,
- be skilled in working with parents and other members of the community,
- be skilled in a variety of appropriate research methodologies.

No doubt these expectations are high, therefore we reckon that the future of in-service education should be viewed as the teachers' individual learning instead of the teaching of others like experts, educators, etc. expecting teachers to change by delivering lectures to them. There should be a shift in the emphasis on distributing information to stimulate teachers to seek, organise and implement knowledge themselves that will facilitate an innovation approach to teaching which will not only provide knowledge but will also enable students to develop the ability to foresee changes and adjust to them.

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Anunciación Quintero Gallego (Salamanca)

Problems Regarding the Directorship and Training of School Directors in Spain

The promulgation in 1985 of the LODE (Ley Orgánica Reguladora del Derecho a la Educación-Constitutional Law Regulating the Right to Education) and its subsequent normative development introduced radical changes in the Spanish educational system, which affected the basic structure of schools and consequently the function of the director in schools. One of the objectives of this law was to achieve a more collegiate and democratic educational system by means of the participation of the different members of the educational community, thus giving rise to changes in the directorship and management of the school. With the LODE, the school directorship lost its personal nature to become a collegiate directorship.[1] The individual power and influence of the director of state schools has decreased, both by the powers assumed by the School Council and by the control - mostly more apparent than real- that this governing collegiate body can exercise.

Democratic management and collegiate action require that different mechanisms and styles be used in the directorship, which in turn demand different skills and capacities, aspects which entail a real challenge for the directors. The access to the Office of Director proposed by this law is elective and collegiate. That is, the director is elected by the School Council, a body in which the different levels of the educational community are represented. He/She is elected from among the teachers of the school for a period of three years, and the only requirement is to have three years teaching experience.

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[1] The governing bodies of *state* schools established by the LODE are two types: Individual: „Director, Secretary, Head of Studies and whatever others the corresponding rules determine."
Collegiate: „School Council, Teaching Staff and whatever others the corresponding rules determine." Art. 36.
State assisted schools will have at least: Director, School Council and Teaching Staff.

1. Repercussions on the Teaching Staff of the System of Directorship Introduced by the LODE

The application of this new system of directorship gave rise to deficiencies and serious malaise among the teaching staff, deficiencies which in many cases seriously hindered the functioning and organisation of the schools.

Thus, for example, there was hesitancy on the part of the teaching staff when it came to presenting themselves as candidates to assume the functions of the directorship, so that in 1987-89, 515 of the directors had to be named directly by the Authorities, since no candidatures were presented. These figures are not very different from those for 1991-92, since according to the data from the State School Council, only 47% of school directors in the part of the country still controlled by the centralised Ministry of Education and Science, had been elected by the School Council in question (Report from the State School Council, 1993).

Moreover, increase of dissatisfaction and malaise of the members of the directorship was observed. While in 1983 62% of the members of the directorship of primary schools were "quite and sufficiently satisfied", in 1988, 43.8% of the directors of secondary education declared that they were "not very satisfied" (Gairín et al., 1989, 16). However, in 1989 the levels of satisfaction among directors on different educational levels, according to Alvarez et al., (1990, 29) were disappointing. Sixty-five percent considered their work as *frustrating* and *relatively frustrating* (12% and 53%, respectively), as contrasted with 24% who considered it as *relatively gratifying* and 3% *gratifying*.

A thorough analysis of educational reality in our country leads us to think that the origin of this dissatisfaction of the directors and the lack of interest in assuming the directorship in schools has to do with:

- *The ambiguity of the role* of director derived from its shared and collegiate nature. The educational Authorities make the directorship team responsible for the performance of certain tasks, but this delegation of powers is not accompanied by a clear and recognised authority, by adequate autonomy or by the capacity to make decisions.
- *The excessive and rapid proliferation of norms and rules*, quite often overlapping, which instead of creating clarity and delimiting functions, produces uneasiness and insecurity in the teachers, through the lack of definition and the multiplicity of tasks and changes. There is an urge to regulate and standardise as if the solving of school conflicts depended on it.
- *The existing tensions within the school*, as a consequence of the conflict of roles and the effect of partly contradictory principles (principle of unity and co-ordination vs. academic freedom; participation vs. individual and collective interests, etc.)
- *Incompetence for the role*, when the director does not have the experience and technical skills to be competent and effective in each and every one of the types of tasks assigned him/her.
- *The strong dependence of the director on the collective of electors.*

The problems caused by this new model of directorship were quickly detected and recognised by all the levels involved. The State School Council itself, in the report corresponding to the academic year

1988-89, showed *serious concern* for the *alarming situation* posed by the new system for electing school directors and urged the Educational Authorities to adopt, as an *urgent priority*, measures to support the directorship of the schools in order to solve this situation and make directorship more gratifying for the teachers.

In 1990, the Ley Orgánica de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo- Constitutional Law for the General Ordering of the Educational System (hereafter, LOGSE) was promulgated. This law, by referring to the quality and improvement of teaching, once again emphasised the need for educational authorities to favour the exercising of the directorship through means which improve the action and training of the directorship teams (art 58, 3).

In the face of the need and demand for the training of school directors, the educational authorities began to create training courses for directors and, with regard to their professionalization, a progressive return to positions prior to the LODE was seen, in the sense that an attempt was made to require some kind of technical skill in order to accede to the post.

2. Current System of Access to Directorship

In November, 1995, new attempts were made to solve the problems detected. A new law came into effect, the Ley Orgánica de la participación, la evaluación y el gobierno de los centros docentes- Constitutional Law for the participation, evaluation and governing of schools (LOPEGCE). This law attempts to guarantee objectivity and success in the electing of the director on the part of the educational community, so that those selected for directorship will be the most suitable and best prepared teachers for the office. The election procedure, the requirements for being a candidate and for being authorised to exercise this office are determined to this end.[2]

Prior to voting, the School Council must be familiar with the programme and team presented by the candidates, as well as their merits and the conditions which qualify them for his work.

Any teacher who fulfils the following **requirements** may be a candidate for directorship (art. 18, 1):

a) Have served for at least five years as a teacher in the state system at the corresponding level and have taught for the same period at a school of the same level and system.

b) Have held a permanent post at the school for a least one academic year.

c) Have been authorised by the Educational Authorities to exercise directorship.

In order to obtain *authorisation*, teachers must fulfil two requirements:

- Hold a specific degree or have taken courses to this end.[3]

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[2] This law repeals Chapter III of the LODE, corresponding to governing bodies. It establishes new responsibilities for individual and collegiate governing bodies in schools and extends directorship to four years.

[3] Those teachers who apply to exercise directorship will be **authorized** if they have completed the training programmes organised by the educational authorities or hold one of the following degrees:

- Degree in Education
- Ph.D.'s, holders of the Spanish 4 or 5 year Licentiate Degree or the 2 or 3 year Diploma who have at least 12 credits related to the Organisation and Management of Schools for Educational Administration
- Post-graduate degrees with a duration and content that fit what has been established for administration training programmes.

They must fulfil at least one of the following requirements:

- Obtain a positive evaluation of their professional activity in administration or teaching.

According to this Royal Decree, those teachers who have held the posts of Director, Head of Studies or Secretary, for a minimum of four years, are automatically authorised.

The period of office will be four years, extendible to a maximum of three consecutive periods at the same school.

The work of directorship is favoured and encouraged by financial and professional incentives, among which are the following:

- The organisation of training programmes to improve qualifications.
- Evaluation and recognition of work carried out in schools either in teaching or administration.
- Economic compensations.

2.1 Procedure for the Authorisation of Directors[4]

The procedure is developed in two stages:

First Stage: Verification that the candidates fulfil at least one of the requirements regarding training or academic qualifications. The requirements regarding training courses are as follows:

„a) Experience and positive evaluation of previous work carried out in the exercise of posts corresponding to individual governing bodies“

„b) positive evaluation of classroom teaching and in tasks of educational coordination, as well as, where appropriate, in the organisation, management and participation in governing bodies“ (art. 19,1).

[4] Only applicabe in those state schools belonging to the area administrated by the Ministry of Education and Science

- Minimum duration of 70 hours
- The content must include the basic aspects of the educational system, of the organisation and functioning of schools and the role of directorship teams.
- They must be organised by the Ministry of Education and Science or by educational authorities who are currently active, either directly or by means of a collaboration agreement established with the universities or with other entities.

Second Stage: Evaluation of previous work in similar posts or in classroom teaching, in tasks of educational co-ordination as well as, where appropriate, in the organisation, management and participation in governing bodies.

Teachers who have held a post in the directorship for at least one academic year may choose between the evaluation of their experience in the post or the evaluation of their teaching. The evaluation of this second stage is the responsibility of the Provincial Education Inspectors.

2.2. How is Previous Work in Directorship and Teaching Evaluated, What is Evaluated and by Whom?

The evaluation of work in the directorship (Director, Head of Studies or Secretary) is carried out taking into account the responsibilities established for each post and the socio-educational context of the school. The evaluation includes aspects relating to effectiveness in the organisation and management of resources, participation in the elaboration and putting into practice of the educational lines of the school, and the initiatives adopted for the improvement of the quality of teaching in the school (art. 5.5 of Royal Decree 2192/1996). The evaluation criteria and scale are determined on each occasion and made known previously to the person concerned (see in Appendices the scales of the evaluation reports established for this first year, 1996).

The evaluation of teaching takes into consideration direct classroom teaching, activities related to it and initiatives for improving teaching, as well as other activities related to educational co-ordination and participation in school life, attention to pupils and their families (art. 5.3 of Royal Decree 2192/1996).

Both types of evaluation are carried out by the education inspectors who gather information from diverse sources, depending on the post of the person requesting evaluation.

For the *evaluation of the director*, reports will be collected from:

- Head of studies
- Secretary
- Teachers
- Parents
- Pupils

For the *evaluation of the Head of Studies and Secretary:*

- Director
- Teachers

For the *evaluation of a teacher:*

- Director

In all cases the applicant will provide a self-report on the activity he/she carries out. This report will be based on a questionnaire which includes the evaluation criteria and scales of the tasks of directorship or, where appropriate, of teaching, which correspond to each post.

The instruments or sources of information through which the inspectors evaluate the work of the candidates for school directorship are of three kinds (or four), in the case of the option for the evaluation of teaching):

- Documents
- Questionnaires
- Semi-structured interviews
- Observation

For classroom teaching, direct observation of the teacher at work is also included.

2.3. Some Questions on the Process of Authorisation

Here we shall only pose a few questions related to three aspects guaranteed in this evaluation procedure for authorisation.

The Ministry of Education and Science has recently published a document for regulating the "*Evaluation of the professional work of teachers*" where it declares that one of the objectives pursued is: *to guarantee that the procedure fulfils the due requirements of homogeneity, transparency and objectivity* (p. 8).

However, taking as a basis both the procedure and the means used for guaranteeing homogeneity, transparency and objectivity, we like to ask the following questions:

Is transparency really guaranteed by the mere fact that the teachers who are going to apply for authorisation have a previous knowledge of the aspects or scales on which the evaluation with all its elements will depend?

Where is transparency when the evaluation is only known by the person concerned, and this evaluation must be kept in the offices of the inspectors of education to prevent it from becoming known by others?

> Information on the evaluation of each applicant is confidential and should only be known by the teacher evaluated. The inspection services should take the necessary measures to prevent the results of the evaluation becoming known to people other than those they are meant for, to prevent its being used for different ends than those for which it was conceived.
>
> (Evaluation of the professional work of teachers p. 30)

How can objectivity be guaranteed, when the evaluation, despite the diversity of sources used, is the exclusive and unique responsibility of one person, who in his actual position is far from educational practice? Can objectivity be guaranteed when, apart from what we have said before, we are faced with the ambiguity entailed by taking into account the setting in which teaching is carried out?

> ...objectivity is guaranteed by three basic elements: the diversity of the sources used, the responsibility of the whole of the process resting on a single professional -who can contrast the information obtained from the sources - and the importance given to the setting in which the teaching performed by the candidate is carried out.
>
> (Evaluation of the professional work of teachers, p.9)

Is homogeneity guaranteed if each applicant is actually subject to the discretion of the ideology and professional tendencies of the inspector assigned him/her, or else subject to the type of relationship that he/she has with the director, or where appropriate, the directorship team, teachers; pupils and parents, and even to the self-perception or self-esteem of the teacher, with all that this entails?

Moreover, the double option offered to those in directorship posts (evaluation of the administrative work carried out or evaluation of teaching) leaves open the back door. The director, in the case of conflict in the directorship team, or suspicion of negative criticism of his/her management by the educational community, can opt for evaluation of classroom practice. And the question is obvious and can also apply to all teachers, although it is more blatant in this case. Is the mere fact of being a good teacher a guarantee of being a good director? In our opinion it is not, *per se*.

To what degree can the teaching/learning activities that the teacher carried out in the presence of the inspector be a valid indicator of the daily activity of the teacher, when, furthermore, it has been agreed on beforehand?

And finally, what relationship of dependency can be created among the members of the directorship team and between the director and teachers who wish to obtain authorisation and therefore a good report?

This is the first year that this procedure has been followed and naturally we do not predict that it will last very long. Perhaps very soon we shall see new standards and regulations.

3. Plans for the Training of Members of the Directorship since the Introduction of the LODE

As we have already mentioned, the problems deriving from the democratic system of election and the non-professionalization of the directorship alarmed and worried all those involved in the educational sphere. The administration basically linked the problems that arose to the lack of training of the members of the directorship, thus giving rise to a great variety of courses, seminars, congresses, etc. aimed at training school directors and sponsored by a wide range of state and private educational institutions.

Training courses were organised for directorship teams, both from the central educational authorities and from the different regional authorities. Thus, and despite the autonomy that the organisers have to contract the professionals responsible for developing the content, the authorities to a certain extent ensure their "ideological control" as regards the training of directors (Barrueco & Quintero, 1994). In this sense, it is worthwhile to point out that, for example, in Salamanca, most of the professionals giving the courses pertain to the educational authorities; only one year was the participation of teachers from the university sphere requested. We do not know why it was decided to eliminate the expert university staff.

The training model followed by these courses varies according to each region or Provincial Ministry Office. Therefore, we shall focus on the model proposed by the Ministry of Education since this has been the one basically followed in those autonomous regions that have not yet received full educational responsibilities.

On the other hand, one must take into account the fact that the time limit for exercising the directorship (one or three years and even four) neither favours continuous training, nor stimulates its practice, nor makes the cost of training worthwhile. The Ministry of Education itself recognised the drawbacks of its own training system as follows:

> In the first place, it is very expensive and difficult to offer to all those in directorship posts. Furthermore, the benefit of training is slight if shortly after receiving it the posts are abandoned. Naturally it is unthinkable to offer it for temporary directors named for one year. Only short intensive courses of initial training can be considered. Even in this case, organisational difficulties abound ...
>
> (MEC, 1994, p. 77).

In 1993 the Ministry of Education published a series of documents with the objectives, basic contents and development of the *Training Course for Directorship Teams*. We shall describe, by way of example, the essential features of this course.

Basic objectives:

- To lay the foundations for the knowledge and analysis of the school from the perspective of the directorship.
- To motivate the directors in their work and help them to become aware of their role.
- To favour attitudes that contribute to the conception and exercising of directorship with a view to participating and dynamizing school life.
- To foster the creation of work groups and systems of professional communication among those responsible for the different schools with a view to encouraging subsequent training processes.
- To orient the directorship teams in the process of introducing educational reform in their schools.

(MEC-SGFP, p.8)

The contents were grouped around the following thematic units:

1. The school as an organisation (6 hours)
2. Institutional approaches (12 hours)
3. Structure and organisation of work in schools (6 hours)
4. System of relationships (12 hours)
5. Evaluation of the school (6 hours)

(MEC-SGFP, p.9)

Other complementary units were also recommended (on legislation, academic bodies, administrative management, curricular project, structure of educational authorities, general programming of the school, elaboration of the final report, designing of innovating projects...) with a maximum duration, for all of them, of 22 hours. The other 36 hours (the courses comprised 100 hours) were devoted to practice, which consisted of the preparation of a group study relating to the contents of the courses and which had some relation to the sphere of the school in which they worked (Barrueco & Quintero, 1994).

At the end of 1994, Prof. Barrueco and I began research with the aim of obtaining information on the opinion of the directorship members on the training course they had taken and on what influence it had had on their administrative practice.

The course which was the object of our evaluation was taken by 38 directorship members (directors, heads of study and secretaries) from primary and secondary state schools in Salamanca and its province. The course was given from January to May, 1994. The work sessions were four and a half hours long, mostly outside class hours (weekends and Wednesday afternoons).

The main objective of our study was, on the one hand, to learn the impact that, in the opinion of the participants, the training had had on administrative practice and, on the other hand, to see if there was any variation between the evaluation made by the directorship members as soon as the course had finished and their perception of the training received (six months later) once they had tried to apply the knowledge required and seen the results/impact of their training.

Let us just comment some of the findings regarding the opinion of the directorship members on the course, six months later, and its impact on practice.

In the first place, the directors did not agree with the courses being intended jointly for directors, heads of study and secretaries, or even for the directors of primary and secondary education together, since in their opinion, training should be adapted to the level, type of centre and administrative post concerned.

Whereas in the first evaluation (carried out through a questionnaire applied by the educational authorities at the end of the course) most of the directorship members declared that they were satisfied and in agreement both with the objectives and contents of the course and with their development, in the second evaluation, either because of the effect of time, characteristics of the questionnaire, greater freedom of opinion, since it was not directed to the authorities themselves, or else because of contact with the reality of the school, the directorship members did not seem to be greatly in agreement with the focus of the course or its development. Although the methodology followed (mainly explanation by the teacher and group discussion) was not rejected, more practical methodological strategies were called for, for example, the solving of problems or practical cases. When asked what, in their point of view, should be the main objectives of a training program for directorship members, they insistently quoted as a priority objective the training to solve the daily problems and conflicts found in the schools.

With respect to the practical applicability of the contents developed in the course, the scores assigned centred on values 2 and 3, on a scale of 1 to 5. Evaluation of the impact on practice of the training received was even lower, since many teachers assigned it value 1. In this sense, we noted great discrepancy between the optimistic expectations of the teachers with respect to the usefulness of the course for improving their work in the directorship, and the impact on practice, in which the performance of the directorship members had changed *little* or rather *not at all*.

The same did not occur with the evaluation they made of the relationships and work atmosphere achieved during the course. In this aspect, almost all the participants evaluated it as "participative and open" or "good".

We shall finish this exposition by referring to some data taken from recent research carried out by Gimeno Sacristán et al. (1996), which has to do with the subject in hand.

In the first place, it is curious to note that the opinion of the directors was divided as to gladly accepting the autonomy that, at least in theory, the LODE gives the schools. Thus, whereas 44.1% affirmed that there should be one set of regulations for everyone, the other 55.9% were of the opinion that there should be a wide margin of freedom so that each director may direct the school in his/her own personal style.

As regards the opportunity for training, only 22.2% of the directors declared that there should be training as a condition prior to election, and the majority, 72.3%, opted for training after being elected. Hence, they do not seem to agree with the system of access to directorship proposed in the LOPEG.

The priority subjects in the demands for training are those referring to school legislation, school evaluation and curricular design. We think the latter two are a consequence of the period of reform that the schools are experiencing. However, in teachers of the secondary "Bachillerato Unificado Polivalente" (BUP), a greater preference was noted for bureaucratic matters, whereas those from primary education (Enseñanza General Básica, or EGB) leaned more towards matters relating to educational aspects.

In the type of strategies and training procedures they prefer, there is total agreement between the directors of different types of schools (EGB, BUP and FP) on highlighting the possibility of having a consulting service for certain problems, or else having specialised consultants to visit the school.

As we have been able to see so far, the training of directorship teams and even the functions of directorship itself is a subject which still awaits definition and clarification, and needs to be tackled urgently and coherently. The training of directorship teams, from our point of view, should precede the exercising of directorship functions, regardless of whether it is a condition or not, but should also be broached during occupation of the post. Moreover, the training models should abandon traditional models (with excessive recourse to the study of theories and techniques) to *move closer* to models more centred on the demands of the directorship members themselves and on real practice, while remaining based on the theory-practice relationship. I emphasise *move closer* because I think that the application of this type of model implies a change of mentality and culture in the directors themselves and the schools, which, as we well know, does not occur suddenly. Fortunately, there are already some training experiences in our country fostered from university spheres, which have been successful and make us optimistic in this sense.

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DISPOSICIONES LEGALES:

- ***Ley Orgánica*** (Constitutional Law) *8/1985, de 3 de Julio, reguladora del Derecho a La Educación* (LODE)- *Constitutional Law Regulating the Right to Education.*

- ***Ley Orgánica*** (Constitutional Law)*1/1990, de 3 de octubre, de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo* (LOGSE) - *Constitutional Law for the General Ordering of the Educational System.*

- ***Ley Orgánica*** (Constitutional Law)*9/1995, del 20 de Noviembre, de la Participación, la Evaluación y el Gobierno de los Centros Docentes.(LOPEGCE) - Constitutional Law for the participation, evaluation and governing of schools.*

- ***Real Decreto*** (Royal Decree)*819/1993, de 28 de mayo, por el que se aprueba el Reglamento Orgánico de las escuelas de Educación Infantil y de los Colegios de Educación Primaria.*

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Professionalization or Deregulation

A Case Study of American Teacher Education

Abstract

An important hallmark of American teacher education has been its integral role in four-year or comprehensive colleges and universities for the past 100 years. In nearly 1,200 colleges in the United States, teacher education is offered as one of many baccalaureate or graduate level programs. The preparation of elementary and secondary, special and vocational teachers is offered as an integral part of comprehensive or university-based programs. Today that situation is threatened by a number of factors that could separate teacher education from its traditional place in American higher education. These factors include: 1) the inability of campus-based teacher education programs to keep pace with the accelerating demands and expectations of policymakers, 2) alternative preparation programs that are proliferating and gaining credibility, 3) resource constraints that are pervasive and real, 4) teacher shortage conditions that demand a response, 5) new forms of professional development which invite separation, 6) widespread development of professional development schools which are a form of capacity building by local school districts, and 7) the commitment to external assessment. Without responses to these factors, Ed Schools are vulnerable to the attacks of policymakers and could

experience the relocation of teacher education off campus and in local school districts.

Preserving the unique role that teacher education plays as an essential part of American higher education is a major challenge. There are a host of public policy and academic initiatives that could cause teacher education to be relocated off the campus and in the schools. Potentially reinforcing this relocation are the good efforts of college faculty and "reformers" who are creating 100 percent "field-based programs" or re-centring teacher education in professional development schools. These new "field-" or school-based entities could serve as sites for teacher education in the future; and the good intentions with which they are created could result in a series of unintended consequences for faculty and Ed Schools. A hostile fiscal and policy environment adds to the potential for relocation, and poses significant consequences.

Introduction

For the past half-century, teacher education has been firmly entrenched as an integral part of comprehensive colleges and universities in the United States. While Ed schools and teacher education programs have never been accorded the respect and admiration of more traditional arts and science programs or other professional schools, they have assumed a prominent place in American higher education. They have generated substantial resources for colleges and universities and provided opportunities for as many as a quarter of a million students who annually enrol in these programs. "Suspicion bordering on dismissal is reserved (by faculties) for one of the newer additions to the university, the School of Education," is how Rev. Timothy W. Healy, former president of

Georgetown University, described the relationship between others on the campus and Ed schools.

Perhaps the most prominent descriptions of the perilous position of Ed Schools on American campuses was that offered by Harry Judge (1992). From interviews in the early 1980's with university presidents, arts and science faculties, Ed school deans, and prominent researchers, Judge concluded that "(Ed Schools) have surely not yet found autonomy or confidence or credibility in the world of education as a whole. Nor is it clear that they have won acceptance as full partners in (universities)." John Goodlad, in his seminal work on American teacher education, Teachers for Our Nation's Schools (1990), described this uneasy relationship using the song title "Second Hand Rose" to note the way teacher education is "treated" on most campuses.

At the time that he finished his text, Professor Goodlad exuded confidence that this uneasy relationship could be "turned around" and asserted that "the proper initial and continuing education of school teachers (must) take place in a scholarly setting - one that ensures the blending of the theoretical and the practical through a unique joining of school and university cultures." Only four years later, Goodlad was less hopeful and worried that "teacher education could be lopped off as part of the selective pruning process (as American colleges and universities) seek to become leaner and better." he expressed his fervent hope that this would not occur. Today, more and more observers of U.S. higher and teacher education are concerned about the viability of teacher education as an academic-based or campus-centred program, part of the integral mission of American Colleges and universities. The factors and conditions that cause many to be concerned about this uneasy relationship include the following.

1. Perceived Inability of Ed Schools to Respond to K-12 Reforms

Goodlad said it would take "courageous, energetic, and creative" teacher educators capable of "rising to the task," to preserve teacher education as a university function. Today, on virtually every campus, faculty are rising to the task. The undergirding knowledge base, program structure, curriculum design, faculty, and student composition of virtually every Ed School in the United States is undergoing profound change. Constructivist theories of learning are being incorporated into every facet of teacher education. Attention to the needs of diverse learners and to issues of cultural and language diversity are at the centre of these changes. This represents a fundamental reorientation of virtually every facet of teacher education, thanks to considerable efforts by faculty and their leaders.

Faculty research paradigms are also changing with new research expectations centred in schools and focused on learning. Qualitative research methodologies are leading to the reformulation of promotion and tenure policies and a reconsideration of scholarship. This refocusing of research is paralleled by a reconsideration of where teacher education takes place. More and more of the preservice programs is being centred in schools - with a number of colleges now advertising that they offer entire programs in K-12 schools. It is increasingly commonplace for preservice teacher candidates to have observation, tutorial, small group teaching requirements and other assignments in K-12 schools before the 10-15 week student teaching assignment - with school teachers acting as instructors, co-operating teachers and so on.

While teacher education programs in the United States are infusing new learning technologies, new pedagogies, new performance assessment schemes, and new forms of partnership in teacher education, these often fail to keep pace with the demands and expectations of policymakers. At the same time that these changes are taking place, the policymaking community is asserting that teacher education is failing to contribute to K-12 school reform. They contend that teacher preparation programs are preparing teachers for the schools that *exist*, rather than for the schools we *need.* They argue about the form and function of those schools and find fault with teacher education for failing to embrace specific or particular reform efforts.

In addition, more and more investment is being made in "off-campus" programs and in partner or professional development schools. As teacher education enrolments rise (up almost 20 percent since 1990, in response to significant and growing teacher shortages), resources continue to fall, constraining the capability of Ed Schools to respond to the burgeoning needs of America's K-12 schools. Finding ways to overcome the negative perceptions of the policy community (and other academic colleagues) and, at the same time, sustaining the momentum and retaining the commitment to change are major problems on all campuses.

2. Alternatives are Proliferating and Gaining Credibility

In recent years, partly in response to the desire for more diverse populations to become teachers, but stimulated more by the policymakers' desire to enable "career changers" to find teaching positions, a host of alternative preparation programs have emerged. Some 45 states have promoted them and encouraged more and more prospective teachers to become teachers through alternative licensing schemes. While still limited to producing no more than five percent of beginning teachers each year, theses alternative licensure programs constitute a very real threat because of policymaker infatuation with them. Often of short duration, the programs are generally low cost and therefore attractive to cost cutting measures of state policymakers.

The movement is reinforced by the pervasive anti-credentialism that pervades the policy documents of conservative think-tanks. The Heritage Foundation recently called for "teacher certification requirements (to be) relaxed or abolished outright," as part of its efforts to promote charter and contract schools.

Increasingly, Ed Schools find themselves competing with these alternative providers who are often ahead of Ed Schools in offering a range of services - e.g., recruitment, assessment, placement, and inservice training in local school districts. The capability of these entrepreneurs often outstrips the ability of Ed Schools to respond effectively.

3. Resource Constraints are Pervasive and Real

Colleges and universities are faced with resource constraints. Virually every college and university in the United States is faced with flat or level resource projections as well as escalating costs - and scrambling to close this gap. A number of options - including increasing student tuition fees - have been denied to them by the policy community, so that finding alternative sources of support or imposing resource constraints are their only alternatives. Finding ways to sustain the extraordinary investment made in American higher education over the past three decades is the number one priority for college and university leaders.

Just as this is occurring, teacher education is confronted with further demands:

- the need to spend moneys on modern technologies to better prepare K-12 teachers
- the need to contribute to the establishment of professional development schools
- the need to compete with new forms of inservice education, with the failure to do so resulting in a potential loss of income
- the need to absorb the costs of more field-based programs - with higher costs associated with clinical faculty
- the need to invest in longer courses for more teacher candidates in order to meet the growing needs of beginning teachers

The likely inability of higher education to make this investment and the unwillingness of the public to increase resources for higher education make this a major problem for teacher education.

4. Shortage Conditions Demand a Response

In the United States, we are at the threshold of a population surge that will raise school enrolments to their greatest numbers in the history of American education. While this population surge will be geographically uneven, representing both children born in the United States and those immigrating to the United Sates, and will include unprecedented numbers of ethnic and racial minorities, it is a movement that has attracted little public attention. It is occurring when conservative politicians have firmly implanted the idea that education needs no new public support - and when, in the name of quality, many teacher education programs have "capped" enrolments or, at least, attempted to slow enrolment growth.

While schools can continue to draw from a so-called "reserve pool" of qualified teachers who have never taught, it is probable that schools will have smaller and smaller numbers of teachers from which to draw - a situation already commonplace for fields like special education, bilingual education, etc. The predicted shortages will likely drive school systems to both waive requirements (and hire unqualified teachers) and to rely upon alternative providers. Legitimising a variety of alternative providers creates a potentially problematic situation for higher education-based faculties.

5. New Forms of Professional Development Invite Mischief

In the United Sates, there has been a major shift in how we view inservice teacher training. Instead of the short courses offered on "inservice days" or university courses that generate required credits, a significant movement is underway to promote continuous school-centred, problem-based, teacher-initiated, and site-delivered professional development. Instead of individual teachers pursuing advanced work at the university - often subsidised by the local school district and used as the basis for advancement on the salary scale - new conceptions of professional development emphasize the group of teachers or entire faculty and focus on their problems. Stanford University researcher Milbrey McLaughlin (1993) recently suggested, "instead of targeting funding to institutions to provide professional development," new forms of professional development should focus on teaching, giving "teachers opportunities to collaborate on strengthening their skills." Policymakers and professionals are arguing that this is the only way to increase student learning and to more tightly couple school practices with K-12 content standards.

Given the ways that we fund university faculties in the United Sates - and reward scholarship - it is difficult to imagine how colleges and universities can respond. Constraints on faculty work in the schools and the potential "down-turn" in graduate-level credit generation make it virtually impossible to conceive of a positive future. Without fundamental reconsideration of policies of funding and faculty rewards, it will be difficult to avoid disengagement.

6. Professional Development Schools are a Form of Capacity Building for Local School Districts

In the United States, a host of past and future reports have advocated the establishment of professional development schools - school district-based institutions that focus on, and provide a venue for, the three stages of teacher education: a) initial preparation, b) induction, and c) inservice education. Standards for these PDSs are in development. Also there are substantial efforts to generate new public resources (as much as $2.5 - 3.0 billion in recurring moneys) to fund PDSs. Some 300 - 350 such sites already exist (and many more are being called for), and colleges and universities are embracing this idea as the best way to prepare beginning teachers.

Without a national climate of mutual co-operation, school-university partnerships that focus on the PDS present potential risks for the future because they provide local school districts the very capacity they have lacked to prepare their "own" teachers. Unless carefully constructed with particular consideration of their costs and consequences, these emerging institutions could actually detract from campus-centred teacher education.

7. Commitment to External Assessment

We are in the midst of a significant effort to move the judgement of both program quality and the efficacy of beginning teachers outside the university. Reinvigorated external assessment efforts pertaining to "units" or programs (accreditation and program approval) and to candidates (licensure and advance certification) impose the judgements of "outsiders" on college or university-based programs - and American universities and their professors historically have prided themselves on their autonomy and independence. The particular challenge of these new accountability instruments are that they are a) external, b) can impose structural (and hence, cost) changes - i.e., extended or fifth-year programs, c) recenter the undergirding philosophy of programs towards constructivism and reconstructivism, and d) emphasize technical proficiency (built on solid grounding in realigned academic programs). Reliance on a system of performance assessments (using portfolios and case studies) imposes further restrictions on programs and moves judgement about program quality and integrity away from university-based faculty and toward external examiners.

The precedent of state intervention is very real (capping, imposition of program requirements, standardised testing, etc.) The fact that these interventions did not produce the results sought by policymakers has prompted a call for new forms of control. Rather than accept Fullan's (1991) dictate that one cannot mandate what matters, we have new efforts to do exactly that.

Highly rationalistic in design and scope, this systemic-based reform effort is being challenged by numerous critics. The appeals for institutional autonomy and independence (particularly in an era of resource constraints) by college and university presidents and provosts make this a particularly pernicious development.

Conclusion

This should not be interpreted as an adherence to the status quo. We recognise that teacher education programs do need to change. What we insist upon is that Ed Schools carefully consider the consequences of their efforts for the long-term viability of their faculty and schools. Rushing into new forms of partnership, embracing new faculty responsibilities, and/or positioning more and more of the programs in K-12 settings can have both negative and positive consequences. What we urge is that every action be carefully considered and the short and long-term consequences examined.

For many reasons, teacher education is best when it is offered as a university program - with all of the college or university involved in the preparation and continuing education of teachers. The coming decade will be a time of enormous uncertainty and will present teacher education with many challenges. Unless faculties and deans carefully consider their actions, they could be on the outside of the university looking in.

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IV.

Youth Care and Special Educational Needs

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Educational Planning for Children with Special Educational Needs in Sub-Sahara Africa

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to issues in planning educational provision with reference to social, economic and political changes in the region for children with "special educational needs" as we approach the 21st century. Of great concern is the fact that policy makers, planners and the education system are still caught up in what we can call the 'economic paradigm' which overlooks the humanitarian approach.

The paper which is basically an overview will examine the current state of events in the region which exert pressure for change in the planning of provision. This will be done by a juxtaposition of historical factors including the role played by the institutional and cultural structures in the region. The situation of people with disabilities will be examined in relation to the world economic system - more specifically the structural adjustment programmes which are acting as a constraint on provision of services for this group of people in the Sub-Sahara region. The idea of putting monetary value on people's lives has influenced policy makers and educational planners resulting in the neglect of people with disabilities and depriving them of an equal share of resources.

The paper will be complemented with issues being addressed by an ongoing research project in Tanzania on 'inclusive education'. This is an exploratory study which focuses on the learning processes in mainstream classrooms as they impinge upon children with learning difficulties. The new knowledge generated by this study is expected to be used by parents, teachers, and planners at all levels for providing a more effective education for these children in mainstream schools.

I consider this topic to be a timely one as most, if not all, countries have committed themselves to providing basic education for all by the year 2000 in accordance with the Jomtien Education for All Resolution (1990). When it comes to special education, there is no doubt that the Salamanca Resolution (1994) will have an influence on the planning of provision for children with "special educational needs". However in submitting this paper I know I am discussing a delicate issue given that throughout the world there seem to be financial pressures to reduce educational expenditure and to find new ways to satisfy continuing social demands (Carnoy 1986). As for developing countries, the pressure is even greater due to demands posed by structural adjustment programmes where health and education - services touching directly on people with disabilities - have been the target (see Mwanza 1993).

The Situation of People with Disabilities : An Overview

Globally, it is estimated that the population of disabled people is 500 million of which 140 million are children and 100 million are severely disabled. Out of the total, 300 million live in developing countries where it is estimated that only 1% have access to any kind of appropriate care, rehabilitation, or similar services. In 1989 the World Health Organisation estimated that 7% of the population in Africa was disabled; in 1996 the population is 400 million and so there are probably around 28 million disabled people. Given that the rate of population increase is currently 3%, there is cause for alarm when contemplating the future. Despite their imprecision, the figures show that disabled people constitute an important reservoir of labour.

Turning to look at status, all over the world people with disabilities are still treated differently from the so-called 'normal'. Only rarely are they provided with adequate education and training, despite the rhetoric of 'equity', 'equality', and 'empowerment'. Integration of people with disabilities into mainstream society is far from being realised in most places. Whilst it might be inappropriate to use the term 'segregated' today, the position they occupy is of a more 'peripheral' nature. All these contribute to a lack of progress and in economic terms, a lack of productivity. The underlying cause has been seen as negative attitudes and so when it comes to listing priorities, the tendency has been to focus on disabled people's inabilities rather than their abilities. The same approach is visible in relation to the allocation of resources with people with disabilities always placed at the bottom of the ladder.

Terms like 'marginalised','disenfranchised','segregated' still seem to dominate when describing the position they occupy in society, again a clear indication of not being a part of the mainstream. I agree with Haskell (1992) who suggests that what people with disabilities need is empowerment, defined as economic independence and sufficiency, for effective participation in society . This can be achieved only when they have been equipped with the tools to do so - the knowledge and skills appropriate to contribute to the well-being of themselves, their families and society at large.

In Sub-Sahara Africa the situation remains bleak. Today incidence of disability has taken a different pattern. Genetic, nutritional, trauma, and diseases which have always been regarded as the main causes of disabilities have been overtaken by the consequences of events in the region: ethnic wars, environmental hazards, drought, poor sanitation, the dumping of dangerous chemicals, etc. Any projections for the future should be done with this in mind.

With the erosion of kinship structure, partly due to economic restraints, uncontrolled urbanisation, and the gradual change from the extended to the nuclear family structure, dependence is no longer guaranteed. Between 1960 and 1990 the population in towns and cities in Sub-Sahara Africa doubled from 15% to 31% (UNDP 1992). This removed from families the close-knit support system that would otherwise be available - for example to the parents of children with disabilities. This shift from rural to urban could mean that the end is in sight for the traditional beliefs associated with taking care of people with disabilities. In this case planners should be prepared for a challenge. The needs of this group can no longer be met through social institutions; there is a need for alternatives and a new approach when considering the needs of children with disabilities. Nor can governments ignore the problem. What is happening in this region poses a dilemma in terms of both national and global aims of equity, equality, and access.

The Pattern of Provision

a) Introduction

In many parts of the world the characteristic pattern for services including education for people with disabilities was separate provision. Sometimes this has been described as 'positive discrimination'. In the work context this took the form of sheltered provision. The consequences of this for developing people's abilities and for upward social mobility could be debated. However, in the 1960's things started to change. Separate provision began to be questioned. Ironically the thinking then was that modernisation and economic growth would reduce social inequalities. In the 1970's there was a shift from segregated classrooms. Different countries adopted different terms to describe the process - integration in the Scandinavian countries and in Britain, mainstreaming in the United States (and more recently the regular schools initiative). What is remarkable about these changes is that they were accompanied by legislation spelling out where the child should be educated and who should be responsible; this was a step towards recognising their rights. In Sweden the landmark is the comprehensive curriculum which was introduced in 1969 and revised in 1980; in Britain there was the Warnock Report and the subsequent Education Acts of 1981 and 1993, in the United State Public Law 94-142 the Education of All Handicapped Children Act 1975.

Sub-Saharan countries have been influenced by this movement despite the prevailing social, cultural, economic and political differences. In most countries integration has been introduced without any real planning about the nature of the services, the allocation of resources, and the roles and responsibilities of those involved. Hardly surprising then that today the situation is one where the policies seem to have had negative effects.

In developing countries integration has taken a different pattern. As a result of universal primary education, schools have opened themselves up to all children of school age. Thus, many children with disabilities and learning difficulties have found themselves in an environment that was not meant for them as provision has been concentrated in special schools or special units attached to mainstream schools. Studies in several countries have demonstrated this: Kisanji (1979) and Nambira (1994) in Tanzania; Piyasena (1982) in Sri-Lanka; Miles (1985) in Pakistan. Perhaps a more appropriate term to describe this is 'spontaneous integration'. Children are at school already; their presence in mainstream classrooms is unplanned, and yet this cannot be questioned since education is the right of every child. The current term 'inclusive education' could be more applicable to developing countries also.

In terms of numbers of children with special educational needs receiving education, there seems to be general agreement that the figure is below 2%. This is suggested by Ross (1988) for the Sub-Saharan region, by Miron (1994) for Nicaragua, and by Nambira (1994) for Tanzania. In comparison there has been a tremendous expansion of the general education provision (see Nagel and Snyder 1989).

Current policy developments in education for children with disabilities provide a framework for an efficient way of distributing resources where both they and their able-bodied peers will benefit. Ross (1988) could see the dangers of proceeding with the same inherited pattern and cautioned the planners:

> "The implications for the humane and realistic planning are all too clear. The strategies which developed countries used to build their special education services over the past hundred years will not work for this sub-region during the foreseeable future if more than a small minority of children needing services are to be looked after"(Ross 1988 pp 35).

b) Education in Africa

African countries have committed themselves to mass education since the 1960's. As a result, a large part of national public spending went on education and even today the region is said to spend up to 15% which is more than any other region (UNESCO 1993). Why did the new countries emerging from years of colonialism and moving to independence decide to take such a demanding step?

At the time of independence the colonial structure of education produced disparities in the education of the people. Colonial education was meant for the few and was a training for middle management. Disabled people were not considered. They remained the responsibility of the family, and they remained within their communities and did what they could. With independence came a spirit of nationalism and an emotional feeling to share out the fruits of the changes. For this reason education was seen as a major component for building social dynamics, improving standards of living, providing employment and distributing income. This was very much in line with the global concept of development where investment in education was perceived to have a direct link to national development by improving both economic and social status. In this way, African leaders had been influenced by the human capital theory and saw education as both a form of consumption and productive investment. Some have been critical of this. For example it has been suggested that nations have to reach a certain stage of growth before investment in human capital can be made.

It is therefore hard to understand why with this kind of stand, countries in the Sub-Sahran region have neglected education for children with disabilities despite the rhetoric of mass education and currently basic education for all by the year 2000.

In a world where the main concern for investment appears to be the maximum rate of return, planners in the Sub-Sahara region have adopted this, irrespective of stage of development and availability of resources. This approach does not seem to match the realities of the situation (economic system, pattern of social and cultural life) and a more human developmental emphasis could be more appropriate. Recent research in special education indicates the importance of non-economic factors in bringing about and sustaining change (Brouillette 1992, Porter et al 1992) Although not directed at people with disabilities others share this view of the economic analysis (Chinapah 1992). The Human Development Report called this approach the "sustainable human development paradigm" (1994 p.4). It puts people at the centre of development, regards economic growth as a means not an end, and protects the life opportunities of future generations as well as the present generation whilst respecting the natural systems on which all life depends.

c) Provision for Children with Disabilities

In the last ten years there has been no increase in the number of children receiving education despite the fact that the numbers in need of special provision continue to rise. UNESCO suggest that less than 2% of the children in need have some kind of service. Such institutions as there are and which do make provisions have resulted from the work of churches and charities. As such, there is no co-ordination and it is impossible to evaluate what is available both quantitatively and qualitatively. Governments have been taking the lead from these organisations, usually in the form of setting up small units attached to mainstream schools (sometimes called 'annexes'). These are based on the old medical model of identifying services according to the nature of the disability. Even this is sporadic depending on who is exerting pressure. Given the seriousness of the problem there is an immediate need to look again at the question of planning.

In itself this means a new outlook from governments, most of which have ignored expanding provision for people with disabilities. The excuse used continuously is the cost of services, thus making their progress dependent on the work of volunteers and philanthropists. The question to be asked is: expensive compared to what and expensive for who, given the beliefs in equity and equality? It seems like nobody has made the effort to discover the actual economic returns or losses if investment was made in the education of this group. Such an analysis would have to consider more general aspects - social welfare, medical care, total dependence, self reliance - in order to see if the country would gain in both economic and human resource terms if people with disabilities were given an appropriate education to make them independent.

That services for children with disabilities have remained at the periphery could be attributed to a number of factors. Historically, those with disabilities have always been the responsibility of their families. (Families here meaning extended and unlimited since every possible relative is included, hence there has been always someone to care for the person with the disability.) The introduction of institutions not only disrupted the traditional pattern, it was considered to be a substitute. Parents of disabled children started shopping around for institutions and services which were actually few in number. What these parents did not know was that there were not enough institutions to meet the needs and that governments could not afford to build more to meet the demand. For the majority of children with disabilities this has meant no schooling. Planning for the next century will mean restructuring the mainstream schools which are already there.

d) The Classroom Situation: An Example from Tanzania

A recent study in Tanzania raises questions about the effectiveness of teaching and learning within "spontaneous integration". The study which was explorative and qualitative, was undertaken in a primary school in Same, Kilimanjaro Region. The following objectives are being addressed:

1. to investigate teachers' awareness of the presence of children with learning difficulties in their classrooms;
2. to describe how teachers meet the needs of this group and how their needs are spelled out in operational terms;
3. to describe teachers' perceptions and expectations of this group and to see how they are projected on to them;
4. to describe the expectations of other children towards those with learning difficulties;
5. to examine and describe the nature and extent of teacher-pupil interaction;

6. to observe and examine the 'learning environment including time on task, nature of support given and who receives it, the kinds of learning activities occurring and the extent of learner involvement;
7. to describe teachers' backgrounds including training and to relate these to the learning environment of children with learning difficulties;
8. to document successful innovations which promote inclusive education.

In the study the learning environment was characterised by classes of up to fifty children and textbooks shared by up to nine children. In interviews, teachers admitted that they were aware of the presence of children with learning difficulties and could identify them by name. Yet, during observations, it was clear that nothing was being done to meet their needs. Sometimes teachers seemed to ignore them. In most cases the children were sitting in places where contact with the teacher was difficult. They put up their hands to answer questions rarely and nobody seemed bothered about their isolation. Looking at some of their exercise books, what they had written did not match the expectations of the teacher. Further interviews with education authorities at national, regional, and district level indicated that they were aware of children passing through the system without learning anything. There seemed to be general agreement that the following had contributed to this:

a) time allocated to the curriculum is insufficient to allow learning to occur; teachers have to rush to cover the content and so cannot spare time to help those with learning difficulties;

b) lack of commitment and low morale amongst teachers which is a consequence of the large numbers and lack of teaching materials;

c) lack of continuity/co-ordination between classes - teachers concentrate only on those aspects "prescribed" for the class.

Home visits showed that parents were aware that their children had learning difficulties. However, as the system had been operating, there seemed to be no communication between parents and teachers. This was confirmed by the headteacher who accompanied the researcher on one of her visits. She commented:

> "This has been very educative and an eye-opener to us. I have learned a lot from parents, they were friendly and welcoming. Imagine how much one can learn about children's problems. I can assure you we will continue our contacts with the parents whenever a child needs help."

Unless the problem is tackled, there are likely to be a large number of drop-outs in the future. Schools become meaningful only when learning take place. This occurs when children are equipped with the knowledge and skills for their future participation in society. Children with learning difficulties also need to have such an effective experience in the future.

The current policy developments in education as set out in the Salamanca Resolution 1994 provide a framework which countries could use in planning for children with learning difficulties, most of whom are already in classrooms in mainstream schools. This calls for a new look at the redistribution of resources so that every child will benefit.

Participation and Human Resource Development

Universally, the role of education could be summarised as the harnessing and developing of human potential. Education prepares people to contribute effectively to their own life as well as that of their family and society. The knowledge and skills provided should equip people to face the challenges of a changing world. As stipulated by Ratinoff (1995 pp.147) sustainable material progress needs a community of individuals endowed with modern skills, motivated to struggle and to improve their lot, and aware of the opportunities, choices and sacrifices. More relevant to people with disabilities is Bassey's definition of the role of education (Bassey 1992). He suggests it has two roles: to nurture personal growth towards worthwhile living, and to conserve, transmit and renew cultural values. In the definition, the stress is on "worthwhile" which is seen as something with meaning and with value. This could be both immediate and long-term. The reasons why developing countries need to incorporate education for people with disabilities into their plans will be looked at in terms of making somebody's life worthwhile. This is not to underestimate the continuing campaigns led by disabled people themselves. Education might provide them with a stronger voice, boosting their self-confidence and self-esteem. Disabled people need appropriate knowledge and skills to contribute to their own well-being. If they do not have these then they will continue to feel low self-esteem and fail to become productive and contributory members of both households and society. Whilst one cannot rule out the community caring for people with disabilities, in terms of planning, the basis should be that they will look after themselves.

The role that education plays in preparing people for participation must not be over-looked. Education has been seen as the creation of physical and mental competencies for individuals and societies to realise their full potential (Lofstedt 1992). Further, education has been perceived as major agent in producing skilled labour forces and the attitudes and values necessary for the existence of modern society. It creates properly socialised members of a rational society, who have the capacity and disposition to join in the struggle for progress as workers, innovators, consumers, organisers, and committed members of the political community (Boli et al. 1985). It has been the vehicle for centuries by which generation have transmitted their culture to their descendants (Rideout 1987).

Developing countries have acknowledged the importance of education as a base upon which greater progress can be made. For this they have invested a sizeable amount of their budget on educational expansion and continue to do so. African leaders see people as the fulcrum of the development of their countries - hence the focus placed on the development of human resources, seeing people as both a means and an end of such development. In this way, they are moving from the human capital thinking, the belief that has guided planning since independence. In resolution passed in Dakar in 1992 they affirm that human beings are the most valuable asset in developing countries and that the success and sustainability of the process of development lies in their effective utilisation and enhancement.

All of the above is a clear indication that without education it would be impossible for human beings to manage their environment. From the 1960's African countries have based their educational policies on human capital theory which has also paved the way for educational planning - and yet investing in education for people with disabilities has never featured on a list of priorities when it comes to national plans. There is hardly anything in the way of clear guidelines to help on this. Therefore, whilst policies have a tone of social demand, their implementation has followed very much the lines of cost-effectiveness.

Chinapah et al's (1989) re-interpretation of the concept gives a meaning to education which is more relevant to Sub-Saharan Africa. This new definition includes improvement of the environment, nutrition, population control, and development of cultural traditions and identity. In this way they share the views of others who also include high yields in agriculture and improved health as an outcome of education and training. It is suggested that education planning could become an effective instrument in the development of human resources only when it is incorporated into the wider array of social and economic interventions in both the formal and non-formal sector of education. This re-interpretation has given human competence a broader meaning than that given by some whose emphasis is on the economic relevance. One way of looking at this is to see education as having both direct and indirect benefits. The former occur when it contributes to the earnings of an individual and is something which can be measured quantitatively. An example of indirect benefits is when the education of the mother improves things for the whole family.

Without going into social philosophies of education, the following could serve as a summary of the kind of contributions that investing in children with learning difficulties can give since they will also participate in the development process:

a) education, be it formal or informal, gives a person opportunities for further development;

b) it provides a person with knowledge and skills deemed necessary for life;

c) one develops self-confidence through being allowed to express oneself verbally or in writing;

d) through education, minority groups have been able to voice their dissatisfaction and have received attention.

Expectations are that those who acquire abilities provided by formal education become agents capable of forging their own future whilst uneducated individuals are bound to remain as spectators of their own fate (Ratinoff 1995 pp.150). Given the large number of people with disabilities and the growing incidence in the Sub-Sahara region education planners should be aiming to promote the former and to condemn the latter as we move towards the 21st century.

Reflections on the 1990's

Current thinking has moved away from the personal tragedy and medical models of disability to a more pragmatic social model which sees society as oppressive. In using this model, the social situation of disabled people is compared to other groups marginalised by gender, ethnicity, or racial differences. This situation is evident from the inequalities in education and employment at both local and national levels (Campbell 1992). Disabled people themselves have waged a battle against discrimination. The approach used has much in common with Paulo Freire's conscientization philosophy where the oppressed stand up and defend themselves against the oppressors. These are the empowering practices that make disabled people - or any other social group for that matter - responsible for their own affairs. Some of this has been a result of efforts initiated by the UN and its agencies to bring attention to the situation of disabled people. We have seen these efforts result in the International Year of the Child in 1981, the International Year of Disabled People in 1991 and more recently in 1994, the Standard Rules on the Equalisation of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities.

The world programme of action can be looked upon as a landmark in both the situation of disabled people and their status. The two main emphases are on equalisation of opportunities and on living conditions, both of which have a bearing on the social and economic situation. Through it, disabled people have gained a platform to voice their concerns and intensify their struggle against segregation and marginalisation. As a result, disabled people are gaining more recognition and acceptance. There are more disabled people in leadership positions today especially in organisations of and for disabled people. This offers a better chance when it comes to decision-making and allocation of resources. It should be noted that those in leadership are educated people, again drawing attention to the important role of education as a pre-requisite for participation and thus justifying investment in the education and training of people with disabilities. The Standard Rules 1994 are a continuation of the world programme of action. The only difference is that they offer clear guidelines for nations to follow. In this way, they could act as an instrument for monitoring and evaluating progress on participation. They will serve as the main pillar for planning services for disabled people in the 21st century.

Discussion and Conclusions

This paper has attempted to identify matters which might compel countries to develop policies and provision for children with disabilities as an integral part of their educational planning into the next century. There has been a shift away from the purely economic to more humanitarian considerations with a focus on developing human resources and competence. The campaigns led by disabled people themselves provide a forum for dialogue which will influence planning policies for education. Both the Jomtien and Salamanca Resolutions advocate an equal distribution of resources. These might then prompt countries to invest in education for disabled people since the emphasis is on education for all. Education for those with disabilities should be an integral part of the system and so should also be a part of the planning process. The alarming increase in the number of disabled people especially in developing countries as a result of wars, AIDS-related diseases, malnutrition, environmental and other catastrophes makes this even more crucial and might themselves ensure that special education is a part of the planning process.

The current social, cultural, and economic changes more evident in the developing countries, pose a challenge to policy-makers. Erosion of kinship relations and the move from extended to nuclear family patterns call for alternatives in providing care for disabled people. Education has a key role. It is the foundation on which all other personal development and participation in society is built (see Carnoy 1986, Bassey 1992, Psacharopoulos and Woodhall 1985). For authors such as these the indirect contribution of education for the individual and society is important. When it comes to disabled people it is the indirect contribution which was significant. The majority of people with disabilities in the world are to be found in the developing countries where work becomes more relevant than employment. Psacharopoulos and Woodhall (1985) suggest that education should serve as a tool for the distribution of income and also that its concentration should be spread evenly amongst different social groups and between different places. They mention in particular people in poverty, a situation in which many disabled people find themselves.

My own view is that whilst I agree that education alone does not bring about development, in this case I am convinced that investment in education for people with disabilities, who in the past have been a neglected resource, is not only worthwhile but also a human right. This becomes even more important today with the current social, economic and cultural changes which the Sub-Sahara region is experiencing. In this case all approaches to education - formal, informal, and non-formal - are crucial.

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A 'Home-Spun' Network of Special Care

Special Education Beyond the Twentieth Century

In discussing the future prospects of the care for youth 'at risk' my starting point is the integration policy in the Netherlands which is:

- striving to keep children in their own families for as long as possible
- stressing the responsibilities of parents and family members
- organising support and help in a network of provisions and facilities intended to support the above.

The consequences of this policy for the family will be discussed. I will begin with a short sketch of the current situation in the Netherlands as far as the care of children with behaviour problems is concerned. Then I shall consider four questions:

1. Where will the responsibility for child-rearing be located and who will take care of children and young people deemed to be 'at risk'?
2. What is the main theoretical foundation on which the integration policy is based?
3. What will interventions in the future look like?
4. How will this policy work out for the family?

The Current Childcare Policy in the Netherlands

It is striking that during the 1980's in several countries in Europe, new legislation for children has been developed, accompanied by reorganisations in this field. This new legislation is the expression of a reform movement which started in the 1960's and 1970's. In Sweden, the reforms started in 1982; in the United Kingdom the Children Act was passed in 1989; in the same year, in the Netherlands, the Act on Child Care was passed; in Germany in 1990 the Kinder und Jugendhilfegesetz was introduced. The leading issue for this reform movement can be characterised by the following statement of Eberwein (1994):

> "Stigmatising institutions of special education and unnecessary protection limit the development of communicative competence and personality and lay the basis for social isolation. We can no longer maintain the medical model which cuts off the children from their environments, just to compensate for their disabilities."

Now this position has been embodied in new legislation and policing strategies under the label of 'integration policy' by the national governments in the different countries.

Len Barton (1989) surveyed four significant developments in government policies on integration and mainstreaming of children with disabilities and/or learning difficulties: the USA(1975), the United Kingdom (1981) Denmark (1982) and Australia (1984). On the basis of his survey, he concluded that for the USA, the UK and Australia where the policy focused on rights, professionalisation, and parental participation in decision-making, the changes have:

- amplified enormously the range of bureaucratic procedures
- bureaucratised the practices

- created struggles for resources as a result of redistribution of the financial means
- extended professionalisation both in terms of language and terminology used and also interventions made
- failed completely to change the educational and pedagogical climate in the educational institutions.

The Danish policy, on the other hand, seemed far more effective in that it focused on stimulating and supporting small projects in the educational system and disseminated the results as examples of and a stimulus for change. Central to real integration practices appeared to be:

- teaching styles (technical competence)
- pedagogic practices (professional competence)

In the Netherlands the reforms implied a fundamental shift in the approach to families at risk. The Act on Child Care involves a change from a system based on categories and offering highly specialised care and which stressed diagnostic assessment, selection, and placement to a more general, more differentiated system of multi-functional organisations, stressing planning, intervention, and evaluation. A key role is given to the parents, the family and the social network in bringing about change in the child's behaviour. The Act introduced the so-called 'as-as-as' policy: intervention as soon, as local, and as least intensive as possible, the stress being towards prevention. The system prefers help which is voluntary as opposed to compulsory/legal. The various social institutions involved with youth care should co-operate and integrate. These family-support programmes and home-based types of training are preferred by both youth-care workers and by social scientists. I will consider now some possible consequences of these changes in the near future and address the four questions outlined earlier.

1. Where Will the Responsibility for Child-rearing be Located? Who Will Take Care of Children and Young People Deemed to Be 'at Risk'?

From the beginning of this century society, as represented by the national government and by private organisations, could interfere in the relationship between parents and their children. The government re-acted only when problems became manifest. This intervention was global in that it implied:

- the immediate divesting of all authority from the parents - this took the form of a 'verdict' from a children's Judge who was added to the judicial personnel and given executive powers;
- the taking over of all (unspecified) tasks of the parents which related to the upbringing of their children; the children's Judge also became responsible for ensuring that help was given;
- on the whole the help given was involuntary and provided no matter whether the parents gave or withheld consent because they had only very limited powers.

The change has been that the newly organised forms of help preferably leave the parents' authority intact, specify the child-rearing tasks which are taken over by social/childcare workers and are voluntary so that parents are supposed to be motivated to participate in the helping and caring interventions; indeed not only are the parents but also the children are given a legal status in the planning and delivery of the help given. As a consequence of these changes the children's Judge has lost his executive responsibilities again.

The conclusion might be that familial authority has been restored on the one hand, but on the other hand, the parenting tasks are put under the control of specialised agencies. Though formally the situation has been clarified, in the reality of daily life there might arise confusion about who actually 'cares' for the child.

2. What is the Main Theoretical Foundation on Which the Integration Policy is Based?

Fundamental to these changes is a way of reasoning which justifies them. Executive responsibilities can be summarised as follows:

- external (environmental) stability will lead to internal (familial) stability which in turn will lead to developmental stability in the child;
- stability fosters integration in that it reduces the risk of 'dropping out'.

It is obvious that this reasoning is too simple. For instance, what does the relationship look like between the social and economic system, the ecological system, the social network of the family and the family system on the one hand, and the household, the family relations and the parent-child relationship on the other? Apart from this there is a direct relationship between these systems and the development of the individual child. Thus, in 1982, an authority like Michael Rutter concluded that our knowledge about the prevention of disorders in children is still limited. Moreover, recent research shows that there is no linear relationship between a child's level of competence at a particular time and its behaviour in future situations.

Nevertheless, on the basis of these weak, pre-scientific intuitions, new models for help for parents and children are then based on the supposed interaction between social environment, family relations, and characteristics of the child. Systems theory, the concept of ecology, and holism philosophy offer the scientific justifications for these models.

3. What Will Interventions in the Future Look Like?

The new policy results in the accentuation of the importance of external stabilising factors. Because of this, developmental factors in the child itself get less priority. It is striking too that no one is bothering about this. Now what kind of interventions are considered necessary to influence the stabilisation factors?

a) External Stability by Policy

In the last ten years the main focus has been the 'policing' of the external stability factors. The general idea is that if the environment can be stabilised by better administration and organisation, existing exclusion tendencies in society can be diminished. However, as Len Barton (1989) concluded, the integration policies focusing on legislation, clients' rights, and procedures result in bureaucratic arrangements only with hardly any integration effect. In the Netherlands the new legislation did result in time, energy, and money-consuming reorganisations and scaling-up of organisations, accompanied by detailed administrative procedures. The impact of these changes on the relationship between parents, care-workers, and children seems hardly noticeable however. The most important result has been an extended supervision of both the care system and the client system.

b) Internal Stability by Intervening in Family Affairs

In the survey by Barton (1989) far more effective approaches appeared to be small-scale experiments concerned with 'internal stability' variables. In the Netherlands the last decade has seen a boom in family-oriented intervention programmes; at least twelve different strategies and approaches have been either developed or imported from other countries. They may be differentiated according to their main objective as follows:

family system oriented - At home Project (Project Hulp aan huis)
Directive therapy (home based family behaviour therapy)
Intensified aid (Intensivering Hulpverlening)
Family preservation services (Families First)

parenting style oriented - Home Start (UK)
Virtual Education Home care (Praktisch Pedagogische Thuishulp)
Virtual Educative family care (mentally handicapped)
Home training (autistic children)
Family Project (Het Gezinsproject)
Portage Project
Orion home training
Video home training (plus)

The most important characteristics of these programmes and methods are:

- the entrance of the professional youth-care worker into family life; the information and the training are presented in the living room, the dining room, the kitchen, even the bedroom - in other words within the private life of the family;
- the extension of responsibilities of parents to make them 'change agents'; as such they must get information and should be trained

> to meet the special needs of their children; this meant 'professionalising' either implicitly or explicitly, family members by increasing their parenting, diagnostic, and helping competence.

Also the household is adapted to the new tasks of the family. In a growing number of programmes, video cameras are introduced to observe and record family interactions for later comment and analysis. A high degree of participation and motivation is a condition for help too. Though most parents seem to be motivated for the extra investment of time and energy, there is a growing uneasiness about this role diffusion of parent and professional care-worker.

A more sympathetic reflection on the consequences for the internal family relations is needed. This is necessary also because of a scarcely perceptible trend during the same decade, namely the sixty per cent increase in placements in residential care.(Exis 1995). The supposedly preventative function of family programmes seems not to be realised so far and the net result of these family programmes is that children and parents are becoming more visible and more subject to supervision.

c) Research

As was noted earlier, the individual development of the child gets hardly any attention so consequently no new types of individual treatment are worth mentioning here although there is a third type of intervention, namely research - and in particular research evaluating the effectiveness of the other two types of intervention to identify the most promising approaches. In doing so research has far-reaching consequences for future interventions.

On the basis of an extensive literature review about help for juvenile delinquents Terpstra (1995) concluded that the research itself contributed to the growing scepticism about environment-directed prevention programmes and about the research programmes themselves. Yet there still seems to be a task for research in terms of the development of prevention and treatment programmes - but on condition that:

- the local authorities learn to develop their own research policy since under the new Act on Child Care they have become responsible for child and youth care;
- the researchers are willing to invest in small-scale research projects which should be problem-focused and pragmatic.

A recently-held inquiry among youth-care institutions to get a picture of the need for future research (Van Lieshout 1995) revealed that 55% of the proposals had to do with provisions, facilities or organisation. In addition, 24% were about 'the relationship between the individual and society' (housing, health, work, social networks, etc.). Thus a total of 79% were concerned with 'external stability' variables! Only 14% were concerned with 'internal stability' variables, mainly the parent-child relationship. Last, and of least importance, 2% looked at the developmental problems of the child. This result reflects the one-sided orientation in the Netherlands on 'external stability' factors.

This one-sided interest manifests itself too in research priorities recently formulated by policy makers and related to policy and policy conditions. What is needed according to them is:

- process evaluation with periodic feedback for those who commissioned the project;
- development of planning and control systems;
- standardisation of administrative systems for treatment contracts;
- evaluation of effectiveness to determine the revenues of contract treatment.

Again the making visible of problem groups and making their situation controllable gets priority over issues like improving the contact between parents and children.

4. How Will this Policy Work Out for the Family?

To conclude, I would like to reflect on some doubts about the future prospects of the Dutch policy. The general trend seems to be that a 'network' of provisions and interventions is developed around the family. The network distributes pedagogical authority, splits up pedagogical tasks, and guides and controls the family. In my opinion, this trend will work out differently for families with different socio-economic status.

For families of high socio-economic status the network of provisions and educative facilities will be used to free parents from their care responsibilities - to enable the respective family members to have their 'own life'. (One can think of day-care centres and extra-curricular school programmes, personal counsellors and therapists.) Although family relations and personal contacts may be on a more equal level, the hierarchy of responsibilities will fade away. For example, I was told recently about a conflict between a father and his son. The conflict arose because the son did not want to talk over his problems with his father but preferred the contact with the therapist. The father, in turn, built up a depression because of this and was treated by his therapist. The mother waited patiently for the outcome without intervening and also because of lack of time as a result of her job. At the end, everybody in the network of the family took part in the solving of the problem - only the father, the mother, and the son did not communicate with each other.

In families with lower socio-economic status, on the other hand, the situation has a completely different result. Here the network will be used to strengthen the family bonds to make the family act as a compact entity. Because of lack of money to pay the fees for professional help in the network, they will be seduced to accept a family worker. In the Netherlands, most of what they have to do is with one-parent families. Usually this is the mother who will live on charity or social security; 40% live below the poverty line. If there is a father, he is frequently absent or unwilling to participate. The net result will be a fostering of mothering and the accentuation of her parenting responsibilities; the outcome will be at the cost of loss of privacy.

The role of research is different too for the different socio-economic strata. For the higher status families provisions are evaluated in terms of supply and demand. The growth in demand is taken as proof of the need for the extension of the existing facilities. Lack of possibilities for doing this leads to implicit selection mechanisms in favour of clients who have sufficient financial means at their disposal to pay for help, and which favour those clients who can match the cultural background of the family workers.

For families of lower socio-economic status research will take the form of evaluation of effectiveness. The supposed developmental and behavioural changes in the child will be used as the criterion variable. As I said at the start, there is no such relationship between external and internal stability factors and developmental change. Thus, the outcome of this type of evaluation is negative as might be predicted.

Now this is a most pessimistic picture which seems to deny the apparent improvements the new policy led to. However, just because of these successes we should not lose sight of the disadvantages. Therefore, family programmes and home-based therapy programmes should be investigated far more on the level of internal stability factors and their relationship to the development of the individual child. Only if this relationship can be demonstrated are we justified in violating the privacy and intimacy of family life. Moreover, on this level of research, we must include the perspective of the child itself. Last but not least, on this level, evaluation focuses on the quality of personal relationships directly avoiding socio-economic-status bound criterion variables.

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Approaching 2000:
Progression and Regression in Special Education

Educational policies and provision have undergone radical changes since the coming-to-power of the sequence of Conservative governments since 1979. These have had a major impact on all sectors of provision: pre-school, primary, secondary and tertiary. They have brought serious implications for all groups of learners and those who work with them. The policies are based around a number of fundamental principles which the Conservatives have tried to introduce into all aspects of life in the United Kingdom. These include competition and the effects of market forces, choices, cost effectiveness, efficiency as measured also by standards, accountability, and the transfer of funding from public to private sources. All are very clearly seen in the changes to education including those affecting children in special education.

At this point perhaps it is appropriate to note the various changes in terminology which have occurred within the field of special education. With the concern for more politically correct language and encouraged by the activities of disabled people themselves, the issue of terminology is important. It is also one which colleagues in other countries should recognise. In this connection ,for example, the use of the definite article 'the' prefacing a descriptor such as 'disabled', 'blind', etc. is now unacceptable and not politically correct. Within education, prior to the Warnock Report of 1978 the kind of pupils who are the focus of this paper were referred to either according to the nature of their condition (e.g. blind, deaf, etc.) or by the more generic term 'handicapped'. Following Warnock's recommendations which encouraged us to consider a broader band of the school population, the term 'pupils with special educational needs' came into use. This is still the case today although in the past few years - and certainly in the post-compulsory sectors of further and higher education - it is more common to use 'learners with disabilities and learning difficulties'. (See Corbett (1996) for a good discussion of the language of special needs).

Schools

Moving on now to look at the changes, it is rather ironic that what is regarded as one of the greatest steps forward should come as one of the first actions of the newly-elected first Conservative government. After the Warnock Report was published and after a suitable period of consultation, significant changes were introduced in the Education Act 1981. In particular, this is remembered for the 'Statement of Special Educational Need' which became effective in schools early in 1983. The 'Statement' was intended to identify the kind of support a pupil would need in his/her schooling especially if he/she was to remain in mainstream provision. Certainly there was a concern to ensure that children were integrated where possible and when it was in their best interests. This is now part of the recent history of special education. Much has been written about it and so it is likely to be familiar territory. Because of this I want to move forward now to 1988.

Arguably the most important changes affecting the school system came with the Education Reform Act 1988. The focus of the Act can be summarised in two words : curriculum and control. Since their return to power in 1979, the Conservatives have been concerned to improve standards and to use resources efficiently and effectively. They felt that this had not been happening because of poor teaching and by local education authorities ignoring their responsibilities yet at the same time costing a lot of money to function. To address all of their worries the Conservatives devised the 1988 Act. It introduced the National Curriculum into schools and prescribed curriculum content and levels of attainment for pupils at various stages of their educational career. To check their progress, all children were to be tested at four Key Stages in their time in school. The results for the tests have to be published so that parents especially are given information on which to exercise their right to choose a school for their children. Alongside this, the Act put in place a system whereby schools could 'opt out' of control by local education authorities and move to 'grant-maintained' status with funding coming directly from the government rather than being channelled through local authorities which wasted money on administration, etc.

The changes to mainstream education were seen as having a range of consequences for children with disabilities and learning difficulties. On the one hand, the National Curriculum defined clearly what every child in a state-funded school is entitled to ("a broad and balanced curriculum") and this could benefit some since in past times, some special schools had been criticised for their lack of concern with the mainstream curriculum and for their low educational standards. On the other hand, there were potential problems - for example relating to the appropriateness of the National Curriculum for some children. Perhaps the most serious worries stem from the national testing and the publication of results. Thus, if a child with a learning difficulty performs poorly in the tests, the performance could bring down the overall average scores so that when these are made public, the impression given to the community might be that standards are inferior to neighbouring schools. Parents then choose the schools with the 'better' results and so the process begins. One way to halt this would be for schools to refuse admission to pupils with disabilities and learning difficulties. By doing so, the move towards mainstreaming which had progressed since 1981 would be threatened.

The other dimension of the Act, the changing control of schools, might also jeopardise the progress of mainstreaming. Whilst under local authority control, schools are able to draw on a number of support services for their pupils with disabilities and learning difficulties. These were provided free of charge. However, if a school moves to grant-maintained status, it can no longer call on the local education authority for those services without having to pay for them. Putting this differently, some pupils would seem to be more expensive than others. Again, schools might not want to attract children whose presence would result in the schools having to spend more.

These were some of the anxieties expressed at the start of the decade. What has happened since then? To be fair to the government they have tried to keep the situation under review - although perhaps for purposes more to do with cost-effectiveness rather than the quality of the educational experiences of the children. With its concern for value for money and also for standards, the government asked the School Inspectorate to work with the Audit Commission to investigate special education. Three publications appeared in quick succession: 'Special Educational Needs - Access to the System', 'Getting In On the Act - Provision for Pupils with Special Educational Needs: the National Picture', and 'Getting the Act Together - Provision for Pupils with Special Educational Needs: A Management Handbook for Schools and Local Authorities'. All were published in 1992 and since then, another joint HMI/Audit Commission report has appeared called 'The Act Moves On' which offers an update (1994). The information in the first three documents is based on a survey of twelve local education authorities. They suggest that many aspects of policy and provision do need attention. For example, they investigated the issuing of 'Statements'. They found great variations in the time taken to compile and complete a 'Statement' and in the content of it. In some cases, the time taken could be as long as eighteen months whilst the content was too vague and general, making it difficult to judge the impact of the provision agreed and thus make judgements when parents appealed about what their child was receiving.

The government acted quickly to introduce ways of improving the situation. Following a consultative paper, the Education Act 1993 was introduced. Whilst there are aspects of general matters which affect special education, the most important part of this Act was the intention to offer improved guidance to schools and local authorities. This appeared in 1994 as the 'Code of Practice on the Identification and Assessment of Special Educational Needs' (DfEE 1994). The aim of this is to improve the efficiency of the system and to address many of the issues identified in earlier reports.

Much attention was directed towards the identification of pupils with disabilities and learning difficulties. There was also a concern that schools should make efforts to retain these pupils in a mainstream context as far as possible and also avoid the 'reflex' action of recommending the issuing of a 'Statement'. (Whilst this has negative effects in terms of categorising and labelling, from the schools' perspective, it was a strategy to ensure the provision of some resources.) Following the 'Code of Practice' -which is not obligatory incidentally although if any questions arise and a school has chosen not to follow it, this decision would have to be justified - if a child is having problems, there are five stages through which action is to be taken, each one moving progressively towards the issuing of a 'Statement'. Stage One is simply the expression of concern by someone (e.g. parent, teacher) which is noted and action taken to address the issues. If the concerns remain, there is a move to Stage Two which is a little more formal. Here the involvement of the school's special educational needs co-ordinator (sometimes , in small schools, this is an additional responsibility for another colleague, sometimes where the school is bigger, it is a specialist post) has more responsibilities especially with regard to the devising, implementation and monitoring of the Individual Education Plan (IEP) for the child. The IEP sets more precise and measurable targets which offer stronger grounds for appeal if not attained. If this is also ineffective, it becomes appropriate to move to Stage Three. It is at this point that the school can call on the advice of professionals working outside the school (e.g. an educational psychologist). Even at this point in time, efforts have to be made to meet the child's needs within the mainstream school. Finally, if none of these are successful, Stages Four and Five are applied with the likely result that a 'Statement' will be issued. As can be inferred from the above, the Code does try to ensure that all schools face up to their responsibilities to all pupils and do not see either the application of a 'Statement' or the exclusion of the pupil as the first (easy?) option. When it comes to the procedures involved in issuing 'Statements', a six month timetable has to operate starting at the time when the decision is made that a 'Statement' is necessary. Clearly this is intended to avoid the delays identified in the HMI/Audit Commission reports although it has been pointed out that there is an implication that the procedures can be completed in the same time-frame for all children irrespective of the nature of their difficulties. Research by Male (1995) has shown that sometimes the delays result from the local authorities trying hard to ensure that a proper comprehensive, diagnostic assessment is carried out and that parental appeals also contribute to delays.

It is too early to comment on the impact of the Code of Practice. There has been a proliferation of books intended to help teachers understand the process (see Ramjhun 1995, and Hornby et al 1995). An increasing number of papers are appearing in journals too. It will be interesting to observe the impact of the Code of Practice in the longer term and to see if it does make a contribution to the mainstreaming process which had been underway since Warnock and which had been under threat since 1988.

Further Education

Perhaps the best way to summarise changes in education and training for learners after the end of compulsory schooling is to state there has been a shift towards a more vocationally-oriented system. This is more obvious in the further education sector (mainly 16 -19 year olds) than in higher education. Industry now has a major influence on courses and qualifications. Yet, in the United Kingdom, there is a lot of evidence showing the struggle that people with disabilities and learning difficulties have in finding and keeping jobs.

Many people were concerned about this and continued to campaign to ensure that the needs of this group were not overlooked. Many colleges of further education developed high quality provision. Then came the Further and Higher Education Act of 1992. Taking the further education dimensions first, the Act allowed colleges to leave local education authority control; there were to be closer links with local industries via the creation of local Training and Enterprise Councils (TEC) which would also have responsibility for allocating a considerable proportion of funds for training young people; the overall system was to become the responsibility of a newly created Further Education Funding Council (FEFC). Each of these measures has significance for learners with disabilities and learning difficulties. For example, college independence and the severing of links with the local education authority meant that they could no longer rely on some central services and the co-ordination of learner support. Equally, the local education authorities could no longer ensure that the colleges were allocating an appropriate level of funding to this work. As an interim measure, the FEFC guaranteed that colleges would receive at least the same level of funding for students with disabilities and learning difficulties as they had done in the past. In the longer term, FEFC decided to carry out a thorough investigation of the situation. A committee of enquiry was established chaired by Professor John Tomlinson. The members took evidence from many sources including students via a series of workshop sessions in several parts of the country. They also visited many colleges both in the United Kingdom and abroad. The final report is due to be published in Autumn 1996 and might well be as significant for further education as Warnock was for schools. (Note -

the report was published in September 1996 and is called 'Inclusive Learning' see FEFC 1996.) Perhaps this might be aided by the introduction of anti-discrimination legislation which becomes effective in December 1996. The Disability Discrimination Act 1995 brought with it changes to existing education laws. One example is that every further education college must now produce and publish a 'Disability Statement' which outlines its policies and provision for learners with disabilities and learning difficulties.

Higher Education

Universities and the higher education sector were also changed by the 1992 Act. Within this sector there are some important differences in the kinds of learners involved. Unlike further education where there are large groups of people with learning difficulties, students in higher education do not have intellectual impairments. There is a standard category system used. The categories comprise students who are blind/partially-sighted, deaf/partially-hearing, mobility impaired, and those who have: a specific learning difficulty (e.g. dyslexia), a hidden disability, a multiple disability, or a medical condition. Also, unlike f. e., students are not on separate, discrete courses and programmes; they are integrated into mainstream provision. In recent times there has been a lot of concern about the participation rates of some social groups but more often that not disabled people have been overlooked and attention has been given to women and people from minority ethnic groups. The 1992 Act ended the distinction between the traditional universities and the former polytechnics; the latter changed their names to become 'universities' (e.g. Lancashire Polytechnic became the University of Central Lancashire). Funding was also made the responsibility of one body, the Higher Education Funding Council (HEFC) although each of the four countries making up the United Kingdom has its own council.

In giving guidance to the funding councils the government indicated that they should give attention to disabled students. Accordingly, in England, the HEFCE set up an advisory group and allocated £3M in both 1993-94 and 1994-95 for work with students with disabilities and learning difficulties. Institutions had to bid for funds to support their own projects. In 1993-94 thirty eight projects were funded, in 1994-95 forty nine. (See HEFCE 1995, HEFCE 1996, and Hurst 1996 for more details and discussion.) Having undertaken a thorough evaluation of these two special initiatives in 1995-96, a further £6M was made available although to cover the period 1996-99. Despite these efforts the basic issue of finding a way to finance permanently those institutions which make provision for these student remains.

There is also the issue of student finance. It is rather paradoxical that whilst finance for full-time undergraduates in the United Kingdom has become more of a problem since the freezing of grants and the introduction of top-up loans, the situation for many disabled students has improved. The situation changed in 1990 when the top-up loans were introduced. To deflect negative criticism about their potential impact on disabled students, the government introduced some modifications to the existing Disabled Students Awards (DSA). Instead of just one payment, students could now claim for three additional expenses: those resulting from having a disability, the purchase of special equipment, and the buying-in of non-medical personal assistance (e.g. communicators working with deaf students). The amounts available have been increased with the rate of inflation although there are still many problems with DSA especially those emanating from the varying practices of the local education authorities who administer it.

It is not just the concerns associated with developing policy and provision for disabled students that are of interest currently in the

United Kingdom. A wide range of other issues has become apparent. Finance for both students and institutions is one but there are many others - the duration of undergraduate programmes, the efficient use of resources, the content and relevance of the curriculum, etc. There has been a growing public debate about these and indeed about the future of higher education. In response to this the government has established a committee of enquiry chaired by Sir Ron Dearing. The terms of reference require the committee to consider the definition and purposes of higher education, teaching and research, the shape, size and structure of higher education, the wider contribution of higher education to national life, and funding issues. In the more detailed advice, a number of student groups are mentioned - but there is no specific mention of people with disabilities and learning difficulties, a return to the status quo of the 1980's. This is at the very least surprising given the progress made since the 1992 Act especially. It is also very worrying since the 'Dearing Report' when it is published in Summer 1997 will have very serious effects for higher education for the next twenty years or so. Those of us who work with and for disabled students are taking every opportunity to ensure that disability does appear on the agenda of the committee of enquiry and that their needs are not overlooked at this important stage. Meanwhile, and as with the situation in further education, changes to educational legislation consequent upon the Disability Discrimination Act 1995 mean that by January 1997, all higher education institutions have to produce and publish a Disability Statement. These have to outline current policy, provision, and future plans and are intended to be used by people applying for places who want to find out more about the support and facilities available.

Conclusion

Throughout the education system in the United Kingdom there is much happening which is giving cause to be optimistic for the future in terms of policy and provision for those with disabilities and learning difficulties. Considerable progress has been made - and really in a very short time. This is something to celebrate and be proud of. Yet, it would be foolish to think that the gains made so far are secure. There are threats from all sides and the anticipated change of government which could occur in 1997 is unlikely to reverse what is already in train. Regression is a distinct possibility for this group of learners who are 'at risk'.

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Integrated Early Assistance to Physically Disabled Children of 0 - 4 Years of Age and their Parents in the Netherlands

In this article I report on a project that is taking place in the Netherlands. The purpose of this project is to improve assistance to young physically disabled children and their parents. The problem in the Netherlands is that help for children like these is separated from help for mentally retarded children.

Reasons for Setting Up the Integrated Early Assistance Project

In 1993 parents of physically disabled 0-4 year-olds concluded that the care did not adequately match either the child's demand or their own. Social workers, too, agreed with this statement. Research resulted in a request for a subsidy to improve this situation. The Ministry of Public Health, Welfare and Sport granted a subsidy and on September 1st 1994 the Integrated Early Assistance Project started.

Target Group

The target group consists of young children with physical disabilities in the age group of 0-4 and their parents. We use the term physical disability in the sense the World Health Organisation (WHO) has attributed to it. The collective term comprises a broad range of disorders from minor to complex. The main implication of physical disabilities is that the general development of the child is at risk. In young children there is an extra dimension as the physical, the mental and the socio-emotional development in the first years of life are interwoven. This inter-connectedness has consequences for making a diagnosis. Often it is a long time before the diagnosis can be made. During the child's first years of life, parents of these children often feel insecure about the child's development and prospects. Due to the physical disability the child's reactions may be contrary to the parents' expectations. This can cause insecurity about the manner in which the parents should approach the child.

Difficulties and Issues

As mentioned before, parents of 0-4 year-olds with physical disabilities felt that the assistance did not meet their demands or those of the child. These are the difficulties and issues:

- Because of the target-group oriented organisation of the Dutch system of assistance, different areas of expertise have been developed in the Netherlands in different care networks, each with their own strengths and weaknesses. In the assistance to mentally handicapped children, expertise was mainly developed with regard to the goal-oriented stimulation of the children's mental development, the supervision of socio-emotional problems of the parents and the provision of upbringing support in the home.

- The assistance to children with physical disabilities has expertise especially in the integrated provision of medical and para-medical approaches.
- Often problems are complex and several disciplines from several care networks are involved. This applies in most cases to both diagnosis and treatment.
- Both care networks have separate rules and regulations and ensuing financial frameworks. That is why co-operation between the various networks is difficult to achieve.
- In many respects the support to parents of children with physical disabilities needs to be improved.
- The marginal role that professionals attribute to the experience-based knowledge of parents and to possibilities for intervention in the home.

The Objectives of the Project

Objectives of the project are :

1. The effective delivery of assistance that deals with the above difficulties and issues as defined by the parents themselves.
2. Description of the organisational conditions under which this assistance offer can be created and maintained.

Perceptions on the Integrated Early Assistance Project

In stating the characteristics of the care content the underlying philosophy plays an essential part. This will be described in general below.

Each child has the right to grow up in surroundings with optimum conditions for development. For young children this usually is the home. Due to factors that may be within and outside the child, this optimum development may be hampered. The child is then entitled to assistance. In many cases this will mean that the parents, too, need help. However, parents are and will be ultimately responsible for their child.

This also applies to parents of a child with a disorder in one or more areas of development. These parents however are regularly faced with problems they don't quite know how to handle. After all, they rarely know of families with a handicapped child in their vicinity, where they might seek advice. In that case experts can provide assistance. Parents select from this offer of assistance what they feel is in their child's and their own best interest. The experts are at the parents' service.

Regardless of the child's disorder, it is always a child in an upbringing situation. In particular with regard to these children, people are often inclined to focus on the disorder and to look upon the child as the sum total of the defects. Decisions on assistance must be considered at all times in the interest of this childrearing situation. It is important to young children that their attachment process goes well. For the provision of assistance this means that the number of professionals that is actively involved in the treatment is kept as limited as possible.

We must ensure that children are placed and treated within the normal, everyday care network as much as possible. Unnecessary segregation must be avoided.

Characteristics of the Care Content

On the basis of the parents' wishes and the above philosophy, integrated early assistance should have the following characteristics:

- The starting point is the demand for help, not the existence of available help. A specially appointed social worker clarifies the request for assistance, in co-operation with the parents.
- Professionals and parents have to work together. They work according to the co-operation model. The knowledge provided by parents and social workers is of equal value.
- Assistance starts immediately, even if it has hardly been possible to make a diagnosis.
- Diagnosis and treatment have to be interwoven at all times in every area of development of the child.
- It is important that the child meets as few experts as possible: an inter-disciplinary approach is necessary. This approach implies that team members are able to take over each other's tasks in carrying out the treatment plan.
- All kinds of assistance should be available to parents: assistance in raising the child, assistance in going through the process of accepting the child, information on the disability and adjustments, etc.
- Assistance should be given in the home, whenever possible.
- The motto for assistance is: normal if possible, special if necessary.

The Key Concept: Integrated

In the integrated early assistance project the notion *integrated* is the key. This implies assistance that is both timely and complete. This has ramifications for all levels of the project. The following offer some examples of this. Diagnosis and treatment are taking place in an integrated manner. It is inherent to the medical line of approach that is characteristic to children's rehabilitation, that the primary objective is: complete clarity about the diagnosis. This is contrary to the starting point of integrated early assistance. In young children it often takes quite a long time before a diagnosis is made. Information, obtained from treatment, can highlight the diagnosis. A second example is that the child must be approached in an integrated manner: all aspects of early childhood development are related. The medical model caused the child to be seen as a sum total of defects that had to be remedied. It is essential that parents and social workers draw up a plan together, in which the child-rearing perspective is the paradigm. On an institutional level, assistance must be available in an integrated manner. Parents express their request for assistance and then choose from an arrange of provision, combined by various institutions, that is at their disposal.

The assistance described above must be available in every region at a familiar institution easily accessible to parents. A great deal of information should be available here for parents. The institution must be well-known to both people requiring assistance and to referral agents. This institution must also function as a kind of centre of knowledge to which regular care and primary and secondary care can apply for information in order to be able to deal within their own institutions with children with physical disabilities.

An adequate policy must be devised to render it possible to give information to institutions in primary and secondary care, in youth health care and in regular day care for children, about detecting the risk of being developmentally retarded, and to make it possible to provide consultations on the spot.

The Progress of the Project

The project was started in September 1994, financed by the Ministry of Public Health, Welfare and Sport. The project is being carried out by the Netherlands Institute of Care and Welfare (NIZW) and the Foundation Service Provision to the Handicapped (SDG).

NIZW created a national team to develop the project's content and to devise the experiments. SDG provides the supervision to the implementation, first in the experiments, and will then draw up a plan for national implementation.

It is intended that the project is established and developed in five experimental locations. In the Netherlands the regions were called upon to respond: in each region there had to be a co-operation between three institutions: a day care centre for handicapped children, a Social Pedagogical Service (SPD) and a rehabilitation centre. They all had to sign a co-operation agreement as a token of their commitment at a managerial level.

Applications were made by 32 areas, and 5 were granted. The experimental locations had to have different characteristics. Those selected to participate were a rural institution with little provision, a major town with much independent provision operating on its own, a location that had been working in the described way for two years, subsidised by other parties, a medium sized university town and a region with a town that has to take care of a rather large, poorly equipped area.

It is the task of the five experimental locations to improve care content in practice, first. Each has to provide treatment to at least 20 children.

The experimental locations are given a certain amount of money each year and decide for themselves how to spend it, naturally on behalf of the development of Integrated Early Assistance. Twice a year they must give an account of the activities they engaged in, on the basis of which the subsidy is extended.

The team of NIZW and SDG publishes a newsletter that contains information about integrated early assistance. It has a nation-wide distribution: paediatricians, rehabilitation doctors, general practitioners, day care centres for handicapped children, etc. There are three issues a year. The newsletter proved to be important to public relations.

The experimental locations must devote attention to all elements of the care mentioned above. A registration form was developed in order to be able to monitor the process of treatment and the supervision of the child and its parents. It took much longer than planned for the experimental locations to actually start dealing with the children. Integrated Early Assistance Teams were formed, co-ordinators were appointed and steering committees were created. Parents had to be represented in every steering committee.

In the meantime NIZW's supervision team researched the state of affairs in the experimental locations at the start. As well as among participating institutions, but also among parents an inquiry was set up into their experiences with the provision of assistance to their children and to themselves. It appeared that parents and children saw a great many professionals, an average of six per week. There was also rather a long time between the point at which application was made and the start of the treatment.

Major differences in mode of operation can be observed in the experimental locations. Some experimental locations meet with a great deal of opposition from other sources of provisions. It appears that the co-ordinator plays a key role here: he/she is able to evoke enthusiasm among the professionals directly involved, to inspire parents that apply with trust, deal with opposition from other institutions in the region, etc. Experimental locations with a strong co-ordinator work best.

National Implementation

From September 1996 until September 1997 we will continue to develop the content of care in the five experimental locations. In the same year the organisation models in the experimental locations must be mapped out. Also a description must be made of the conditions necessary for the development of Integrated Early Assistance.

A sound preparation of the national implementation route is essential. With the knowledge, gained in the experimental locations, NIZW and SDG must market products that do justice to the content of Integrated Early Assistance, as well as improve the implementation process. Consultations on this subject with the Ministry of Public Health, Welfare and Sport take place on a regular basis.

The implementation issue has been an important area of attention from the very beginning. Since the project was started, areas that had not been selected as experimental locations have been united in a so-called second circle. This group of people from various institutions and from various sections (directors, managers, social work professionals, etc.) meets regularly at the NIZW. They are kept abreast of the developments in the experimental locations and in addition they receive all publications and instruments that are being produced. Thus the national implementation is prepared beforehand. Financing is a major problem. Barriers in the financial systems must be broken. A beginning was made with this, also, by involving the care insurance companies, both on a national and on a regional level. In addition, the institutions will have to be prepared to use their regular sources of income.

Money is not the only difficulty in this project, so too is what might be described as co-operation. Integrated early assistance implies co-operation at all levels to meet the demands of parents and children. Our ultimate goal is that there will be one single point of access to services for all children that are developmentally disadvantaged, and their parents.

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The Rationality of Action among Participants in the Field of Special Education

Background

This paper has its background in a research project where I interviewed ten pupils with special educational needs, their parents, their class teachers, and their special education teachers about how they understand the special education given to pupils with special needs. The pupils were seven years of age and in their first year at school.

From the 1960's Norwegian schools opened up for the integration of children with special educational needs. The right of every child, irrespective of ability or health, to attend a local school has been stressed, and as a result of this, the Norwegian school authorities closed several of their special schools.

In this study, my interest focused on how pupils with special educational needs, their parents, and their teachers understand the special provision that is made. There have been several studies on how the teaching is best given, on the result of this teaching, and so forth. We know something about the effects of integration schemes. The user groups themselves have not been heard specifically. In this study they were invited to talk about the actions they took concerning the school. Their understanding is seen as an expression of their rationality, Their actions were determined by their understanding of the situation.

This paper discusses some of the results of the study. I will concentrate on the accounts by the pupils as illustrations of how they understand special education. I will discuss how the qualitative interview in educational research has its strengths and weaknesses as a method of investigation in a study like mine.

To understand the term "action" as it is used in this paper, we have to enter the field of special education. The pupils' main actions are related to the teacher and other pupils more than to the content of the curriculum. As can be seen from the interviews, the pupils have a clear view on this. The parents' views follow a more subject/curriculum-oriented line; their son or daughter is going to learn subjects important for their future lives. Their actions are to support their child, to be critical or supportive towards the school and to find their own ways of helping their child.

The teachers, both class-teachers and the special education teachers, have clear definitions of their responsibilities and actions in schools. They are to teach, to support, and to create stimulating situations for the pupils. The actions in the field of special education differ among the participants, but they are all concerned with learning and teaching.

A Vygotskyian Perspective on Activity

Activity theory is a strong tool for understanding human activity. Vygotsky develops a psychology about people from human activity in daily life. It is these activities that are central to the theory. The activity is linked closely to goals; to speak about an activity is to speak about its purposes (Linden 1989).

In activity theory, people are self-made. From our activities we form conclusions about our feelings, attitudes, and rationality. Our feelings, attitudes, and rationality are developed through our activity and in our activity. Vygotsky builds his theory of activity on the assumption that people do have motives and goals for their activities. If there is no goal, there is no activity in the Vygotskian sense of the term. We could assume that the goals of the pupils in my investigation would be to learn what their school-friends are learning. We assume that they are motivated for this task, for this activity. In the activity they use knowledge that they have acquired previously and from this, they develop new knowledge necessary for mastering new situations. The reason for this is the motivation to learn. We are now in the developmental zones of the child in Vygotskian terms.

It is the gap between the actual developmental level as indicated by independent problem-solving and mastering, and the proximal level as determined through problem-solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more-able peers that is of interest (Vygotsky 1978 p. 85).

The pupils need to understand the field of knowledge and to have a goal of learning. If not, the learning becomes instrumental. Mellin-Olsen (1989) defines instrumental learning as a learning strategy derived from a meta-concept of understanding, as instrumental understanding. We see here two different pairs of learning and approaches to the control of knowledge. One is by understanding and controlling knowledge by motivation and goals, the other is by using instrumental knowledge.

By using Vygotsky, we find a link between the participants in the field of special education. There is an interaction between them and this interaction is based on their understanding of the field. The activity is an interchange between the individual and the nature and environment. Through this interchange we are influenced and in turn influence our surroundings. We develop our understanding of the environment. It is the perspectives of the participants as active in the process of learning and teaching that makes activity theory very significant.

The data from the interviews includes examples of both kinds of learning. Below I will use the words of the participants themselves to indicate what they understand about the field and why they act in the ways that they do with the pupils' education.

The Qualitative Interview: A Conversation for Creating New Knowledge

I am interested in the phenomenon of understanding and the ways in which the participants express it. Some of the questions I explored were: how does the young pupil describe his or her own learning? How do parents and teachers describe their own actions in the field of special education? My method was to talk to them in a qualitative interview, perhaps better described as a research conversation. The various groups indicate their understanding through conversation. Some of the accounts take the form of stories containing narratives about how they see their participation in the field of education for children with special needs. The conversation gives the researcher an opportunity to explore beneath the surface of the informant. In what follows I will defend my choice of method and offer examples of data derived from interviews, and especially that obtained from the children.

In analysing the data I have to interpret it. I see similarities and differences in their stories. The search for a discourse stems from Foucault. A discourse can be said to be a representation of experiences, ideology, and practice. It is the way in which we express ourselves in a special field such as a school, a hospital or an office. When Foucault examines a psychiatric hospital, he considers the historical conditions for the development of 'psychiatric' thinking. The discourse of psychiatry is old, originating with the need to exclude deviants from the wider society. It includes diagnosis, treatment and care. At the same time as resting on historical premises, it includes the formation of new language. It constitutes history, language, and thought all at the same time. We have all experienced the discourse of the school - as pupils, teachers, or parents. The school as an institution with a particular discourse is widely acknowledged. Possibly one can identify a discourse of special education within this over-arching school discourse. Certainly within special education, we encounter a certain history, language, and ideology. If a discourse on special education exists, it must be regarded as part of the whole school discourse.

The Conversation as a Research Tool

The qualitative research interview, here called the conversation, has a theme. This is special education, teaching and learning. This theme is one chosen by the researcher; the researcher has determined the agenda. The informants are invited to participate in a conversation on themes chosen for them. They had been invited because it was assumed that they had an interest in the field. This assumption was correct in that they agreed to talk to the researcher. The adults did have the opportunity to reject the invitation but this was not shared by the pupils. They were instructed to meet the researcher. As one boy, Kare, said in his opening sentence, "What do you want me to say?" Within this there seems to be the notion that there is a 'right answer, a right story'. He is eager to please - so what should the researcher do?

After a few minutes he says, "And then it is finished." He agrees to speak for a little longer but at the start he was very reluctant. This could be because he is not interested in school, learning, and lessons.

It is interesting how few pupils of that age (seven) refer to school, school subjects, or what is taking place in the classroom. Do they talk about school when they get home? Gerd, the mother of Beate, said," Beate never says anything about school. We have to persuade her if we want to find out anything." Camilla tells stories about playtime. "We play hopscotch, 'witch' and so on." Her tone was enthusiastic; she used many words in her account. When I asked her about life in the classroom, she talked more slowly, searching for words. Her language was plain and poor.

The conversation has a goal defined by the researcher. I want to know how the informants understand what is happening in special education. Is this experience too close for the child to talk about? Amongst the adults the language is rich, they expressed themselves clearly. Yet it is the children who experience school every day. To explain this I am tempted to use a metaphor. It could be that what was happening here is like a fish swimming in water. The fish does not know about the water; he is in the water and he takes it for granted.

The children's understanding is related to teachers, parents, other pupils, and curricular issues. When Beate was describing how she worked with the "Red Book", the "Red Book" was her understanding of what was going on. I was interested to find out if Beate understood why she was working in a small group for part of the day. She said, "The teacher has told me it is because Erling (the other pupil in the group) is so nice." In this understanding, Beate also offers an explanation. She understood the situation and created an explanation that was acceptable to her and to her environment.

Rolf told another story. He was giving an account of how the day had gone, especially the final forty five minutes at school. He had indicated on a list a number of activities he was not allowed to do (e.g. to push, to hit other pupils, etc.) but as he said, "It is a pity but I have a bad memory."

Camilla was in the class all the time but during some lessons there were three adults present. "This is when we are taught to behave ourselves, and when we are doing maths," she said.

The Conversation as a Meeting Point of Two Languages

Adult language is consistent. I use concepts such as teaching, lessons, understanding. The language of children is descriptive. The term 'Education' in my language to them means' when the teacher says to open your books'. To them 'Learning' is when they have to sit quietly or are writing. I must transform my own language to theirs - and yet the possibilities of misunderstandings remain. I have to be sure to use language in their terms to find out the level of their understanding. To do this my questions had to be repeated, sometimes until the child itself asked me to stop.

There is an ethical aspect to all this. How far should one push a child for the sake of research? There is also, another important question: what if I do not accept the child's explanation? As a researcher I am not the one who should tell the child that he is a small group because he is a slow-learner or is too restless to be allowed to sit in class. The only children in the study who did seem to have clear views were the emigrant children who had been taught in their own language. In a narrow definition of "special educational needs" this group would not be included; they do not come within the official definition of the term. (However they are financed from the same source and so I included them in my investigation.) Yasmin said," I am going to learn to speak Norwegian because in Norway they speak that language. You do not speak Chinese in this country - the language that I speak." Goffman describes a boy who did not know that he was brain-damaged before that term was brought into use officially. Then "the community insisted on using the concept about me. It was like joining the AA. You can not be honest towards yourself before you find out what you are and what the society thinks you are or ought to be." (Goffman 1963 p.149)

The pupils meet me in conversation but they do not accept being diagnosed. Jette Fog calls conversations like this the Trojan Horse. We go beyond the informants' boundaries; the openness and confidence of the conversation allows the researcher and the informant to acquire new knowledge which helps with the continuation of their lives. Here lies the difference between the clinical interview and the research interview (or in this case the conversations with the children). I am looking to discover their understanding of the situation. We will both develop new knowledge of the situation, exchanging and interchanging views. From this the pupils will be able to relate their own goals to what is happening. The understanding lies implicit in the purpose of the activity.

Interviewing adults poses other dilemmas. Alf, father of Asle, says, "In my days, all my work was marked with red - everything that I did wrong. I was not stupid or dumb, but my books told me that I was, all the time. It would be better if they mark it in green." I can identify with this, as an adult and as a parent. In the case of teachers, our language is identical. We are fellow-professionals, sharing some mutual experiences through teacher training and working in schools. We are part of the same discourses of school, of education, of teaching. Inger, a special education teacher, says, "I remember when I was twelve, I was a dreamer. One day, the teacher called me to the blackboard and asked me to do some verbs. I did not have a clue and I am sure that the teacher did it to punish me. As a teacher myself, I am very concerned about not treating pupils like that. I understand that this is not proper teaching - it is revenge." Bjorg, another teacher, has a different view. She views teaching in special education as a field of diagnostic work involving simplifying the curriculum and supporting slow learners.

When reading the data, we can see how the informants' understandings differ. Some show an instrumental understanding (time, speed, the context of the school, curriculum, kinds of unacceptable behaviour). Others express an understanding based on their own experiences. They have experienced situations that have had an impact on their lives and on their understanding of the school. This applies also to parents like Johanne and Alf, special education teachers like Inger, and children like Beate (as in her explanation of the Red Book.

The researcher changes the interviews into transcribed text. To try to understand the meaning of the text, I use a hermeneutic approach. I read parts of the text and try to find out its meaning by placing it in its total context. When Inger tells me about her own time in school, I can see how this fits into the broader context by taking into account all of her comments. I consider separate statements in the context of the whole text. I can perceive a desire on the part of the informants that what they say in the interview fits in with their self-understanding. This is in accordance with what might be called the outer framework of phenomenology. The aim of phenomenology as a perspective is to interpret and to explain and to explore the meanings of events and situations for the participants themselves. This involves going behind the surface meanings and giving voice to what is hidden.

Methodological Choices

Conversation was chosen as the research tool for this investigation. When choosing a method, there are some important issues to be considered although one concerns the instrument which is best for the task. Choosing to use conversation is not without problems. When using it with adults, it is an easy approach. However where children are concerned, it could be that two languages are involved - that of the child and that of the researcher. This might lead to difficulties. In particular I must think about the child's ability to express abstract concepts. There were several alternative possibilities: drawings, comments on pictures, role-play, etc. My decision to use conversation was taken because of:

- familiarity with the method
- ease of application
- usable with all informants
- relevance of the information likely to be produced
- validity of the information found in the stories.

Interpretation

Mellin-Olsen (1996) claims that the researcher must always have the right to argue for her interpretation and analysis against those made by others. However one must accept the existence of many other perspectives and interpretations of the same phenomenon. He also stresses the importance of explaining and clarifying one's own position as essential. There are some matters which were especially useful in the interpretation of the data produced in my investigation. I know something about children, I know something about the field of special education and about teaching and learning. I bring this knowledge with me when I start to interpret. In brief my approach to analysis involves a number of phases:

- the first interpretation is occurring during the conversation itself
- the second comes after the transcription of the tapes

- the third, fourth, etc. comes from repeated readings of the text, searching for types of understanding amongst the informants.

There is no answer to the question of how many times a text needs to be read. Kvale (1996) suggest that it is finished when there is a sensible meaning, free of in-built contradictions.

The main purpose of this paper has been to focus on the understanding of special education of some of the participants in the field. This understanding is the foundation on which learning takes place. This is the principle on which the investigation was founded. In closing, I will indicate how I think we can develop special education which makes use of the understanding and expectations found amongst the informants in this study. I hope that further investigations can be undertaken involving pupils, parents, and teachers. The variations between them might then be used to strengthen the system of support for children with special educational needs thus allowing them to develop to the full their potential for learning.

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Special Education and Teacher Training in Spain

Introduction

This paper reflects on the changes in special education in Spain since the 1970's and their influence on the policies and training of special education teachers. To start we must look at the new definition of the concept of 'special education' and what is supposed to be the culture of diversity and then go on to consider training programmes and how they are undertaken.

Special Education

When discussing special education it is necessary to examine other terms related to it and which are sometimes used as equivalents or synonyms. These include terms such as ' integration', 'diversity', and 'special educational needs'. Since 1970 in Spain both the concept and those it is intended to support have changed. The old idea based around an individual - medical model has given way to the present approach in which educational interventions occur in contexts which are as normal as possible. The idea of integrating children with disabilities and learning difficulties into mainstream schools became widely accepted during the 1970's. This is linked to the idea of equality and of every individual's right to education. In society everyone has to live together irrespective of differences and so there was a move towards ending segregation and exclusion.

The General Education Law (1970) was concerned with special classrooms and special schools which were really at the margins of the education system. However what the law did was to introduce the Orientation Service within the Ministry of Education and Science. Special education remained a sub-system of the general structure. Some years later, in 1982, the Law of the Social Integration of the Slightly Handicapped (LISMI) considered ways of helping people whose disabilities and/or learning difficulties were only slight including rehabilitation and support in the work context. The Royal Decree of March 6th 1985 was the key event in making progress on integration into mainstream schools.

Integration, however, has not been interpreted in the same way in all countries. There appear to be three general models: the Anglo-Saxon, the Scandinavian, and the Latin. Spain's approach falls within the last-mentioned. The most striking differences between the three models are the placement of pupils, the organisation of services, and the personnel involved and responsible for integration.

In the 1990's the new Law of General Arrangements of the Educational System brought a new concept of special educational needs. It was estimated then that around 12% of the population (between two and three million people) have a special educational need of some kind. The English Warnock Report (1978) has had some influence with its emphasis on a broad definition of pupils who have problems with learning.

Whilst this is the situation as understood by us, it is not seen in this way by others including teachers, parents, and others involved in trying to meet the needs of pupils with disabilities and learning difficulties. Terms such as 'integration' and 'special educational needs' are used frequently in official documents and published research but they might not be a part of the everyday practices of schools. Currently the main focus of special education is on diversity. This is one of the basic pillars on which the contemporary educational reforms are built. At the same time it is a controversial question especially when it comes to the ideologies and attitudes of the professionals involved and indeed, of society itself. Whilst, on the one hand, there is support for accepting that people are different with different characteristics and learning styles, on the other hand there is the competitive ethos in society which seems to serve to create even more differences especially in terms of equality and inequality.

Within education diversity implies giving attention not only to attitudes and values but also to the curriculum and its organisation, and to methods of teaching and learning. To accept diversity implicit in the concept of integration means that there must be changes in educational principles and practices. Underpinning this is the desire for effective schooling for all pupils irrespective of context and background. As a consequence the concept of interaction changes. It moves away from simple teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil interaction and involves considering the teaching and learning materials as well as the pupils' families and neighbourhoods. All of this is impossible to achieve without important changes to the schools and to the teachers since it involves seeing the meeting of special needs as the responsibility of all teachers and not just of the specialists. This is not to say that the changes will be felt in the same way by all teachers; some will be more predisposed to it than others, depending on their ideological and pedagogical perspectives.

The Special Education Teacher's Profile

Arising from the previous discussion which outlined both the social changes and the new conception of special education in Spain, it becomes necessary to reform the training of special education teachers. Since special education does still encompass a wide range of specialism, there remain teachers with different degrees and levels of specialisation. In the following discussion the focus is on teachers who will work in the formal education system and on their initial training.

The teacher as a professional must have knowledge of children with different needs, knowledge of learning and classroom processes, knowledge of strategies for supporting these pupils and useful resources, and knowledge of the curriculum and ways in which it can be modified. This implies a very thorough and comprehensive training programme and is based around a view which encourages seeing the whole person rather than simply the disability or learning difficulty (see Parrilla 1996).

By adopting this approach it is possible to train teachers in such a way that they are able to assist and support children with a wide range of needs - although this must be balanced by avoiding the creation of teachers who are too much of a generalist. Perhaps it is preferable if teachers in special education do have experience in ordinary classrooms first and become familiar with children's cognitive development, the skills associated with the teaching of reading and writing, the acquisition of language, and the growth of the child's social skills.

The components of a teacher training curriculum consist of three complementary, inter-related parts: the theoretical, the behavioural, and the practical. The theoretical dimension refers to the understanding and acceptance of diversity and tolerance. In the view of some Special Educationists, the key aspect is the recognition and acceptance of difference which is regarded as a value rather than as a handicap (Melero 1996). The behavioural would be the result of a transformational process and which would involve getting the teachers to act as agents of change, especially with regard to attitudes. As for practical training, it is necessary to consider from which point of view the process is being examined. I support Melero's idea when he asserts that the main objective is "to be competent to teach is to teach how to learn". (Melero 1996 p.23). The links between theory and practice are fundamental. There is no point in simply piling up ideas without taking actions. Sometimes, indeed, there are contradictions between the theoretical principles and the practicalities of the real world. One of the reasons for these are that the theoretical principles are new whilst the real world is established and known.

Initial Training

What kind of special education teachers are we training? If we consider the context we can see that the kind of training to be given should meet the needs of teachers both inside and outside the classroom, the needs of peripatetic teachers and those working in centres, and the needs of those whose roles and responsibilities are in the management of special education. Therefore, training needs to be multi-dimensional, aimed at equipping teachers to support the needs of children with a wide range of different characteristics and in a variety of settings. Attention must be paid both to diversity and universality.

To try to ensure that initial training matches the needs of the work context and the new laws regarding special education, there will need to be changes to the regulations governing teacher training. The interest is no longer about producing teachers who are technocrats who are experts and very able; instead we need teachers who are thinkers and who can draw on a range of theories in order to aid their understanding and actions in situations as they arise. In the words of Popkewitz, "I care, I know and I can do it; it matters and I can do it;' I think globally and I act locally."

I will now set out the new proposals on teacher training and what is expected of teachers in special education. The new proposals began to be implemented in the academic year 1992-93. With the introduction of these, the Experimental Plan of 1971 disappeared and a new system began. This was more in line with the needs of the new thinking on special education.

Initial teacher training is the only programme of study that can be undertaken in every province in Spain. The initial training comprises three courses. The planning of the new courses was slow. In the first place the Council of Universities dictated the general guidelines. Then, groups of experts developed these in each specialist area of the curriculum. Within the teaching profession, many argued vehemently that a teaching degree should be elevated to the level of a Bachelor of Arts. This meant that the duration of the course would be longer. However these points were not accepted. Within the autonomy enjoyed by every university, they each devised their own course programme.

The curriculum includes both a theoretical and a practical part. The theoretical knowledge is built around core subjects (about 30% of the course) other subjects which are obligatory at all universities in Spain, optional subjects, and elective (free choice) subjects. Overall the weight cannot be less than 180 credits which involves a weekly workload of between twenty and thirty hours including practical work.(32 credits have to be completed in practical work.) Assessment of all subjects involves both theoretical and practical elements.

The degree in Special Education has common core subjects plus others relevant to a particular speciality. The common core is linked to matters such as school organisation and the psychology of teaching and learning - knowledge which all teachers should have regardless of their speciality. The specific subjects are more closely related to special education. As an example, the course at the University of Salamanca carries 220 credits. The courses in the first year cover general aspects of teaching, new technologies, the psychological basis of teaching and learning, child development, physical education for pupils with special educational needs, Spanish language and its teaching, and maths and its teaching. In the second year students take courses in theory and practice in contemporary education systems, school organisation, the causes and educational responses to auditory, visual and intellectual disabilities, and behavioural and personality disorders. Finally, in the third year the following are covered: sociology of education, organisation and teaching in special education, musical expression, art and its teaching, science and its teaching, and diagnostic assessment and remediation in special education. During all years elective courses have to be taken by all students and this should not be overlooked.

Students gain practical knowledge and experience in integration centres where they observe how the centres and the classrooms with children with special educational needs operate. Students are required to write a critical commentary on their placements which take place in the second and third years. The aim of the placement is to see how the centres are organised and how their different dimensions and functions come together.

Worth mentioning is the fact that despite the introduction of this new programme and the relatively small numbers of students who have completed it, the two cohorts who have gone through it still consider that the courses are too academic and technical in character. They are also critical of the inadequacy of the training they are given in relation to the tasks they have to do, for example in terms of working in a team, collaborating with families, developing and changing the curriculum, and coping with the problems and difficulties of individual pupils.

Clearly it is essential that we monitor and evaluate the training being given so that we can avoid providing something which is too theoretical and too remote from the daily life in classrooms. We must also remember that our aim is to break away from a focus on the disability or learning difficulty and instead respect differences. The attention given to deficiencies must not obscure the prime objective which is education for cultural diversity.

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Traditional and Emerging Roles in Facing Juvenile Delinquency[1]

Decision Power and Spiritual Assistance Task

Looking back at questions of juvenile delinquency discussed in other places (Catarsi 1995 a), I would like to summarise schematically the institutional and organisational dynamics examined whilst setting aside, for the moment, the strictly critical-philosophical aspects raised.

a) Treatment of criminals in general - and of minors in particular - within a "liberal-humanist" perspective calls for both a legal and a pedagogical intervention. Alternatively, to avoid any ambiguities associated with the latter, the legal intervention must be combined with a "programme of social reintegration" as a "service" to the person held in custody. (Hereafter I shall use the terms "pedagogical" and "pedagogical social worker" (Italian - educatore) in connection with this type of "service to the person").

b) with regard to adolescent law-breaking, Italian legislation - which has recently undergone changes in this regard - assigns an exclusive decision-making role to the Juvenile Court even if the offences are less serious[2]

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[1] This paper has been translated from Catarsi 1995 b (Chapter 2)

c) the judge for juvenile crime, even when he is joined by colleagues wearing their robes of office and/or by "componenti privati" (honorary judges), delivers the verdicts in accordance with his mandate. Every judgement must be applied "in a manner suitable to the juvenile's personality and pedagogical requirements" (Article One - Presidential Decree 448/1988)

d) in order to carry out his role in a "pedagogically" reliable and effective way, the judge can make use of information from parents or their representatives and the expertise of various other professionals, to support the services provided by both the Ministry of Justice and by local institutions (see Articles Six, Nine, and Twelve of Presidential Decree 448/1988)

e) the services provided by the Ministry of Justice are co-ordinated by a unit called the 'Juvenile Justice Centre' (Article Seven of Law Decree 272/1989).[3] Within the internal organisation of this unit there are staff designated specifically as "educatore " (perhaps the best translation of this into English is 'residential social worker').[4] The tasks of the residential social workers, which are placed formally on the same level as those undertaken by colleagues in the adult penal sector, are nonetheless presumed to be adaptable to the specific objectives of the Juvenile Justice Centre.

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[2] According to Presidential Decree 448/1988 and to consequent Law Decree 272/1989

[3] Acting at regional level ("district" relative to a Court of Appeal area of jurisdiction) a Centre for Juvenile Justice as a rule is made up of: a Social Juvenile Service Unit (It. Ufficio Servizi Sociali per I Minorenni) whose staff are social workers, a Juvenile Penitentiary Unit (It. Istituto Penale per I Minorenni) whose staff are warders, residential social workers and teachers a First reception Centre (It. Centro di Prima Accoglienza) available to those when first arrested Community Units (family model) Semi-open Day Centre (It. Semiliberta) for juveniles on remand or under supervision.

[4] In effect, the "educatore penitenziario" acts inside the prison whilst the "assistente sociale" of a Centre for Juvenile Justice acts outside it and is involved in looking for possible connections between the judicial decisions and the opportunities presented by the social context. Here is an example of

Based on the above and also our experiences on the Educational Sciences Degree course and within the context of juvenile justice, I have been able to develop a number of ideas about the relationship between the judge and the residential social workers. These I set out below with the intention of provoking further discussion:

1. The assigning of pedagogical functions to both judge and residential social worker in a distinct sense represents a hierarchical division of competence where the former exercises a decision making function whilst the latter has an assistive/supportive function.
2. Due to the complex and delicate nature of pedagogical functions, the possibility of duplication is real and can lead to disconcerting effects for all those involved.
3. On the other hand, the institutional framework constantly generates a tendency to see the role of the residential social worker as subordinate, for the simple reason that the times and methods involved in courtroom procedures have a priority and have greater status and independence compared to the pedagogical project's.
4. Just as in other forms of intervention, we have here a residential social worker who, on a daily basis, must manage pedagogical projects that are determined by the diagnosis and assessment of another professional who, even though he does not interact on a daily basis with the individual being supported, maintains independent and superior status. This type of asymmetric co-

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differentiating personnel - the residential social worker ("educatore penitenzario") and the social worker ("assistente sociale").

operation exposes the residential social worker to the likelihood of stress stemming from different and conflicting demands. He has to account for on a regular basis the effectiveness of the project on which is superimposed other diagnostic interventions, which are carried out at times and in places which are different to the regular contact with the subject.

5. Caught in the middle - and thus isolated - between the judge's measures and the daily and pressing demands of the young people with whom he has been assigned to work, the residential social worker often has difficulty in identifying the mandate that support and directs his tasks. The ways in which this solitude is resolved vary depending on the personality and the circumstances of the individual. Assuming that the source of the difficulties is 'relational', the professional crises that arise are easy to explain perhaps in terms of "ethical rigidity" or "flight from the complexity of the work" (de Leo 1991, Coniglio 1994). One of the more typical and widespread reactions is that of looking for a stable 'mandate' for one's personal 'mission within one's own conscience, and anchoring this mandate directly to a religious faith or some other kind of ideological support. Without doubt, this is a personal decision which cannot be censured but which, nonetheless from an organisational point of view, does not remove the asymmetries and the confusions described earlier.

6. Conversely, an attempt could be made to devise a "joint collaboration" model between the residential social worker - the person in charge of the pedagogical measures on a daily basis - and the rest of the team of professionals who intervene especially the judge. An important view in this regard would be that of the "educatore penitenziario" who has the authority and power - not limitless but one which might be exercised around reasonable time intervals - to convene a meeting of the entire team in cases where the pedagogical intervention decided during the legal proceedings is clearly ineffective The aim then would be to provide evidence of this and reasons for changing the programme.

What is being proposed above would simply give public acknowledgement to a practice which for some time now has been carried out informally and experimented with in a number of cases. Doing this would free the residential social worker from the heavy burden of isolation and the "spiritual assistance" type of responsibility. We are dealing here with a proposal which in spite of a sense of unease amongst the residential social workers, is moving forward in a climate of uncertainty as far as the predisposition of all the professionals involved in the treatment of juvenile offenders.

Given this, the idea emerged that we should find out what these predispositions might be, starting with those of the judges who might be seen to be acting as a kind of elder brother of the residential social workers. The investigation took place around five years after the introduction of the new code of law. This meant that judges were able to comment not on their expectations but on what changes they had perceived. The data collected, then, represent the perspective of a particular group on the various aspects of professional commitment brought about by the changes of 1988-89. A structured questionnaire was sent to all Juvenile Court Judges registered with the Italian Association of Judges for Juveniles. When these were distributed in March 1994, the Association had 174 qualified members. At that time the association represented 68% of all the judges in the sector who cover all parts of the country.[5]

I will look now at some conclusions deriving from the fourth section of the questionnaire which asked about the relationships between jurisdictional and pedagogical functions.[6] Three comments can be made. The first concerns the high number of missing responses; the second underlines the fact that, on the whole, the majority of judges support the involvement of the "componenti privati" (honorary judges). The only example where this is not the case relates to how the investigating judge's role is carried out within procedures connected with the application of criminal sanctions. This is the only function that a large majority of judges thinks should not be extended to involve others.

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[5] After approximately two months, in may 994 a reminder letter was sent to everyone in the survey asking that the questionnaire should be returned - or for a brief explanation for not responding together with an evaluation of the questionnaire itself.

[6] For the complete text of the questionnaire and some further critical observations on the responses, see Catarsi 1995 b.

The third comment arises by considering together responses to a number of questions:

a) the final point on the list of functions of the "componenti privati" which is about assuming specific relationships within a particular territorial context

b) question III.14 on the real co-operation between Juvenile Courts and local authorities required by Article Thirteen of Decree 272/1989

c) question III.15 about relationships within "civil society".

If the responses are taken in conjunction with each other it is possible to say that what emerges overall is a sense of inadequacy and a sense of dissatisfaction about relationships between the range and powers of the judiciary and those of other local authorities. A final matter raised by the questionnaire concerned situations in which the judicial and pedagogical functions are seen to be working together in a kind of synergy in this. There was a significant number of missing responses (31%) whilst those who did demonstrated a great variety. The latter lends itself to the interpretation that synergy seems to be a kind of background theme in those trials where there is a kind of psycho-social/diagnostic dimension evident, whilst conflicting interventions become evident precisely at the point when judgements are delivered. The following are examples which the respondents gave:

- a hearing of an "incensurato" (trans: person with no previous criminal record) in which the social workers, in the absence of any in-depth analysis, become the surrogate spokesmen of the family
- the application of precautionary measures
- placement on probation
- when, in a serious crime, the judge must choose between criminal sanctions and the minor's programme of rehabilitation.

The distinction appears to confirm, with regard to the entire course of an intervention, the differences between acting in a decision-making way and acting according to "spiritual assistance".

If everyone remains in his place

In order to draw some conclusions from the responses and comments in the survey the following basic trends can be outlined:

a) By giving an explicit form to the pedagogical value of the judicial intervention, the new Italian code of juvenile criminal procedure introduces new „openings" (according to systemic meaning of this word) judges' consolidate operative autonomy;

b) Pressed by the dynamics of face-to-face meetings with highly competent professionals. two types of attitude predominate amongst judges "riparato" (sheltered) and " frontaliere" (frontiersmen);

c) The former tends not to commit himself on the new developments or alternatively brings to them meanings already defined and then provides criticism or a refusal. The latter move forward with a degree of self-liberating enthusiasm towards the 'frontier' of professional independence but without ever putting that independence in doubt:

d) To illustrate the above, the survey suggest a mere 10% are 'frontiersmen', the remaining 90% preferring the 'shelter' of the old ways. Overall, then, judges remain silent and retain their traditional baggage of 'honours and duties'. They seem unaware that looming on the horizon are others who might share their load. If and when they do think of an external individual with whom they want to co-operate, this individual is defined in terms of a co-opted assistant as exemplified in the case of honorary judges. These conclusions are based on an interpretation of the significant lack of responses to the survey. To summarise in a simple way I believe that if the great majority of judges decided not to respond, this was because they saw this as the most prudent and most convenient strategy. Even when the 'frontiersmen' commented they did so with all the cautiousness outlined already. However there are other clues of a strictly qualitative kind which shed light on the meanings of the silences and the reservations. In response to the letter sent to remind those who had not returned their questionnaires to do so, some wrote interesting replies. In one of these, Francesco Mazza Galanti, a judge in the Juvenile Court of Genoa, confessed that two months after his very considered response to the questions, he felt the need to convey to the researchers a number of additional observations. From his comments it appears that far more significant perspectives are emerging with regard to juridically and ideologically based resistance to the new reforms. Galanti writes:

> "As far as the second point is concerned, I would like to express a judgement which I believe is shared: the new juvenile criminal procedure code has added practically nothing to what was dome before.(I would say that of practical use are the two concerning irrelevancy and placement on probation and little else.) our professionalism is the same: relations with colleagues are identical; the number of appeals the same(or, in any event,

> independent of the reform). Consider that the new code has inserted the re-educational (or pedagogical if you prefer) aspect during the criminal proceedings: a debatable choice challenged by an important segment of the judiciary criminology and psychology sector."

How can we not agree on the "debatable" nature of a 'structural coupling' way of proceeding - that between the judicial function and that of social re-integration (i.e. pedagogical function) - which has always been perceived as highly problematic? This 'coupling' is nonetheless obvious in reality and is evident in the intermingling of the judiciary measures with the effects relating to the life of the accused and where he lives. The fact that the judges wish to maintain a consolidated position in all this should not surprise or disturb us. On the contrary, it should serve to guide us with greater determination towards publicly defined forms of joint co-ordination between those who act in court and those who later act in the context and reality of daily life.

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V.

Media Based Education

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Studying Media and Information Techniques as Educological Phenomena

A New Research Field within Education

Media as educological phenomena (see Qvarsell, 1995) are of general interest due to their anchorage in four different fields of knowledge: an empirical situation (in research), a praxis world, a theoretical discourse and an ideological structure.

Concerning the development within the school sector, as a praxis world, Cuban (1986) gives an interesting analysis of possible problems related to the introduction of new media in an educational setting as the school context. He interprets the trend between 1920 and 1980 in terms of teacher professionalism connected with other tools than the new media: paper and pen, black board etc. Using other tools could be regarded as a threat towards the teachers' professional status. This shows a strong influence of ideology in the school praxis world. Parallel to the discussions on new media in schools, and their potential risks and amplifying power, there has been an animated discussion on pros and cons connected with the technological development outside the school sector. Ten years ago Woolfolk (1987) summarised the attempts to improve school and children's learning with the help of computers, that it is a matter of

> "keep the learner constantly active, gathering information, determining solutions, making responses and checking results" (p 568).

What has happened during the last ten or fifteen years? Apparently not very much, if we look at school attempts to use computers as tools in the work with different subjects. However - *the net, e g Internet* has opened for some new possibilities which will be interesting to follow and to study. Within the more general field of *Media studies* (including film studies) the discussions on children and culture have offered fruitful view-points (see e g Buckingham, 1995).

Views on Childhood and Youth

The Children-and-media discussion is interesting in its ideological aspects - it could be seen as an expression of views on childhood and youth, as a perspective held by responsible adults.

A New Child World?

Larsen, a Danish psychologist, talked about "a new child world", in his book 1986. Media or Information Society was the new world occupied by children and youth. But this view led to problems, e g those discussed at an international conference in Varna, Bulgaria, spring 1986, sponsored by UNESCO: "Children in an information age - tomorrow's problems today" was the title of the whole conference, the question being: what can one do to protect and prevent to-morrow's problems? "Children of the information age - they must not take over" was another announcement at the same conference, expressing anxiety for the future.

Mead thought (already 1970) that the new technologies could cause reversed relationships between young people and their teachers and parents, in contexts of learning and socialisation. Elkind (1986) was anxious about children's personality development, due to the media explosion in society, and Larsen (1986) worried about the youngest kids and their sensori-motor development.

The new world of technique and media development, interpreted as the new context for childhood and children - their world - apparently caused trouble and enhanced wide-spread views of the child as vulnerable - an orchid in need of protection.

Or New Children and Youth?

But there were also other views on children and young people: they could be seen as of a new species in themselves, due to the societal change related to new media. Ziehe (1986) talked of New Youths, the Danish researcher Hermann (1988) discussed the potential Aniara-child, etc.

During the 80's we did however also see some contributions to our knowledge viewed from the actors' perspectives, some early discussions on the importance of considering the "point-of-view" within the area.

Early Research Discussions on Perspectives

Youth & Society (1983, vol 15, no 1) presents examples of more nuanced views on the situation. Larson & Kubey discuss TV and music as media in young people's lives. Peterson & Peters write about young people's construction of their social reality, focusing how media and peers influence socialisation. These articles are interesting early contributions to the discussion on the relationship between society and individual (as well as collectives of individuals) during an era of strong and rapid technological change. Larson & Kubey point to an important difference between TV-viewing and listening to music, the contents coming from different sources ("mainstream" and "underground"). Here we see an interesting shift in the perspective, when the focus is on the youth's own thoughts and meanings concerning the new media. They could say that TV is an activity together with parents, while music is with peers/or in splendid isolation/and with more engagement.

The biggest difference between the media (TV and music) appeared when the youngsters were alone, then it was extremely boring to watch television, while it could be fascinating to listen to music. How can we interpret such trends?

Peterson & Peters (op cit) point to an interpretation according to which youth and children interact with television when they socialise into adult roles. With a terminology from social interactionism they "construct the social reality" and hence make meaning of it. It has to do with meaning-making through social construction, in interaction with peers.

Young people's leisure usage of techniques and media could (according to Panelas in the same volume) be studied as social and cultural, collective and individual, activities. Children's use of television and other new media could also be discussed as contents of complex cultural meaning provinces.

As a whole one can say that computers, television and other new media have been more positively considered when accepted in the schools than when young people use them outside the school domain. But even how positive the use might be, even a spokesman of computers in schools, Marshall (1988) found reason to stress that "no matter what decisions are taken, the heart of the matter is the human process of learning" (s 291).

The Paradigmatic Shift in Studies of Childhood and Youth

Shifting from discussions on what effects media could have on children, e g pupils in schools, to the question what people (children, young people) themselves do with the contents, what they select and become fascinated by, really marks a new age of media educology. We have to take into consideration people's own usage and their own preferences and choices, not apriori judging media as cultural conditions as harmful or good. What kind of social, cultural and educological phenomena are these new "tools", or rather "arenas for communication" that have emerged in the human province and caused what may be called an animated hullabaloo? (cf Lind et al. 1987).

Concerning research within this field we can differentiate between studies of effects and studies of meanings. Are there any other kind of studies? This question is discussed by Stevenson (1995), showing that the field of mass-media as cultural studies is changing essentially as to what concerns the research questions. New concepts contribute to new possibilities to understand the area - that is opening concepts that make it possible to see something new and interesting - not concepts that exclude new perspectives. That is why I think we are better of using so called every-day-constructions rather than established structural concepts from e g developmental psychology. One example is Turkle's (1984) concept of "evocative object", which is much more open than e g "strong learning tool" or "stress machine" when talking about the computer. I myself use the concepts of "affordance" (from Gibson, 1979) and "developmental tasks" (from Havighurst, 1953) in different discussions on children, youth and new media (see Qvarsell 1989, 1995). Folkestad (1996) has recently presented a doctoral thesis on music composition with computers, using the affordance theory in order to understand the fascinations and usages of computers.

How to Study this Educological Problem

Within a methodological context of semiotics and ethnography it could be possible to get a better understanding of young people's actual use of new media. As a conclusion and summing up so far, I want to give some lines for a research design within this field, a field which may need new arenas (e g the net) and new conceptual frameworks in order to become accessible.

Educology as scientific discipline is - at our department in Stockholm - a human art discipline, focusing human beings' cultural conditions and life-worlds. Then it is near at hand to take methodological inspiration from anthropology and ethnography. It is not surprising that within educology there has developed a special branch of pedagogical (or educological) ethnography. The pedagogical in this connection has to do with the cultural phenomenon being studied - the *conditions* for learning and development.

Semiotic theory - referring to C. S. Peirce - concerns signs and interpretations of signs. The peircean version has to do with the interpretant (generalised human interpreter), the object and the sign in a three-folded relationship. When it comes to research the analytical tools of "abduction" and "retroduction" must be taken into consideration - how to pick up interesting, astonishing, phenomena within a praxis field, make them the basis of empirical research, creating hypotheses about which signs point to which meanings, and then solving the problems by retroductive reasoning and testing of hypotheses.

Another useful approach is ethnography, the core of pedagogical ethnography.

That ethnographic studies according to a newer paradigm involve interpretation and perspective taking of an emic character, makes it at the same time problematic and interesting to combine ethnography and semiotics. But this must be a necessary challenge within such a new and still emerging research and praxis field (cf Gottdiender, 1995, and Bruhn Jensen, 1995).

Education as praxis is itself a kind of "technology" which aims at change in the first hand, rather than understanding of cultures. At the same time there is a need for understanding and interpretation within the educational praxis, and it is necessary to search for general knowledge in research without immediate applications. In order to get a chance to discuss the educational ethnographic research aims and possibilities to gain general knowledge, we could start with a statement by anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973, 1993):

> „The locus of the study is not the object of the study."(p 22, 1993).

The locus of the study may be chosen for practical feasibility reasons, and for theoretical significance, and the locus as such is of no prime interest. Within the area of education, the day care centre or school, or for that matter workplaces and hospitals, could be the loci, and the object of the study could be learning processes or interactional communication patterns. Here are touched upon important issues of generalisations, and we often stress - within educology - that the "general universe" we want to make propositions on, *is not* the school, the day care centre or the educational system as such, but something else and more essential and general. This does not exclude the importance and research interest of specific life-worlds and contexts.

The semiotics-ethnography combination of research approach exists within the mass-media research area, and it sometimes takes a post-modern analytic style.

Bruhn Jensen & Jankowski (1991) have taken as a point of departure the many-folded development of mass-media research during recent years, especially its turn to qualitative designs, and they have put together an anthology on methods discussions within the field. Bruhn Jensen, in this volume, comments upon the "the qualitative turn" and the emergence of a "meaning paradigm" as quite natural within research on mass communication, as it concerns a phenomenon which is "at once a social and a discursive phenomenon" (p 2). He also points to the fact that this area is located on the border between text interpretation and social studies, and thus it has come to be articulated as innovative within "cultural studies" (p 27).

Towards a Media Educology

Papert (1988) introduced the term *media educology* in an attempt to stress the needs within the praxis field of media education to gain scientifically relevant knowledge and to develop a scientific approach to the media questions. This is particularly interesting as Papert once was one of the more eager proponents of computers and micro-worlds in schools. With the concept media educology he actualises the important issue that has to do with the importance and place of research in the enthusiasm of developing computers as learning tools. In Qvarsell (1995) I use the concept of *educology* in a discussion in favour of a research approach that questions (makes a problem of) some taken-for-granted statements within the child-media area. I do it with the help of some opening concepts, primarily "developmental tasks" and "affordances".

Other *media-educological issues* concern democratic values and possibilities to influence the society development, phenomena which are influenced by human possibilities to communicate and to develop language tools (see Löfberg, 1995). This knowledge interest is very clearly directed towards society and community processes, and here we can expect net-communication as well as other kinds of technique uses to be studied with the help of a combination of not only semiotics and ethnography. Also *action-cum-research* could be an accepted means to study, under controlled conditions, what may happen as a result of actions being taken, in order to combine the technique optimism and moral panic (on one hand) with critical analysis of the consequences of specific measures taken (on the other). Actions followed by research, which leads to new interventions and inventions, is a field-experimental approach which opens for a *retroductive analysis of events*, as suggested by Polkinghorne (1988). Such an approach seems especially relevant and valuable for the media area, with its rapid changes and lots of praxis developments.

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What Can we Learn about Communication from the Internet?

During the last few years communication through the so called Internet has expanded dramatically. Not only is the availability of new information developing rapidly but also new forms of communication and establishing contacts are becoming more readily available than before.

This fact is in itself interesting and worthwhile discussing as an area for research. However in this brief paper I prefer to discuss aspects of communication in general that we can learn more about by studying the specific forms of communication that develop in connection with this new digitalized technique. As I see it this technique and its practical application has in many ways brought about a new communicative situation that can be viewed as a natural experiment high lightening certain aspects of communication as such.

There are a few unique aspects with regards to net communication, that differ from forms of communications as we know it in already established techniques. Net communication is in many ways similar to direct dialogue (see also Sénécal, 1995) between people in a face to face situation, with the difference that this dialogue is not restricted to a room or place in a physical sense. The room for dialogue is restricted by other than physical boundaries. Jones (1994) discusses in an interesting way the construction of a social room related to communication on the Internet, relying on some of the ideas discussed by Berger and Luckmann (1966).

However, this is only partially true. The telephone has in a sense already broken the physical barrier. The telephone gives us the possibility to call up anybody in the world and easily exchange messages. The thing is that there is little room for anonymous calls. At least it is very seldom that such anonymous calls will result in a response from someone who is called up. Contacts on the net, however, are often taken anonymously with people all over the world. Even if so called chat-programmes are restricted to a small group of users, home pages often have E-mail addresses attached, inviting spontaneous contacts.

As far as I can see, this aspect of anonymity is the basic factor that makes the form of communication on the net unique in many ways.

In this paper I would like to comment on the change in forms of communication that this anonymity tends to lead to and that makes it interesting for further study in order to better understand the general mechanisms of communication.

Communicating between Minds

Firstly I think that what makes the type of communication on the net of special interest is the fact that the contact is initially a contact between two minds or rather two sets of thoughts. Admittedly, this type of communication also exists outside of specific net communication, not, however to the same extent and not as a part of normal routine.

The interesting aspect when it comes to this type of communication is the fact that the context for communication is all together different when contrasting the direct dialogue between two or three people in the same physical space and the type of dialogue that can develop in an Internet situation. Here I am not thinking about the obvious different technical setting. What is of interest is our reliance on cultural norms and values with regards to the other as a starting point for communication. Who am I speaking to? How should I value the other? Is he or she reliable? What does different gestures that the other uses in order to emphasise a point or complement the verbal statement really imply?

Without going into the details concerning the dialogue that can evolve between people in a setting bound by a specific physical room, one can argue with confidence that the value attributed to the exchange of messages between two people to a large extent relies on our judgement of the other as a person in relation to our cultural norms, etc. The first impression is how someone appears and how that appearance relates to my personal value criteria. To a large extent the initial phases of communication are built on how a person behaves. Criteria and values pertinent to behaviour and appearance become central in this type of communicative situation. The ideas and thoughts that someone expresses come into the communicative setting at a later stage, and interact directly with the so called "first impression".

Communication in an anonymous net setting is all together different. With the words of Strangelove (1995) we can talk of a shift in the paradigm of communication. In this situation, ideas and thoughts become the basis for "first impressions". In a net setting, either we talk of a chat situation where people meet anonymously and start to communicate or if we talk of communication through E-mail, the first contact is always through a thought. In a way one can say that the communication is built around the meeting of two or more thought structures. Who the persons really are that you are communicating with is impossible to tell. The criteria for judging the reliability or the validity of what someone says must be based on the way you have learned to value different forms of thought structures irrespective of who utters them. At first one can say that the communication is a purely mental interaction between different thought systems. It is first at a later stage that it is possible to start identifying a person that carries these specific thoughts.

Using a metaphor, one could say that the usual form of dialogue as we know it today and as it is bound to a specific physical room, is a communication that proceeds from the outside appearance of a person, inwards to his or her specific thoughts and values as a person. In the type of net communication that I am talking about, the dialogue rather proceeds from the inside to the outward appearance and behaviour.

By studying and systematically comparing these two different forms of communication it could be interesting to try to reveal the importance of different cultural norms pertaining to behaviour and appearance and their influence on communication. What we are seeing today is in fact a huge experimental situation that should give opportunity to study the relationship between cultural norms, values and communication.

The Way We Communicate

Secondly, the way we communicate on the net in contrast to the way we communicate in face to face situations seems an interesting area of study. In the face to face communicative situation we have a large arsenal of communicative devices, such as facial expressions, gestures etc. as a complement to the pure verbal or written statement. An obvious misinterpretation of messages can quickly be corrected by a smile or some other gesture or a new statement. The criteria we use to judge if a message is misinterpreted are often related to facial expressions etc. We can react at once in order to correct something that was said and obviously missed the point. Statements can be adjusted to suit the development of a specific conversation and can often be left unfinished in order for the other to complement or build on a delivered statement. This makes everyday conversation and face to face communication very flexible and context related.

The other form of communication, as we know it in everyday situations, is of a very formal written character, where an article is written, read, pondered on and then reacted to with a time lag that allows for a thought through and reflective reaction. Usual mail have this character as well. What can be communicated in the formal written statement differs from what can be communicated in the face to face situation. Each form has its value and importance when it comes to content and purpose of communication.

However, in communication on the Internet there seems to be a middle form developing where the formal written communication in terms of long written statements are reduced to short statements, more like verbal conversation, but without the direct facial contact and forms of expression that we are used to. In an E-mail contact it is often noted that such things as spelling and complete sentences loose their importance, especially if the contact is frequent. There soon seems to develop an informal style of communicating. However the possibility to immediately correct obvious misunderstandings is not as easy as it is in a face to face situation.

What can we learn about communication and forms of communication as related to the content and purpose of communication by focusing on this intermediate form of communication that will develop when net communication becomes more and more frequent?

The Written Message

The *third* aspect I would like to focus is the fact that, at least at this moment of development of net communication, most communication is carried out in written form. New technique seems to make visual presentations as well as sound more and more available. However, the dominant ingredient in communication on the net is still the written word. I think it would be of interest to study in what way the written word restricts or promotes different forms of communication that have the character of face to face communication but not restricted to a specific physical room. An interesting aspect in this connection is to study the written words' ability to adapt to new communicative demands.

Developing Criteria for Assessing Reliability and Validity

Lastly another interesting area of study, indirectly related to the issue of communication, is the development of criteria for judging the reliability and validity of information. In the communicative situation that may develop within the frame of net communication, it is obvious that we have to rely on other criteria to evaluate the reliability of information than we are used to in the normal communicative context. I am thinking of the norms that often follow on valuing people in relation to their social position, and as a consequence valuing and relying on the reliability of different statements. In short one can say that we have learned through schooling and other similar experiences to rely on information in the way it is related to a context where we easily can check the source of the information. In a net communicative situation, the source of the information can seldom be used as a base for judging and valuing the reliability and validity of information. We have to develop criteria that are more directly related to the message as such, if communication is to be able to continue and develop.

This is an interesting area to study. It is of central importance when we consider the use of Internet communication as part of traditional schooling. The development of critical judgement could very well be the important issue in tomorrow's school as a result of introducing new communication techniques in school. But the issue is not only of practical educational relevance. There is also the question of getting a better understanding of the critical role that values and criteria of reliability and validity play as a basis for maintaining and developing direct communication between people.

Summing up

The aim of the above discussion has not been to try to focus on net communication as such. I have tried to focus on what seems to be unique aspects in the communicative situation generated by the way the Internet functions in relation to what applies in communication as we know it from everyday life and established techniques, for example telephones. The purpose of this presentation has been to illustrate the unique opportunity that this new form of communication provides to develop our understanding of human communication on a more general level. In that sense I have visualised the development of net communication as a large scale natural experiment that could enhance our knowledge and provide new insights with regards to human communication and learning, as a private as well as a collective or joint venture.

In short, I am interested in trying to further our understanding of communication and learning as general human phenomena, using the unique aspects of net communication as points of departure for relevant comparisons.

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The Educational Potential of Television with Young, Learning Disabled Children

Television is considered to possess a great potential to stimulate the development of young children. However, not all children are able to profit to the same extent from the assets of the television and its more interactive counterparts. It has been argued that children with cognitive and social emotional deficits do not benefit to a similar extent from the mass media as compared to non-handicapped children (Abelman, 1995; Ardi, 1977; Jacovitz, Wood & Albin, 1991). Understanding television, or the ability to attend to, accurately interpret, and learn from television information is a developmentally acquired skill (Anderson, Lorch, Field & Sanders, 1981). Handicapped children might not be able to profit optimally from the television as a tool to stimulate general knowledge, social- and cognitive functioning (Elias, 1983; Sprafkin & Gadow, 1986; Sprafkin, Watkins & Gadow, 1990). They might lack sufficient skills to process or understand the information on television. For instance, children with an intellectual handicap are thought to need more time to process information as compared to their non-handicapped peers. Mentally handicapped children often lack strategies to analyse the information and they are handicapped in selective attention (Kail, 1992). In order to understand the information on TV it is important to differentiate between central information, that is information crucial to the content of a story and peripheral information, information that is not necessary to understand a story line. Central information is not necessarily presented central in the screen. Mentally handicapped children however often use location as a mnemonic concept. Hence learning disabled children may experience difficulties in processing the information from the screen. In addition, they may have difficulties in using the formal cues of the television such as zooming, cuts and flash backs (Wright, Huston, Reitz & Piemyat, 1994; Weiler, 1990). Abelman studied the understanding of time sequences and time leaps with learning disabled children. Regardless of the level of television consumption, learning disabled children could not accurately follow the presentation of temporal sequencing. Consequently they were hindered in comprehension of the information (Abelman, 1995). So children with cognitive deficits may be in a disadvantaged position to learn from the television. Nevertheless, TV often is suggested to be a tool of great educational potential for mentally handicapped or learning disabled children. Hence, it is important to investigate what learning disabled children can learn from television as compared to non-handicapped children.

Television is thought to possess a particularly large potential for stimulating social skills. Mentally handicapped children often are socially isolated, which increases the responsiveness to social reinforcement and observational learning. Because of a history of failure and a lack of self-esteem mentally handicapped children are inclined to imitation. Therefore the television probably becomes a potent socialising agent (Dorr, 1983; NTVS, 1996).

In the underlying study learning is assessed by measures of cognitive knowledge (letters) and social knowledge.

Learning of television material is often measured through recognition and recall strategies (Mori, Sugimura & Minami, 1996). In respect to recall, a child is asked to write down or tell as much as he or she can on a certain topic or event discussed in a program. However, spontaneous recall is not necessarily representative of the potential knowledge of a child. Therefore often a recognition procedure is used. Recognition requires the child to point out the right information from a number of possibilities. Recall and recognition both however, do not necessarily require understanding of the concept. A letter can be memorised as a figurative item, without understanding its functional meaning. In order to assess whether a child understands the concept or the intention of a *letter*, a more active assessment is required (Pingree, 1986). Recognition of a letter does not reveal the extent to which letters are integrated into a child's productive repertoire (Rice & Woodsmall, 1988). One of the main difficulties with mentally handicapped children is the integration of the things they learn (Kail, 1992). In this study we searched for a measurement strategy that would investigate whether the children actively integrate the letters in their repertoire.

Three measurement procedures were used: recall, recognition and understanding. In the recall procedure (or aided recall) the child is asked to write down the letter presented in the program. Recognition asks the child to point out the letter presented in the program from among an array of four different letters, only one of these was presented in the program. Understanding was assessed by presenting the child with four different pictures one of which containing an object that is named with a letter that was discussed in the program. Hence the child actively has to understand the integration of a letter in the whole of a word, making a functional use of a letter in a linguistic context.

Two episodes of Sesame Street concerning a letter and two episodes concerning a social skill were broadcasted in a classroom setting. The knowledge of the children was assessed before and after watching the Sesame Street episodes and compared to control items not issued in the programs. The learning of mildly handicapped children is compared to the learning of non-handicapped children.

Participants

68 children participated in the study. 33 children came from a school for learning disabled children / mildly handicapped children (mean age 8.1, sd 8 mths; IQ 55 -80), and 35 children came from a Public Elementary school (mean age 6.2, sd 6 mths). Mildly handicapped children (IQ 55- 70), or lesser gifted children (IQ 71 - 84) (DSM IV) are generally described as educable. They manage to read and write, though they have more difficulties in acquiring those skills and their ultimate level of skills is lower as compared to that of non-handicapped children. However with appropriate stimulation these children can learn quite a number of skills. All children received parental permission to participate in the study.

Material

Four episodes from regular Sesame Street television broadcasting were selected. Each episode consisted of fifteen minutes, the standard period of Sesame Street broadcasting in the Netherlands. Sesame Street in the Netherlands is based on the American CTW-Sesame Street, adapted to the Dutch culture and language. 50 % is based on original CTW material and 50% is produced in the Netherlands, using Dutch characters. Sesame Street episodes were selected from the series over two years ago. Each episode centrally discussed one letter (*d* respectively *e*) or one social skill (*'what do you do when you are thirsty?', 'what do you do when you want to write a letter?'*).

Recall

Each child was asked to draw the letter *d*, respectively *e*, *l*, and *a*.

"Can you draw or write the letter *e* for me?"

The letters *d* and *e* are presented in the program, the letters *l* and *a* are control items, not presented in the Sesame Street sessions. Rotations were scored correct, inversions were scored wrong. Similarly the child was asked: "what do you do when you are thirsty?, respectively hungry?', etc. Each correct answer was awarded one point[1].

Recognition

Each child was asked to point out the letter *d*, respectively *e*, *l*, and *a*, from among four different letters, arrayed in a square, only one of the four letters presenting the target letter. "Can you point out the letter *d* for me?"

Each target letter was offered in a new configuration. None of the target letters was used in combination. Each correct letter was awarded one point.

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[1] The social skill questions appearantly were to easy for this group. All children (MH as well as NH-children) unanonimously scored 100 % correct on the social skill questions. Therefore the social skill items are not included in the analyses.

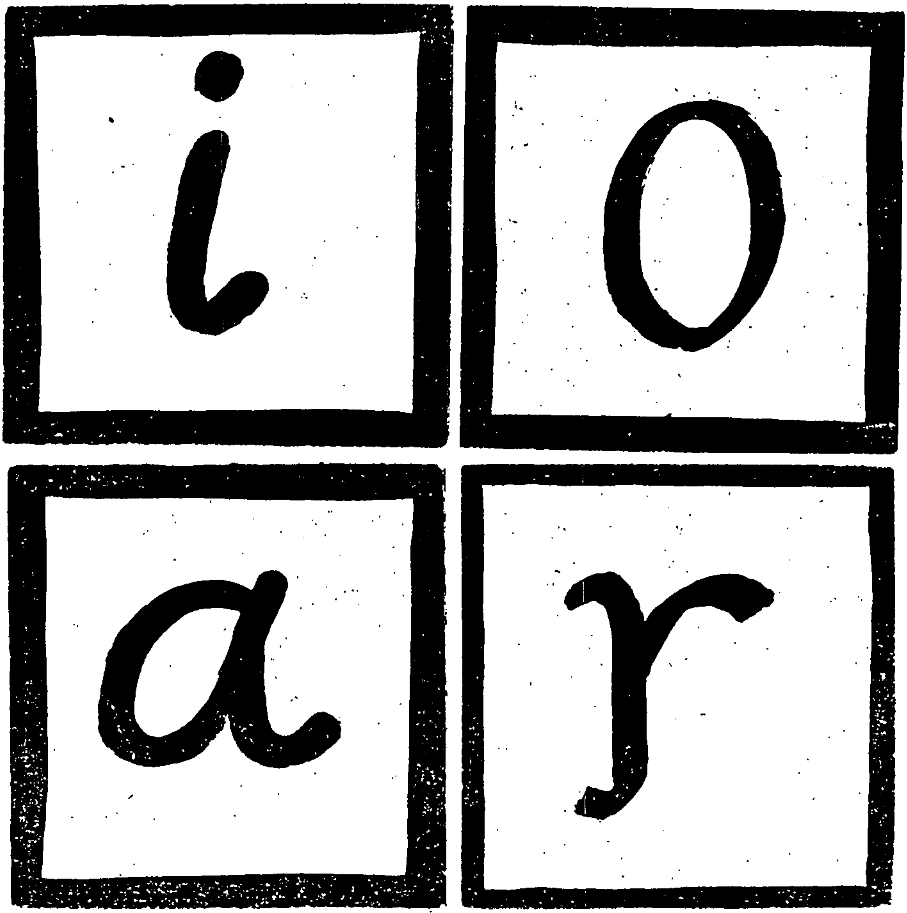

Figure 1a.
One target letter in a quadrangle with three letters that were not presented in the Sesame Street episodes.

Understanding

For each letter a series of four pictures was selected. In each serie one picture presented an object that was named with one of the target letters. For example for the target letters *d* , *e*, *l and a* were presented by a *doctor* (physician), and an *eend* (duck), a *leeuw* (lion) and an *appel* (apple) (see Figure 1b.). For each letter four pictures were arranged in a random quadrangle presenting one of the target pictures/letters and three additional pictures.

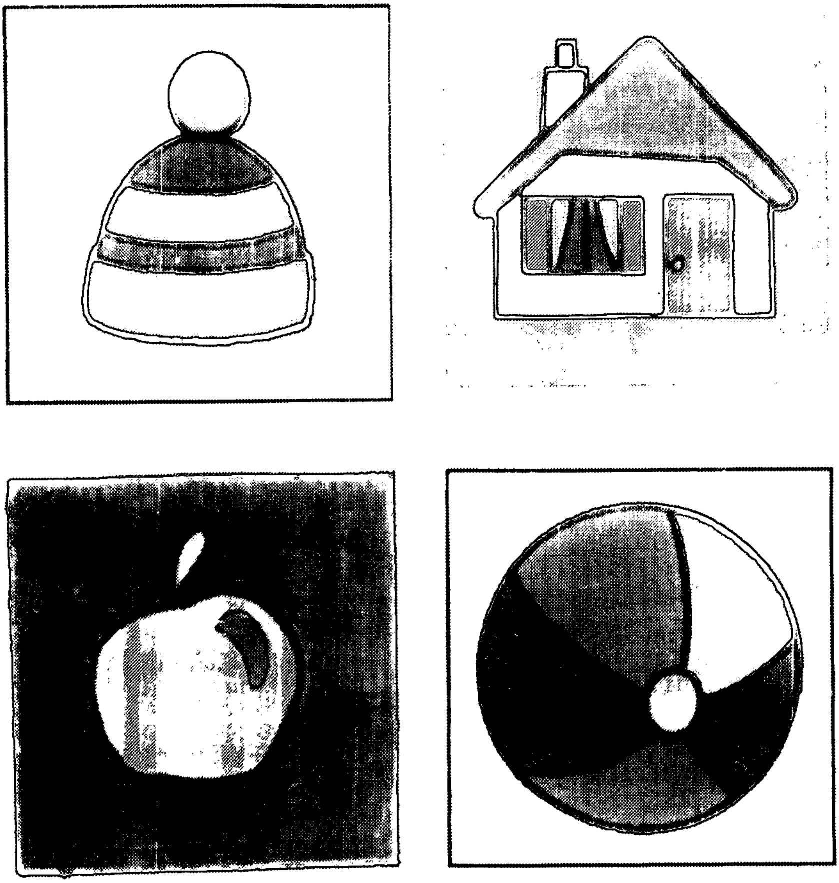

Figure 1b.

Target pictures

One target picture in a quadrangle with three pictures that are not related to a letter presented in the Sesame Street episodes.

The combination of pictures was varied randomly, with the constraint that no target pictures were allowed to occur in the same quadrangle. The pictures were chosen according to a 95 percentile on the Dutch list of most used words or concepts for four year olds and up (Kohnstamm, Schaerlakens, Vries de, Akkerhuis & Frooninckssx, 1981; Schrooten & Vermeer, 1995). That is to say, 95 percent of the six year olds and up are familiar with these words. Since this list is only standardised with non handicapped children, the list of pictures was additionally checked with the teachers in special education. In addition, before the actual testing procedure the child was asked whether he or she was familiar with the different pictures. "Do you recognise these pictures?".

Next, the child was asked: "Can you show, or name, a picture whose name starts with an *d* ?".

The pictures were taken from a Dick Bruna memory game. Each correct letter / picture was awarded one point.

The total score ranged from 0 - 12 (2 experimental and two control letters for each test).

Procedure

All children were tested according to a pre-post-test design. Half of the children were -randomly- assigned to the Sesame Street condition, the other half to the No Sesame Street condition. The number of boys and girls was equally divided among the different groups: Sesame Street, No-Sesame Street, i.e. experimental and control condition, and Handicapped and Non-Handicapped children.

Sesame Street was presented in the classroom. For a period of two weeks the teachers presented an episode of Sesame Street on Tuesdays respectively Thursday morning after the first lesson. The children watched Sesame Street together with their teacher.

Testing occurred individually in a separate room, the week before respectively after broadcasting Sesame Street. Before the actual testing the children were asked to point their favourite fruit from among four different types of fruit to control for the testing procedure. All children understood the introduction as well as the testing procedure perfectly well, no repetitions were necessary.

The order of recall, recognition and understanding was balanced according to a counter balanced design (Recall-Understanding-Recognition; Understanding-Recall-Recognition; and Recall-Recognition - Understanding).

Each letter was handled completely before the next letter was introduced.

Results

The interrater reliability

All protocols were rated by two raters. The interrater reliability is 96 (Cohen's cappa).

The pre-test

A (3 x 2) MANOVA for order of presentation and sexe shows no effects for order or sexe.

A 2 x 2 ANOVA (group by condition) mildly handicapped (MH) versus non-handicapped (NH) children and Sesame Street versus no Sesame Street, with letter knowledge as dependent variable, shows a significant effect for group (F 12.7, $p<.001$) and condition (F 5.16, $p<.05$) on the pre-test. The MH-children score higher than the NH-children, and the children in the experimental condition score higher then the children in the control condition. The interaction between group and condition is not significant (F 3.326, p<.09). Means and standard deviations are presented in table one.

Table 1. Means and standard deviations on the pretest for all letters (d and e + l and a), and Sesamestreet letters (d + e) and non-Sesamestreet control letters (l + a) separate, for the mentally handicapped and nonhandicapeed children in the Sesame Street and No-Sesame Street condition.

LETTERS →	D. E + L. A		D + E		L + A	
	means	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
MH-children						
Sesame Street	9.5	2.1	4.9	1.2	4.9	1.3
No-Sesame Street	9.2	1.9	4.7	0.7	4.5	1.6
NH-children						
Sesame Street	8.1	3.0	3.9	1.8	4.2	1.6
No-Sesame Street	5.5	2.1	2.7	1.2	2.8	1.4

A separate comparison shows that the difference between MH and NH children is predominantly due to the low scores of the NH-control group. The NH-control children score considerably lower then the MH-control group children (*p* < .05). The MH-children in the experimental condition do not differ from the NH-children in the experimental condition. This is true for the experimental letters as well as for the control letters (see Table 1.).

The post-test

A MANCOVA with two factors (group by condition) with the results on the pre-test as co-variable, shows no difference between the MH-children and the NH-children. Both the MH- and the NH-children improve in their letter knowledge. There was no difference in learning between the MH and the NH-children.

Because of the exceptional position of the control group NH-children learning was compared separately for the experimental and the control condition. Again no difference was evident. The MH-children learned as much as the NH-children. Children in the experimental condition however did not learn significantly more than children in the control condition (see Table 2).

Table 2. Means and standard deviations on the post-test for letters d+ e and l + a for the Mentally Handicapped and Non-Handicapped children, the Sesame Street and the No Sesame Street conditions.

LETTERS →	D + E		L + A	
	mean	sd	mean	sd
MH-children				
Sesame Street	5.4	1.0	5.1	0.7
No-Sesame Street	4.9	1.0	4.3	1.5
NH-children				
Sesame Street	4.2	1.5	4.6	1.3
No-Sesame Street	2.9	1.4	3.0	1.4

When we look at the different tasks separately a different pattern becomes evident.

The recall strategy did not show much learning. The MH-children learned more than the NH-children $p<.05$, but all together not much learning was evident.

Recognition did not show much changes in letter knowledge either. The NH children showed a little more learning as compared to the MH children (see Table 3.).

Table 3. Means and standard deviations on recall, recognition and understanding for d + e on the pre test ad the post-test for the Mentally Handicapped and Non-Handicapped children, the Sesame Street and the No Sesame Street conditions.

	RECALL			
	pre-test		post-test	
	mean	sd	mean	sd
MH-children				
Sesame Street	1.5	0.7	1.5	0.7
No-Sesame Street	1.2	0.7	1.6	0.5
NH-children				
Sesame Street	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.8
No-Sesame Street	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.5

continuation Table 3:

	RECOGNITION			
	pre-test		post-test	
	mean	sd	mean	sd
MH-children				
Sesame Street	2.0	0.2	1.9	0.4
No-Sesame Street	2.0	0.0	1.8	0.4
NH-children				
Sesame Street	1.4	0.7	1.5	0.8
No-Sesame Street	0.9	0.8	1.2	0.7

	UNDERSTANDING			
	pre-test		post-test	
	mean	sd	mean	sd
MH-children				
Sesame Street	1.6	0.6	2.0	0.2
No-Sesame Street	1.5	0.5	1.5	0.9
NH-children				
Sesame Street	1.6	0.5	1.9	0.3
No-Sesame Street	1.6	0.7	1.5	0.6

Understanding however, showed a significant improvement between the pre- and the post-test, which was only evident for the experimental group. The MH and the NH children in the experimental condition improved significantly in understanding letters as compared to the control groups (F17.83, $p < .005$).

For the control letters the same pattern was found: no significant changes in recognition and recall and a significant improvement in understanding for the MH as well as the NH-children in the experimental condition (see Table 4).

Table 4. Means and standard deviations on recall, recognition and understanding for l + a on the pre test ad the post-test for the Mentally Handicapped and Non-Handicapped children, the Sesame Street and the No Sesame Street conditions.

	RECALL			
	pre-test		post-test	
	mean	sd	mean	sd
MH-children				
Sesame Street	1.5	0.7	1.5	0.6
No-Sesame Street	1.1	0.7	1.4	0.7
NH-children				
Sesame Street	1.2	0.8	1.2	0.8
No-Sesame Street	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.6

continuation Table 4:

RECOGNITION				
	pre-test		post-test	
	mean	sd	mean	sd
MH-children				
Sesame Street	1.7	0.4	1.8	0.4
No-Sesame Street	1.6	0.5	1.3	0.5
NH-children				
Sesame Street	1.3	0.6	1.5	0.6
No-Sesame Street	0.9	0.7	1.1	0.7

UNDERSTANDING				
	pre-test		post-test	
	mean	sd	mean	sd
MH-children				
Sesame Street	1.4	0.7	1.9	0.4
No-Sesame Street	1.8	0.6	1.6	0.7
NH-children				
Sesame Street	1.6	0.6	1.8	0.5
No-Sesame Street	1.5	0.6	1.5	0.6

Discussion

All children learned from Sesame Street. Despite the fact that the peak of interest and learning from Sesame Street usually is positioned around 31/2 to 4 years, 6 to 8 year old children obviously learned from the Sesame Street episodes.

Even though mentally handicapped children were supposed to be in a disadvantaged position to learn from the TV, the handicapped children learned as much as the non handicapped children. Both the MH and the NH children significantly increased in the understanding of letters.

In the beginning of the article it was discussed whether MH-children can learn from television as compared to NH-children. It was suggested that MH-children might need a different format in order to learn from television. Given their difficulties in selective attention, their speed of information processing, etc., they might need adapted programming. In this study MH-children proved to be well able to learn from Sesame Street. The MH-children showed the same learning pattern as compared to the NH-children. However: First, the MH- children were about 8 years old. Which means they were quite old as a target group for Sesame Street. If we take the challenge serious, we should probably have to focus on four to six year old handicapped children, since that is the target age of Sesame Street in respect to letter and language learning. In addition, that is the age that children spontaneously watch and enjoy Sesame Street. Even though the MH-children did like Sesame Street, it is not their spontaneous choice to watch: "Sesame Street is for little kids". If we study the effect of Sesame Street with MH-children at younger ages, we might come up with different results and we might be forced to take a closer look at the fundamental variables, such as speed, complexity, centrality of information, etc., that might have to be tailored to the needs and capacities of MH-children in order to make Sesame Street an equally stimulating program for MH-children at an equal age as non handicapped children. Second, Sesame Street is a carefully constructed program, designed to stimulate the development of the young viewer. Hence, the above mentioned results do not necessarily mean that other programs have the same educational potential particularly for Mentally Handicapped children.

First we wanted to know whether mentally handicapped / learning disabled children can learn from an educational television program. Second, we were also interested in how MH children might learn from television. This study shows a significant increase in the understanding of letters. The reason for the increase in the understanding of letters might be that Sesame Street letter presentations are very much focused on a differential and functional format of handling letters. For example: in one of the programs 'Frank' -a favourite character in Dutch Sesame Street- is running through 'The Street' in search of the letter *v* belonging to *v oetbal (s ocker)*. Somehow he lost it, nd without this letter he is not able play *v* -oetbal (s ocker). So he hunts everywhere: checking a traffic sign, an ice-cream cone, until he finds a *v* in the name of a shop. In this fragment the letter *v* is clearly placed in a linguistic context as part of a word. Both the letter and the word can not do much without each other. This style might be particularly stimulating to the understanding of letters. The fact that recall and, to a lesser extend also recognition, show much less effect might be explained on the one hand because recall in addition to memory, requires specific motor skills that are not presented by the program. On the other hand Sesame Street may present a new way of learning as compared to learning in school particularly in respect to understanding. Possibly the presentation in Sesame Street is enhancing the functional understanding of letters more then average classroom teaching does, which is less evident for recall and recognition.

Particularly surprising is the fact that the control letters showed the same pattern. Despite the fact that *l* and *a* were control items and not discussed in the Sesame Street episodes, the children who watched Sesame Street showed great improvement in the understanding of the letters *l* and *a* and the children in the control condition did not. The increase in understanding of the control letters can not be ascribed to the testing procedure. The control groups used entirely the same procedures and did not show any improvement in understanding. Hence Sesame Street presentations seem to increase the general ability of children to understand letters. They increase the ability to understand the intention of a letter in a functional way.

In this study Sesame Street turned out to be a potential medium to use in a classroom to support the existing learning methods with mildly handicapped, learning disabled children. These results so far only rule for Sesame Street. The social skills did not reveal any potential learning. However, we might have chosen the wrong skills. Not only were the children far to knowledgeable already on the skills chosen, also, the skills, we focused upon, are tapping more so called self management, or intra-personal social skills. Whereas the social skills we really would like to assess are more inter-personal social skills. Inter-personal skills contain such skills as problem solving skills (Hickey Schultz, Yeates & Selman, 1987) and perspective taking (Collot d'Escury, 1990). In view of the potential contribution of television to inter-personal functioning, it is important to reconsider the issue of social skills in future research.

In general, the educational potential of television might be underestimated for children with special needs. Television can be more than 'just a happy hour'.

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Computer Supported Collaborative Learning

Co-operative Learning Environments

The ability to co-operate and to learn from co-operation are important basic skills of every mature citizen. In a computer learning environment, co-operation and learning from it can be more effective in some cases, through specific procedural support or support through the contents of the programme. The main question to be answered is how to support or realise co-operative learning within a computer supported environment. Reviewing the literature, the different forms in which this computer support is realised can be ordered into four main forms. The first form 'co-operation in a computer supported learning task' concerns the pupils' collaboration on a co-operative learning task or learning environment which is presented by a computer programme. In the second form 'computer supported tools' the computer programme plays an explicit supporting role at collaboration by offering tools for executing tasks, by offering help or by controlling the process. The third form 'co-operation through computer supported (tele) communication' is about tele-learning and about co-operation at distance in particular. At this, a computer network is used as a medium for communication as well as specific applications such as groupware to support the process of co-operation. Finally, there are the 'co-operative partner systems' which concern the co-operation between student and system, at which the computer programme plays the role of a co-operative partner.

We will now discuss in succession these four forms of collaborative learning and computer support, emphasising their learning effects.

Computer Based Collaborative Task

When co-operating on a computer supported learning task, pupils work together on a task which is assigned by a computer programme, or collaboratively try to solve a problem which needs a computer programme to find a solution. This concerns a teaching method at which the computer supported presentation of the learning- or task situation is used to stimulate discussion and consultation among students. These computer programme's mostly concern simulations and micro-worlds or specific applications, like word processors, spreadsheets, databases or the World-Wide-Web with a general instruction for use.

At this form of computer supported collaborative learning the computer programme plays a limited role. In most cases the task can also be carried out individually. The pupils are being stimulated to co-operate on a computer task only for pragmatic or logistic reasons. In such cases not enough computers are available in the school to have every pupil work individually on a programme. So it will not come as a surprise that the results of such groupwork on the computer are not univocal and not always better than individual working (Blaye and Light, 1993).

Co-operative Tools

At co-operative computer supported tools the computer programme plays an explicit supporting role at co-operation by offering 'cognitive tools' for the execution of the task. An example is the CSILE-project (Computer Supported Intentional Learning Environment) of Scardamelia and Bereiter (1991) which offers to learning groups a computer supported tool on a social-communicative level for organising and co-ordinating the data-exchange. The programme consists of a database in a network with memo's and files which are publicly and individually accessible. The memo's may contain text as well as graphic figures (icons). With help of the programme, pupils can bring up their questions concerning a certain subject or learning task in the classroom by way of notes. These notes can be solutions, they can concern comment, counterproposals or theories found or invented by the pupils themselves. Although it was started as a project to promote individual, selfregulated learning and learning to write texts co-operatively, now the emphasis is on the social, in particular the collective, aspect of knowledge construction in a group or community (Scardamelia, Bereiter and Lamon, 1994).

To a limited degree, research has been made into the effects of the CSILE programme. It appears that pupils who have been working with CSILE in class for a longer period (1-3 years) score higher in a progress test on language when compared with a control group. When reading difficult texts, the CSILE pupils appear to score higher in memorising information in the text as well as in understanding problems in the text and solving these. It also appears that the learning concept of the CSILE pupils is aimed relatively more at gaining insight than it is on scoring high marks.

Computer Mediated Communication

Co-operation through computer supported (tele-)communication is about tele-learning, especially co-operation at distance. For this purpose a computer network as a medium of communication is used as well as specific applications such as 'groupware' to support the co-operation process. As regards collaborative learning, two applications in particular seem to be suitable. The first one concerns the use of discussion or interest groups. It concerns network applications which give the possibility to have a public talk (discussion, conversation, consultation) through the network. Discussion groups seem to be particularly suitable for distance education. Basically, they can break the individual, isolated nature of learning at distance and they can enable pupils who are working on the same learning task, to co-operate and to learn together. Moreover, the debating groups stimulate the teacher to use more interactive didactic teaching methods aiming less at transmission of knowledge. It appears that discussing through the computer can have positive results. For instance, an explorative study about the writing products of an experimental group consisting of 50 pupils of group 7 of elementary school, appeared, after three months of discussion about books, to have improved in general, when compared with a control group which had made the same writing assignment during that same period (Moore and Karabenickl, 1992). The improvements concerned clarity, the use of details and the giving of examples to explain ideas.

The second applications concerns the use of groupware, especially for the benefit of (learning) how to write in co-operation. The research after "collaborative writing" shows very promising results. For instance, we examined how complex information, presented in a visual or in a textual way, is used at writing argumenting texts. To do so, couples of university students repeatedly wrote two texts with a network based programme for Collaborative Text Production. With this programme they had access to their own information (visual or textual), they were able to debate with their partner ('chatting') and they had a collective editor at their disposal. The visual presenting of information appeared to be stimulating for finding new arguments. The enthusiasm and the task orientednes of the students during the three hour sessions was striking. Also, an inquiry proved that the students found this possibility of co-operative writing and conferring about a collective text. very inspiring (Andriessen. Erkens. Overeem and Jaspers, in print).

Intelligent Co-operative Systems

Co-operative partner systems concern the co-operation between the pupil and the system. at which the computer programme plays the role of a co-operative partner. About this form of computer supported learning we can be brief. Most programmes were of a highly experimental nature and did not meet the objective. Some programmes are still in the stage of development and more or less near to a prototype co-operative system, which can co-operate at problemsolving, on the basis of a pseudo-fellow pupil model (Erkens. 1997). The realisation of more co-operative or more advising systems instead of the tutorial model in intelligent teaching systems appears to be more difficult than it was supposed to be.

The preliminary survey shows that co-operation between pupils in a computer supported learning environment. or more precise, in a computer mediated communication environment, can have facilitating effects on learning, more progressive than co-operative learning separately. The possibilities offered by the computer to visualisation, multiple representation. cognitive and communitative tools, recording discussion and argumentation may be the reason for this surplus value.

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VI.

Women and Gender Studies

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Respecting Women's Learning Process in Adult Education

Adult education, more than other fields of social science research, has ignored the dimension of gender differences. Most of the theories and practices are based on a sexual neutrality, more so in the definition of the adult than in the definition of the learning process. Approaches used in other fields of research, are however very helpful for promoting a recognition of the need for separate gender approaches in adult education. Writings about children and education at schools, about developmental theories in psychology and about work in sociology, show how differences of sex can be observed and analysed. The effect of this is to create segregation. Some undeniable questions in these fields, primarily in English-speaking writings and within a feminist perspective, have led feminist researchers to take positions in pedagogy.

Our purpose is to bring gender related components to the adult learning process, based on a theoretical position and on experiments observed in adult education training programs. The challenge and the goals of this debate are, on the one hand, to examine differently the institutions who admit adults into their programs and the role they might offer in respect to gender, and, on the other hand, to look carefully at the management practices in companies concerning the evaluation and the development of individual and collective skills in the workplace.

1. Sexual Neutrality in Adult Education

1.1 The Definition of the Adult Learner

In French and English writings, which are written mostly by men, the adult is generally defined by different components such as "his" level of education, his experience (which is often connected with age) and his level of responsibilities at work, all of which are fundamental in considering the needs in adult education and in training proposals. In theoretical articles or books and speaking's authors, they seem to have forgotten about analysing gender as a determinant of their research subject. This is not deliberate, they have just forgotten. In other cases, women are considered as a research subject because they form a special clientele in continuing education (for example: Merriam, Cunningham, (eds), 1989).

The practitioners, for example the trainers, are conscious of gender differences in the composition of a group of adults in training. But although they know, and say, that the tone of a course or a session will be different depending on the number of women and men in a group, they usually don't know what to do with this fact in terms of principles and strategies. Special care is given to gender however, as a principal component of adults involved in education when it is a non-mixed program, organised most of the time for a target group of underprivileged women looking for a degree and/or re-entry in the workforce. In this case, attention will focus on the sociological specificities of those women. That does not mean that the nature of the teaching method adopted will be different than for the traditional adult session based upon male values and characteristics. All this means that there is not yet, in adult education, any definition of a gendered adult learner.

1.2 Adult Knowledge

Much has been written about adults as learners. Life phases and developmental stages, as well as the distinctions between knowing, knowing how to do, and knowing how to be, have been examined by a number of researchers. In most of these works, the relationship between knowledge and concepts such as socialisation, power, authority, and action is examined. Knowledge is seen as an individual creation in which the social position of the learner in a society is involved. In this sense, the production of knowledge is examined in terms of relations between social groups.

In these discussions, women are not mentioned, or if they are, it is on a sociological level. This is because everyone agrees that women's professional and private lives are more sharply divided than those of men. The debate stays in the public field of activity.

The learning process is defined as a vehicle of knowledge is analysed as such in education. (for example: KNOWLES, 1984). The process is seen as an opportunity to change, a way of reaching different behaviours, a path allowing growth and development. The role of the trainer is to promote this process, to take care of needs, experience, and diversity in a group of adults. Until recently, the dimension of gender in the learning process has not been analysed by professionals, and is not well accepted in the research world.

In the field of adult education today, the main purpose of analysing knowledge is connected with the concept of skills. Management tools are increasingly based upon employees' skills, both on an individual and collective level. The capacity of evaluating and anticipating the qualities of human potential is an inherent part of running a company. During the last decade, research and experiments have proved that social skills are as important as technical skills. But this discussion does not touch the question of gender as a factor determining the nature of skills.

As we approach the end of the century, we are in an economic situation that encourages women to stay home, a situation which helps to better analyse how their skills of homemaker and mother - those of relations, communications, and care - could be recognised and given a larger place in the workplace.

2. Gender Approaches in Related Scientific Areas

We will refer to three scientific areas from which we can learn about specificities of gender: developmental psychology, school education, and sociology of work.

2.1. Developmental Psychology

has not focused on the differences it might find between men and women. Carol GILLIGAN (1982) has attacked KOHLBERG's theories very strongly. His concept of moral development was based upon a male population with results announced as universal. GILLIGAN revisited this concept and showed how men's development is based on rules, norms, abstraction, and principles, contrary to women's development which is based upon responsibility, caring for others, reality, and the particular. This controversy was the beginning of a wide theoretical debate on gender development, questioned by feminist researchers such as BAKER MILLER (1986) who showed how the construction of "self" is organised through relational dimensions for women. JOSSELSON (1987) showed how the "sense of self" is connected to love given and received. From this point of view, women are distinguished by their need for sharing, and men by their need for action and social status with respect to others: MOSCONI (1994). This way of thinking seems helpful in adult education where the needs of adults and the learning process might be understood and analysed from a gender perspective.

2.2. Education at School

The sexist implications of education at school have been analysed for some time now. Especially from the beginning of the seventies, many feminist educators have denounced sexism at school in all Occidental countries, with the help of theories on co-educational schools, games at school and child creativity, such as those of BELOTTI (1973) in Italy, and more recently, theories of educational guidance, aptitudes and socialisation at school by researchers such as DURU-BELLAT (1990) in France. Although it has not been possible to arrive at a general agreement about mixed schools, the recognition of discrimination against girls is a proven and established fact. The results of all these intellectual and experimental efforts are reflected in some legal measures which are slowly being integrated into educational and vocational institutions, even if evidence of the decider conviction is not always present. The world of adult education could adopt some aspects of this research, experiments, and principles in recognition of the different gender needs in education, as a function of group-sharing, or in the nature of the evaluation of knowledge.

2.3 The Sociology of Labour

is the third aspect in which we can find help in understanding adult education from the point of view of gender differences. There have been many writings on women and work, most of the time either to show discrimination, such as sexual harassment at the workplace or lack of access to vocational training programs in recent years, or to denounce the lack of respect for women in the increasing technological and management changes. Technology is seen as "a masculine culture" says WAJCMAN (1991). WITZ (1992) attacks patriarchy in analyses on gender relations at work and the construction of differences in the workplace is questioned by Nicole GADREY (1992). For the last few years, in the developing world, the differences between men and women in creating jobs and companies have been examined by international organisations with a new recognition of women's potential and skills in business activities and in economic development, as analysed by KABEER (1995). Today we can see on the one hand, the non-recognition of women and the segregation against them in a traditional work environment, and on the other hand, the beginning of a new recognition of female specific potential capacities which are useful in a crisis period and in the non-traditional sector of labour as well as in the new perspective of management. Today the skills are required, examined, and evaluated, and these new management needs and strategies are in a direct relationship with training and adult education.

3. Gendered Prospects in Adult Education

3.1 « Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind »

by BELENKY, CLINCHY, GOLDBERGER, TARULE (1986) was the starting point of a reflection on specificities of women in adult education. This book is always mentioned as a classic, even in the case of those who criticise it, arguing for example, that the analysis was done with a white only female population. Based upon 135 interviews with women enrolled in educational programs, and using GILLIGAN's theory in their interview schedule, self-descriptions, and real-life moral dilemmas, the authors of this book explored the women's way of knowing and found five ways of learning:

- Silence: fears
- Received knowledge: listening to the voices of others
- Subjective knowledge: the inner voice and the quest of self
- Procedural knowledge: the voice of reason and connected knowing
- Constructed knowledge: integrating the voices.

Although most adult education theories relate to the last way of learning mentioned: « constructed knowledge », this does not mean that this way has been deliberately chosen over other ways women know and which are latent in each adult woman involved in a program. In this writing, « received knowledge » is analysed as a component of the female function of reproduction. The psychological function of « subjective knowledge » is, for the authors, perceived by the trainers, as embarrassing and thus neglected. The social function of « procedural knowledge » is criticised as typical male constructions and attitudes. This model shows the complexity of knowing, and related to the scientific fields mentioned in the preceding pages, lets us gain a new understanding of the specific needs of adult women learners.

3.2. Some Feminist Researchers

mostly from North America, have attacked the male models of adult education. The "critical pedagogy" is revisited and criticised by many of them such as LUKE and GORE (1992). According to these criticism, the concept of "subject" is not appreciated because it does not refer to women's subjectivity and because it is a way of considering the social position of each person in the process of "emancipation". These feminists leave a privileged place to Paolo FREIRE with his concept of critical consciousness which involves all the complexity of the self faced with the challenge for democracy. In developing countries, development training programs, essentially organised by women, are moving in this direction, and from a pedagogical point of view, aim toward constructive knowledge, as has said KABEER (1995) in India.

In these feminist writings, such questions as private versus public, power, socialisation through domination and patriarchy in schools are not missing. Stereotypes such as women's emotionalism and intuition are either analysed as negative for women as learners, or considered very important for preserving subjectivity in adult education. The "womanist" position sees the complexity of the self as a combination of three determinants: social class, race, and gender: HAYES, COLIN (1994). The role of trainers in facilitating self-confidence is also analysed from a feminist perspective: STONE (1994). This literature mostly describes a contest between the traditional male way of thinking and the practice of adult education. All agree, however, with the fact that women's voices are not listened to and women's knowledge not respected, which is in contradiction to their perspective of considering women as "knowers" more than as learners.

4. Respect of Specificities in Practice

4.1. A Theoretical and Ethical Position

founded upon the recognition of a male construction of adult learning, of social obstacles to women's involvement in training programs, and of the feminist analysis has to be taken in adult education. Women have their own needs in a learning process which have to be recognised by the scientific community as well as by the practitioners. These needs should be seen not as misfortune, but rather as specificities which deserve to be recognised. Those characteristics are related to the determinants of the self-relationship to knowledge in order to facilitate the process of learning. An analysis of these indicators could set a new place in the feminine dimensions of learning which are useful for every adult. The role of emotions and subjectivity would thus become as legitimate as memory or speech in the current training mind-set. With this purpose in mind, we refer to the word "ethics", meaning respect for unexplored dimensions of knowing. Some consequences for the pedagogy of adults have already been determined (SOLAR: 1994). Among them, we can mention: to « give voice », to demysticize knowledge, that co-operation is better than competition, group sharing, emotions and the valorisation of intuition, experiential learning, respect for diversity, gendered language, and prospects for change. But these concepts are more abstract wishes than applied principles. To prove their relevance it is necessary to analyse the mechanisms through educational achievements.

4.2. Some Principles in Practice

In three different contexts of training involving women, I had the opportunity to focus on their specific learning needs.

The first situation concerns a seminar on "Women, adult education, and work" at the University of Geneva. In group reflection on this topic, the participants worked on their own relationship to knowledge and identified which elements in their experience as learners were facilitating or complicating their process of knowing, and how. For example, fear of success as much as fear of failure have been analysed separately, but also in relationship to the learning situations which raised these emotions. The attitude of the trainer was always a determinant, and the group of students agreed on the fact that the valorisation of self-confidence, of their writings, and of their learning by the other members of a small group was the best opportunity which they had.

The second example is provided by a professional training program in a company where the target group consists of unskilled women workers. The company decided to introduce a new computerised system. As a result, the workers had to use a data processing system with codes on a daily basis. The training of 800 workers was organised by two trainers, a man and a woman. The man's proposal did not work well because the learning process was organised from a technical perspective, with the new tool playing a central role. After this failure, the learning program was built on the workers' daily activities and their real individual and collective experiences. The evaluation shows that a more successful approach was to put these women in the situation of talking as knowers rather than that of listening to obtain the truth.

The third situation concerns the preparation of a new program for social excluded women in Geneva. The sessions have not begun yet, but the preliminary construction takes the concrete needs of a disadvantaged and varied population into account. The challenge for the local women's associations is to offer what they call "the first step" which does not yet exist in our city. The project is to mix different types of excluded women known through their organisations, and to offer them the opportunity of sharing their experiences, fears, and strengths, and to build a women's solidarity based on self-confidence so that they will have the courage to become involved in training programs or jobs in the future. The organisers, all women, know their audience very well, and the entire training concept is based on this understanding. The progression has been carefully examined, as much in terms of schedule as in contents, as the choice of the training space in order to provide some casual intimacy. This program is totally different from the traditional proposals offered, and all the organisers know that taking these pedagogical precautions is the only guarantee of success.

These three examples show how respect for specific women's needs is important in adult education and which should be recognised as a universal principle. Today, in the context of a general recognition of communication skills, these situations illustrate the potential that women have to learn and know from themselves and with, for, and from the others.

5. Challenge for the Future

5.1. A Transformation of Adult Education Institutions

Although needs analysis, experiential learning, and management of heterogeneity are major topics in the adult education world, the gendered dimension of these principles is, as we said earlier, neglected. The adult education organisations from those working with disadvantaged populations to universities, should initiate some innovations to take the female population into account. The principles mentioned in 4.1. (a theoretical and ethical position) should evolve from wishes to reality.

The trainer-learner relationship is simply a relationship of adult to adult. By this, we mean that knowledge does not belong only to the trainer, male or female, but that there is an incredible treasure of knowledge in each of us, hidden by doubts, especially for women. The trainer is also an adult who has the right to express his or her own doubts, which is the best way to avoid developing a power relationship in a training session. The use of self-experiences, life histories and sharing-groups has to be organised and recognised by the learning institutions. The effectiveness of a program, which is most of the time an objective, is achieved through work on the self and requires self confidence on the part of the participants. From the « womanist » perspective of individual complexity, the valorisation of the participants' diversity: social class, race, and gender, also needs to be planned and organised.

These elements are not to be perceived only as demands coming from a feminist pedagogy, but also as facilitators which take care of all the subjectivities which belong to the adult ways of learning, even if it is disturbing to admit it, especially for men.

5.2. From Knowledge to the Recognition of Skills

Leaving room for women's ways of learning does not constitute in itself a real challenge for the educational institutions, but it will if there is a recognition of skills related to communication; sharing, and relations from a social and economic point of view. These new emerging skills in the management world are more and more being investigated because of the established fact that technical skills are easier to find and to recognise than social skills. In this debate, and in this research for efficient tools of recruitment and job evaluation, and in a perspective of an anticipational management of skills, women probably have a new chance to be valorised. The construction of their knowledge is mostly inherent to their woman's role as wife and mother, and to the needs and qualities of relations with others, based on their self experience. Recently, in the city of Bern, domestic skills and extra-professional skills have been officially recognised as useful skills for jobs and included in the recruitment tools. This experimentation is the beginning of a wider recognition of women's specific skills. For example, organising a complex situation might be a problem for some men, but it is a fact that doing a lot of different things at the same time is inherent in a woman's daily life. In this sense, organisational skills can be related easily to women. In the economic context, women's knowledge, which is starting to be recognised through "public" relational and organisational skills, will gain a new image in the research and practices of adult education.

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Barbara Merrill (Warwick)

„I'm Doing Something for Myself“ Mature Women Students in Universities

Introduction

Historically, British universities have not been accessible institutions. The student population at undergraduate level has mostly been white, middle class male 18-21 year olds. Ethnic groups, older people and, until recently, women have been in the minority. Following the expansion of higher education and the erosion of the binary system in recent years the social composition of the undergraduate student population is changing, particularly in the 'new' universities (former polytechnics). Increasingly mature women students are becoming a significant student group within British universities. The access and participation of adults in higher education is now high on the research agenda in Britain.

Mature students, at undergraduate level, in Britain are 21 years and over at age of entry to university. Mature students, however, are not a homogeneous group. Differences can be identified in terms of mode of study (part- or full-time), age, gender and ethnicity. This paper looks at the attitudes, experiences and expectations of mature women students on first degree programmes at the University of Warwick, UK. Although issues of gender are well documented at the level of initial schooling in Britain, gender and higher education remains an under-researched area. The few key studies address the issues of gender and academic subjects (Thomas, 1990) and the inequalities experienced by female academics (Acker and Piper, 1984). Within the field of adult education there is a growing literature on the access of adults to education but much of this discusses adult students as a homogeneous group. Feminist adult educators have responded with studies specifically focusing on gender issues across the broad range of adult education (Thompson, 1980). With the exception of, for example, Edwards (1993) and Pascall and Cox (1993), there is a paucity of literature on women adult students in universities.

Research Approach and Background

The data for this paper is drawn from two sources: a comparative UK/Belgian study with the Catholique University de Louvain on the access and participation of adults in universities and on research for a PhD. The research focused on the women's life histories by looking at their initial schooling, family and employment experiences. Reasons for returning to learn, the admissions procedures, learning experiences as mature students, the inter-relationship between their public and private lives and future expectations were also considered. The scope of this paper, however, highlights some of the key issues of the research. A small sample of men were included in the study to compare the gender issues.

This study looks at mature women students in universities from the students perspective by drawing methodologically on qualitative approaches, particularly biographies and interviews. Theories of action and structure; feminism, Marxism and interacionism, are integrated in order to obtain a fuller insight of the impact and experiences of studying for a degree upon the lives of women.

Who Are the Mature Women Students?

Warwick has three categories of mature students; part-time, full-time and 2+2. Many of the mature students are non-traditional in the sense that they lack formal entry qualifications and/or because of their social background in relation to class, gender, ethnicity and age. Most have also been out of the education system for a long time. Many 2+2 and part-time degree students are non-traditional adult students. For example, most 2+2 students are working class married women in their thirties and forties. The majority left school at the earliest possible age with few qualifications to work in low-paid female jobs. The 2+2 degree is an innovative programme. The first two years of the degree course are taught in further education (FE) colleges (post 16) with a curriculum and teaching approaches specifically designed to meet the needs of mature students. The last two years are taught on the Warwick campus. The FE colleges are situated in the local communities, making access to learning easier for women with children.

Linking Schooling and Employment to Learning as an Adult

Although the women had individual stories to tell about their lives and why they decided to return to education as an adult, their life experiences were collective ones. Experiences of initial schooling and employment, for example, were common factors that influenced their decision to study for a degree. To understand why the women had chosen this particular moment in their lives to return to learn requires connecting their present biographies to their past ones.

Gender and class factors played a vital role in impeding many adults in this study from continuing in post-16 education. Many lamented not being able to remain at school to study for entry into higher education. As a result they felt that their education was incomplete. Others believed that they had not reached their potential at school. Studying for a degree at Warwick offered a second chance: a possibility to redress the inequalities of an education system that had failed many of them as working class girls. As adult learners they were determined to succeed a second time round.

Most of the women attended school during the 1960s and 1970s when girls, particularly working class girls, were not encouraged in terms of education. Their future consisted of marriage, low-paid employment and domesticity (Sharpe, 1976, 1994, Spender, 1982,). Karen, a 2+2 student, explained:

> My parents were very much of the idea that the girls belong in the house and the boys at work. The idea was that my brother would go to college. There was never any intention that I would go. I actually started work the day I left school. That was how it was in our family. Education has never really been highly thought of.

The working lives of the married women in this study followed a traditional gender pattern: low-paid female work interspersed by periods in the home childrearing. Most women were employed in secretarial work and, like the men in this study, wanted a job with greater autonomy and economic reward:

> To me it was a means to an end. You got your wage packet at the end of the week. The job was boring but at that age I did not have any ambitions or direction (Sarah).

Spending time in the home childrearing enabled the women to reflect upon their lives. They now wanted to spend time doing something for themselves and actively change their lives. Domesticity highlighted the contradictions, lack of power and fulfilment in their present lives. Joyce summarised the situation of many of the women in this study: 'As a woman you are usually doing something that somebody else wants you to do, your mum or dad, child, husband, employer. I put my foot down and said that I was doing a degree'.

Intrinsic factors also played a part in the women's decision to return to study: the desire and enthusiasm to learn. Valerie, a part-time student, decided that her life was concentrated too much on home and work:

> It gives a different dimension to life apart from home and work. This venture is just for me, to justify me to myself if you like! You may probably describe it as a boost to one's ego.

The women wanted to establish their own self-identity and education was viewed as the key to achieving this. Learning would, it was hoped, give them autonomy and fulfilment in their lives. Returning to education was an attempt to redress power inequalities in their public and private spheres and to gain a degree of control over their lives.

Adjustment to a Student Career

On entry to university the women had high expectations of what a university degree could potentially do to their lives in relation to career and personal development. At the same time their working class background precluded them from having knowledge about what studying at university entailed. University culture was something that had to be learnt. However, they were determined to succeed and prove to themselves that they were capable of studying at this level. They also shared fears and anxieties about entering a new social world.

In their daily lives as mature students the women played a multiplicity of roles; mother, wife, employer. Being a degree student only formed one strand of their lives. Past and present roles affected their student role but at the same time the self was also reconstructed and redefined. University life had a profound effect upon the lives of the female students. Pascall and Cox (1993) point out that mature women students leave university changed persons. In a similar way to Goffman's (1961) concept of 'mortification', the self of women students is partially stripped on entry to university and their identity rebuilt as they progress through their student career. Their attitudes, expectations and behaviour had to be understood within the context of campus and family life or 'situational propriety' (Goffman 1961).

Entering the System: Initial Experiences

A positive initial contact is important for adults returning to education as they react to messages given out by institutions (McGivney, 1993). For all participants two priorities in applying to institutions were; finding a suitable course and a university that understood the learning needs of mature students. Another factor was considered crucial by the women with families; an awareness by the institution of the problems of studying and looking after a family. After the admissions interviews the women felt that Warwick was sympathetic to mature students and particularly the needs of women. To what extent did the rhetoric match reality as they progressed through their student career?

As the start of the degree course approached a minority of participants began to reconsider the decision to study for a degree because of apprehension, not about studying, but about entering a large and possibly alienating institution. Sue recalled:

> I really had to make myself come to the mature students' induction day. I can remember sitting in the car park wondering and feeling scared, why the hell have I done this? It would have been so easy to have driven off. By the end of that day I was so relieved that I had done it. I knew a few faces. It was chaos at the start of term and if I had walked into that I would not have survived. (Sue)

Her experience highlights the need for adult educators to provide support systems at all stages of the learning process including pre-course in institutions whose student population is overwhelmingly non-mature.

Once in the system the womens' student role and experiences of university life were shaped by the type of degree programme; 2+2, part- or full-time. Age and marital status were also important variables. The younger single women, for example, were looking for the 'total student experience', academically and socially. For the women with children, some of whom were single parents, domesticity continued to play an important role in their life constraining their time spent as a student. The mature students formed subcultural groups by degree course, age and gender. In defining culture I draw on the work of Clark et al:

> We understand the word 'culture' to refer to that level at which social groups develop distinct patterns of life, and give expressive form to their social and material life-experience. Culture is the way, the forms, in which groups 'handle' the raw material of their social and material existence...A culture includes the 'maps of meaning' which make things intelligible to its members. (1976:10)

Life Experiences and Learning

Good teaching approaches for both adults and children incorporates the life experiences of the students (Knowles, 1990). Social science subjects are conducive to a discourse that centres on life experiences. This may be one of the appeals of social sciences to adults: the subject matter is not abstract and remote from their lives. Seminars provided a platform for the expression of life experiences. The women, particularly on law and sociology courses, were able to discuss their educational, family, work, and for a minority, racial experiences. The men in my sample excluded their private lives from seminar discussions but they did refer to their employment experiences. Interviews with lecturers revealed that many valued the contribution of life experiences to seminars by mature students. The only reservation that lecturers had were that some adults were unable to cross the boundary and make the transition from anecdotal talk to a conceptualisation and theorisation of life experiences.

Three women were conscious that mature students had a tendency to discuss life experiences in seminars. Judith commented, 'I think older people go on about what's happened to them whereas the younger ones discuss the topics more'. A comment by a younger mature female student illustrates the heterogeneity of mature students:

> Adults tend to be on a different level...Some of the really old students often talk about their family and shopping in the midst of a seminar. It knocks you off course and makes you feel older than you are (Dalvinder).

However, Dalvinder in her second interview reflected positively about the relationship between her life experiences and the subject matter of sociology:

> Studying sociology has made me look more critically. Your experiences are put into theory. Maybe that was the factor for me, being able to do that more than the younger students and also being with Asian and being a woman. I have got so much knowledge of my own personal life to think about (Dalvinder).

Intersecting the Public and Private Worlds

Gender issues were significant in the lives of the mature students in this study. The student career of the women was qualitatively different to that of the men, particularly at the public/private interface. Institutional arrangements, organisation and family life impinged more critically upon the women's ability to study than the men. The women experienced more constraints, both internally and externally. Being a student also challenged the way they perceived themselves as a woman.

Despite the structural constraints, and in some cases relational constraints by partners, the women struggled actively to negotiate and construct their student career in ways that were largely beneficial to them. In doing so they were asserting their right both within the University and the family to have a space to themselves and a time when they were not somebody's wife or mother. Studying was a sphere whereby they could gain a degree of control over their lives. The women's public and private worlds were inter-connected, sometimes positively but more often negatively. As Pateman indicates: 'The most common theme discussed was the presence of younger students (18-21 year olds) in seminars. Age and gender differences are rendered visible in seminars.' Seminars provide a forum for the meeting of young and mature student subcultures. Mostly this was a positive experience. A minority who were in mixed seminars were critical of younger students. 'There are mostly mature students in my seminar groups. I find this useful for support. The younger women do not say as much as the younger men' (Helen). In her first year of study Helen felt intimidated by the younger students in seminars and this undermined her confidence as a learner. 'I used to feel that other students knew more than I did so I kept quiet. But then you realise that they do not know any more than you do. They are just able to talk' (Helen).

Others emphasised the benefits of learning with younger students. Valerie outlined her reactions to being in a group with younger students:

> That was very strange actually. There is only one other mature. You wonder about the legitimacy of being there but it worked quite well. It is a bit daunting when you first go in and you feel like a mother. I do not think that it is a problem. It is just an initial problem of getting over the age gap. The shock of all these youngsters. If you are willing to go and meet them on their level

> and joke with them and help them in some way as I have access to photocopying. We share information. If you go in there and see yourself as different, if you are not willing to get on some rapport, some level, then it will be difficult.

> Feminists conclude that the 'separate' liberal worlds of private and public life are actually interrelated, connected by a patriarchal structure' (Pateman, 1987:118).

On becoming adult students participants' daily lives straddled the worlds of education, family and employment. Coping with the competing demands and the different, and sometimes, conflicting roles expected by varying institutions was a dominant aspect of the ontology of being a mature female student. Several women talked extensively about the diverse pressures and struggles of trying to meet the needs of partners and children while studying for a degree. The guilty mother syndrome frequently emerged in conversations:

> Time is one of the biggest factors with being a mature student because of fitting in with all of the home activities and different roles and trying so that everybody else does not feel left out. I keep trying to accommodate them as well as all the other work. It is difficult to handle and I wake up in the middle of the night sometimes and think, I have been a terrible mother lately because I have not done this or the other. It is worth it on the whole though but it is quite demanding (Cathy).

A 2+2 student stated bluntly, 'sometimes I feel guilty when the children ask when I am going to be a proper mother again'. She continued determinedly:

> Being a student has become a major commitment in my life. Sometimes the task of studying and domestic life, that is, children, is exhausting but it is necessary in order for me to achieve my future goals.

Being a wife, mother, and possibly an employee made finding time to study problematical. To fulfil these functions studying had to be undertaken at unsociable hours (Smithers and Griffin, 1986) . Judith elaborated:

> Last night I stayed up until four in the morning to finish an assignment. It is difficult to manage the different roles but at least everybody supports me. I find it easier to work once the children have gone to bed.

Joyce pointed out the problems faced by single parents:

> I am a single parent and although my ex-husband is supportive he works in London four days out of eight. All my family live in London, therefore, I have to do a juggling act with my daughter/childminder/ex-husband to ensure that she is cared for.

There was no evidence to suggest that domestic roles were becoming more equal between spouses as a result of the women studying. Male participants, in contrast, did not experience the burden of combining studying with domestic tasks. Hyacinth outlined her frustrations:

> I have found it difficult to organise time for studying. It is very difficult to get them (her family) to understand how much time you need for your studies. They seem to want you to do well but at the same time they do not leave you alone or help with practical things that need to be done in the home to give you that time to get on with it. That is the problem:

Three women, despite the pressures of juggling roles, maintained that being a student had its rewards as it allowed them more time to spend with their children, particularly during the holidays. They also pointed out that if they were in paid employment they would also be constrained by time and roles. Judith was the most positive about this:

> I find that I like spending time with them (the children) more than when I was at work because I would come home feeling frustrated and really dreading going tomorrow. I was in a bad mood all the

> time. At least when I am with my family I appreciate them more now. I am happier with myself. It is more quality time together. I can take my son to school each day, so we have a walk and a chat.

The Struggle For Support: Patriarchy in Practice

Juggling roles and managing time for study was made easier for the women students who received practical and moral support from partners. The amount of support given by partners varied. The level of support, I would argue, related to the relationships of power and domination within the family. As in other studies (Leonard, 1994, Edwards, 1985) several women reported that their studies caused conflict, putting strain upon relationships. Pamela pointed out, 'my husband is trying very hard to support me but he feels very threatened and that has been difficult'. Some husbands feared that the knowledge, education and possible future employment gained by their partners would give them power to challenge male hegemony within the family.

In Joyce's case taking a degree course led to divorce as her husband asked her to choose between him or studying so she chose the latter. With Kate conflict about her studies verged on domestic violence:

> I have not particularly enjoyed the trouble at home. It is hard work with the work and the children. My husband is not supportive. He has always regarded me as being thick. I think that it has all come as a bit of a shock to him. I think that he kept expecting people to throw me off the course. He can now see that I will be able to support myself and the children in the future and sees this as a threat.

Kate gave examples of how her husband obstructed her studies. In order to attend an evening course she returned home from campus to look after the children and then returned to the campus for her class.

Negotiating the System

The mature students encountered, in Becker and Geer's (1961) term, 'problematic situations' both at home and at university. To deal with the problematic situations they faced the women developed group perspectives. Individual problems became collective ones. At university problematic situations arose at departmental level. Times of seminars and lectures were key areas of concern for women with children. Classes had to be chosen that fitted in with the schoolday. This limited course choices. Several pointed out that although the University's policy was to encourage the access of mature students the structure did not always accommodate them:

> The only thing for me was the lack of childcare facility which feels like a lack of support for students with children. It is not a welcoming university for children. It does not feel like they want children here and if you are a mature student with children it is very important. I do have to come in and bring him even if it is to run into the library. Quite often I have to bring him in when I have a meeting with a lecturer. So I hurry. There needs to be somewhere where he can go (Avril).

The women argued that if the University was intent upon an access policy then the institution should adapt to meet their needs. In the absence of institutional change many women took action to solve the immediate problems by negotiating with individual lecturers and departments. In doing so they learnt to manipulate the system to meet their needs. It also made them aware of the different departmental attitudes and cultures within the university. If seminar times were not suitable the women negotiated a new reality with the lecturer concerned. As a subcultural group they were affirming strategies within the confines of organisational regulations.

The women reported that the Sociology staff were the most accommodating. Other departments, such as Politics, were not. In making a request to change her seminar times Joyce received a sexist response from a politics lecturer: 'we do not want to hear anything about childcare arrangements. If you cannot fit in, just do not come'. Others had similar experiences with the Politics Department. The women were confronted with what Becher (1989) terms the 'tribes of academe'.

Summary

Spending time as a mature student marked a period of transition in their lives. All of the participants changed their behaviour, values and attitudes to differing degrees; some more than others. The self was redefined and reconstructed. They could not go back totally to the person they were before entering university. A gender consciousness also emerged. The acquisition of knowledge, particularly in the social sciences, led many women to reflect upon their position as women in society. All felt that self-development had occurred:

> Studying has widened my horizons. It has helped me to develop my personality as there are things that you are totally ignorant of and it is amazing the things you learn and you go through life and do not know about anything. It is interesting how it develops and your craving for learning continues. There are a lot of people who say what on earth do you want to put yourself through that and I find that a strange attitude. Learning gives you the confidence as a person. I think it is very good (Jenny).

The mature women students' lives engaged them in daily power struggles at home and on campus in order to make studying possible. However, the women did not respond passively to the constraints that family relationships and institutional rules and regulations placed upon their lives as students. Collectively they sought ways of solving problematic situations that hindered the development of their student career. Thus their behaviour embodied a dialectical relationship between structure and action.

The women's power struggles on campus and within the family, to use Beynon's (1973) term, can be characterised as a 'frontier of control'. In negotiating with departments and partners they were attempting to wrestle greater control over their lives. In tackling problems concerning their studies the line of control was pushed in their favour some days, for example, through changing seminar times. At other times the frontier of control was pushed back against them, for example, the lack of help from partners in sharing responsibility for children and housework. Despite the constant power struggles all the women were determined to change their lives and complete their degree course. Greater support from partners in particular and, to a lesser extent, from University departments, would have made their objectives easier to obtain and lessened conflict between their public and private lives.

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Agnieszka Bron (Stockholm)

Graduate Women and Men Research Careers at Uppsala University: Is there any Difference?

The under-representation of women in academic careers and the unequal opportunities they still face in Sweden, was the reason to undertake a study of women and men in research settings (Bron-Wojciechowska, 1995a).

Researchers have chosen Uppsala University, the most traditional higher education institution in Sweden as far as equality of gender is concerned, for their study. Whereas in whole country the percentage of women among university professors in 1992 was 6 per cent, Uppsala University had only 4 per cent (Högskoleverket, 1996). The research team represented three academic disciplines: sociology, psychology and linguistics under the co-ordination of the Centre of Women Research at Uppsala University (Eliasson et.al, 1992).

Psychologists were mainly interested in gender identity in relation to research identity. Linguists investigated language interactions between supervisors and graduate students at seminars (see Almlöv, 1994, 1995, and in this book). The sociological element explored female and male graduate students' experiences, life stories and adjustments to specific academic cultures (Bron-Wojciechowska, 1995b).

The project entitled: *Women and Men in Research Settings: Careers, Cultures and Interactions* was carried on between 1992 and 1995[1]. Three departments at Uppsala University have been chosen for an in-depth investigation (i.e. a systematic deep inquiry at the micro level), on the basis of an even gender distribution among active post-graduate students, and a medium sized department. Departments represent three faculties: Natural Sciences, Social Sciences and Humanities.

In this article I want to present the sociological part of our project. First, as a point of departure, I start with methodology where I concentrate on research questions, choice of approach and method, and the process of conducting the study. Second, I describe the way of analysing the data, in which a qualitative method was used. Third, I present some results by concentrating in-depth on two post-graduate students. In the end I come back to differences and similarities in the strategies female and male post-graduate students choose when they are approaching research trajectories, as well as I write about consequences of such choices for their careers.

Methodological Approach

In my study I employed qualitative methods to obtain data and do analysis, as I have chosen in-depth studies of a few institutions and their actors. The study was design to look at post-graduate students' lives and careers while becoming researchers.

The methodological approach was Life History, i.e. collection of biographies of doctoral students of both sexes and the specific ways in which they become researchers (see, Thomas & Znaniecki 1919, Bertoux 1981, Schütze, 1984, 1992, Alheit 1994). The theoretical base for the study was symbolic interactionism (see, Blumer 1969, Hammersley 1989, Mead 1964).

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[1] The project was sponsored by Arbetsmijlöfonden (Work Environment Fund), today called Council for Work Environment Research. The team included: Cecilia Almlöv, Agnieszka Bron, Mona Eliasson (project leader), Britt-Louise Gunnarsson and Sverker Lindblad.

In autumn, 1992 I approached eight post-graduate students from each department: four women and four men and conducted 24 in-depth and unstructured interviews. Some of the doctoral students were newcomers, some in the middle of their studies and some were nearly at the end, ready to defend their dissertation. The study began with one department, moving on to the second and the third, once the interviews were completed.

Analysis of Interviews

Analysis of each narrative began already during the interview to be continued when the transcripts were made. I analysed all the interviews from the same department, as I wanted to see actors experiences in accordance to the institution's culture and to each other as well. Later on, I even compared institutions, using analysis from the interviews as a starting point.

Having more than 600 pages of transcripts is not easy to write up a report based on in-depth analysis. The solution was to look first at the whole material to get an insight into the institution's culture by understanding students' experiences, and second, to choose two students from each department to go deep in analysis of their careers and lifes, and contrast them with each other.

In this article I want to concentrate on an in-depth analysis of two post-graduate students from the department of social sciences, thus the second stage.

KARIN'S AND ULF'S STORIES – A CONTRASTING ANALYSIS

Research career from the Karin's and Ulf's life story perspective

Karin and Ulf are at the same department of social sciences. Before applying for graduate studies they were already partners. In comparing and contrasting their life stories in relation to research career, I should stress that this analysis is not based on their whole life stories or a comprehensive account of their experiences. The focus was more precise than that.

They both came from non-academic families, i.e. Karin had a working-class background, and Ulf had a lower-middle class one. Both received a lot of encouragement from their parents. Karin's parents wanted her to get a 'real' profession, i.e. to become a physician or an engineer. She studied natural sciences at school, and was not interested at all in the humanities.

Ulf's parents were teachers and very interested in history. Ulf discovered history early in his life, e.g. he listened to his grandfathers' stories, which made him interested in the subject up to university level.

For Karin it was not so straightforward an engagement and interest. It was her life and work experience, and not school or family, which made her revise her plans. When she was 18 years old, she left school and got married. She worked in hospital and continued at school to improve her marks. After graduation she divorced, left her home town and moved to South Sweden to live in a working-collective. This experience, over half a year, became a turning point in her life.

When she came back she took a course in weaving as she became interested in folk art. The weaving course included three weeks of practical work based at a museum. There was a lot of textile material to work with. For four summers she took a job at the museum. It was through her job that she came in contact with history and found it meaningful and interesting. She worked for several years, combining it with her studies at the college. In the end, she began to study at Uppsala University, while continuing to look for a job. She worked at different museums in different towns. In December 1984 she obtained a place as a post-graduate student. Ulf was already there.

When Karin looked back to explore her dramatic change of interest towards a subject she was not interested at all at school, she wondered why. She tried hard to find the reason for her interest in ethnology. Was it only a coincidence or was there any reason? She remembered her visits as a child to her grandparents, where she was introduced to the traditions of folk music and textile art. Perhaps these events, in the end, have influenced her, and as a consequence she was in her studies and work seeking some resolution to what she experienced as child.

For Ulf it was much simpler. He studied social sciences and humanities at undergraduate level. His exam was in history. Besides, his parents were teachers, so it was natural for him to think about his future as a social scientist. To choose social sciences had a political connotation, too.

For Ulf it is important to mention too that the quality of an essay, written at the end of undergraduate studies, gave him the opportunity to enter post-graduate studies. But he never was forced to choose, the choice was made automatically. *If one got money to do research it was a natural choice*, i.e. to get a paid job and do the research, he pointed out.

Process of becoming a researcher

At the time I was carrying the interviews, Ulf was already completing his Ph.D. He worked at the department on a research project. Karin had half a year to run hoping to be able to finish her dissertation in time.

It is interesting to explore how they perceive their roles as researchers, and what plans they have to continue their careers. From the very beginning of post-graduate studies both Ulf and Karin felt they were becoming a part of research community. They got their own fully equipped rooms. They were no longer the students, but the researchers coming to work. The climate and the conditions were highly conducive to writing a dissertation.

For Ulf the choice of a research topic was not a problem. It was a continuation of his interests at undergraduate level. When Ulf later applied to post-graduate studies the same researcher who was his tutor, became his supervisor. Today the former supervisor is a Professor and Ulf proudly announces himself as the student to a Professor.

Karin had difficulties in accepting her new position. From the very beginning she was concerned that being in post-graduate studies was not a permanent solution for her. Rather she waited to keep options open and was ready to leave as soon as she could find a job at a museum. Karin doubted about staying in the department; she blamed her "family roots" for some of her discomfort in not providing the social "tools" to truly belong to the university world. She talked about being uncertain of herself in the university environment. Of course, she had support from her family to continue her study, but at the same time she was uncertain about whether she was good enough. She looked for explanations in either her family or in being a female. She said that she had two contradictory sides to herself: a belief that she was clever enough, and a fear of being not able to make it. This lack of self-confidence, or the problem of feeling insecure in the researchers role, emerges several times in Karin's narrative. It is a crucial problem for her.

Karin recalled that she first discovered her 'double side' at undergraduate level when she worked in a small group consisting only of men. She experienced them as very dominant. No matter how hard she tried there seemed little space of place to develop her own views. Being a researcher means for Karin being able to argue, to be quick in response, to introduce developed perspectives, to always have something to say. One has to be seen and heard by others. Is she able to be like that? This struggle with self-image/self-identity, i.e. to be accepted by herself and others, is a problem for her that has to be solved.

In this point she wanted to compare herself with her partner/husband. For Ulf it was obvious to study history, she said. Even in his childhood he knew he was going to be a researcher. It was a straightforward way for him. For her it was different. She drifted that way, uncertainly: *It is not the easiest place to be in and to become a researcher* she said. She referred to the university culture in which she felt like a stranger, an alien; nothing there fitted in with her own social experience.

It is interesting how Karin tried hard to understand herself and create some meaningful reasons for beginning a research career, in the first place. It was *not a coincidence* that she chose this path considering all the efforts she made to adjust to the academic culture, she pointed out. On the other hand, if it was *only a coincidence*, why did she question this particular career. She might have chosen something and somewhere else in which it was easier to develop a career. Finally, she concluded that it was *her own choice* and decision because she had a desire to do research and had fun doing it. This reflection and questioning a fate or a free choice while making a crucial decision in life, is a main theme in this part of narrative.

Ulf talked about his relation with a supervisor: *I do not like to have a supervisor if I do not need one*. He worked *independently* and only asked for advice when he had questions to discuss. For Ulf, to become a researcher was a process of gradually building his competence and being accepted by the community of researchers: from being a young colleague to become a full member of the tribe. He recalled that there were no clear barriers between younger and older colleagues, which made the process easier. Two years after his dissertation, his *identity* was emphatically that of a researcher. The way of approaching his work is goal related, he wanted to be independent as it would strengthen his identity as researcher.

In comparison to Karin, Ulf identified himself totally with his career. It was important to be sincere, frank to himself in the scientific milieu, and admit to himself both positive and negative sides. He had to work to improve the weak parts. He knew that he was a good empiricist, he knew how to work in an archive and how to find and interpret data. But to write and read was another problem, so he had to work to improve these. He found a strategy for reading very quickly by talking with senior researchers about their reading and how to get information in the most efficient way. His career path was straightforward, and there was little or any questioning of it. When there was a hindrance, he found a solution to overcome it. He admitted his weak sides and coped with them. Karin admitted her weak sides as well, but where there were impossibilities to overcome by simple means, these were of a more structural than functional character. They were both outside her (in the academic culture) and within her (difficulties to adjust). The conflict was too big to cope with it in an easy way. Thus, for both of them *confidence* in being a researcher can be seen as a core/central category.

Planning the future life and career

For both Karin and Ulf it was difficult to talk about the future as the picture was not clear and there are so many uncertainties. Karin was not even sure if her future was at the university at all. Karin's dream was to get a job at the museum to included research. Unfortunately there were no such jobs. To be engaged in research only, she admitted consciously, *is a way of life and work, you never can stop.* But, if her supervisor was lucky enough to find some money, she might just stay and work on a particular project.

The future for Ulf was not easy to predict, either. After the dissertation, which he completed over six years, he obtained a temporary research post. He applied for a university position, also a temporary one, but he did not get it. The competition was hard. He thought he would be staying at the department and in the university milieu. One had to have a luck but effort was needed too, to prove one was competent. He couldn't just be good, he had to be the best. He needed support from his Professor as well. What he elaborated here was a competion with others. He was both aware of it and consciously taking a risk.

A research couple

To be a research 'couple' is interesting. Karin talked about flexible time which makes it very easy for them to take care of children, to share their domestic duties, but most of all to understand each other. During their studies she was on a parental leave which enabled her to stay at home and take care of children. Even her father helped a lot by baby-sitting, when both Karin and Ulf were busy with their assignments.

For Ulf to be married to a researcher and to work at the same institution had both positive and negative aspects. To take care of children (in form of parental leave to which he is eligible as his wife is) and share domestic duties was great and important for the family (personal) life, but can negatively effected a career (a public life). It was with other men with whom he was competing, he said. If he worked less, because of home duties, it influenced his position, i.e. he couldn't achieve better results than others. *It is difficult to combine these two worlds* he said. Nevertheless, he stayed at home with children and he didn't regret it. Being a research couple was a sharing situation. When one of them needed to work in the evenings, they just helped each other by taking care of children, so the other partner was free to work. Structuring/planning time for work and home duties became a way of life for these young researchers.

Comparison and summary

This is an interesting example of a woman and a man at the beginning of their careers. Is it typical that Karin, as a woman, does not have high expectations to continue as a researcher and wants to withdraw? It is hard to say if it is only a gender issue. Karin stated several times that it is a cultural and social issue, in terms of social background. Coming from lower class background does not give her social advantage and the confidence in herself to approach and compose a self-identity in a strange, elite and academic world. Ulf is aware of the competition he is in, and he really fights to get the best both by "using" his luck and by working hard.

I looked more carefully at the strategies they employed. Are they typical for male and female students, or are they only specific for this case?

Ulf has a right social background, coming from a middle class family which gives him the support and encouragement to choose social sciences. Moreover, he feels appreciation from home and he is convinced that he is bright and clever. He chooses the direct route to graduate studies, he is goal oriented and gets support from other researchers. He is choosing strategies to enable him to be the best student and is aware of his strong and weak sides. He is working hard on the weak sides of himself to enable him to be the best. He has found the means to become part of a research community, and he knows all the rules. Ulf wants quickly to be competent enough to be accepted within the research community. He is competing most of all with his male colleagues for the same positions. Research means everything for him. Ulf wants to do much for own family: to take care of children and be handy at home, but he knows that these duties take time away from his research and the competitive struggle. As a consequence, Ulf gets his Ph.D., and tries to get a position at the University. *Research gives me a life.* At the same time it is difficult and insecure existence he is choosing. Ulf's strong belief that everything is possible, if as an individual tries hard enough, is there to balance his uncertainty. This self-assurance, a good self-esteem and independence characterised Ulf as a researcher who is going to continue academic profession.

Karin comes from the working-class family, without any support whatsoever to study social sciences or art. Such studies do not guarantee a remunerative job, according to her family. However she gets support to continue theoretical study at the secondary school and to go further, but her parents dream about a "real" profession for her, as a physician or engineer, which might provide social status on the basis of earning. Her choice is, however, different, and for her parents difficult to understand. Besides, she is not getting any form of social support from home which could help her in the university world. Simply put, her family, not having experience of the strange world she is entering, cannot give her such support. She lacks this kind of cultural capital which allows her to know how to act in an academic environment. Karin learns all the rules (tacit knowledge) which she was not aware of. It is difficult and frustrating for her. Rules at other places than university are much more simple and preferable, she thinks. She finds herself in a standing fight to show to herself how clever she is. She feels insecure and shy. Others look at her as one who has other career possibilities than just doing research, she does not need to compete for positions, and therefore she is in a better position than others, they think. But actually this does not give her strength/support, as she is aware that there is little in the labour market for her beyond the university. She does not speak of a mentor, but if there is someone to help she is going to take it.

Karin's strategy is choosing to do research but it is not the only sphere of her interest. Nevertheless she is going to finish her Ph.D. She talks about the competition, and knows that she must be the best, if she wants to stay at the university, it is a hard struggle. She waits for her supervisor to get research funds so eventually she will stay, but she is not actively influencing him. She engages herself in many other things than research. So she has a feeling of not investing enough time or as much as she is supposed to in research. Her chances to compete successfully are poorer. Yet escaping to other areas – more practical ones – gives her feeling of being potentially needed and valued in other ways. As a consequence her post-graduate studies contribute to low self-esteem and uncertainty; but on the other hand they make her realise that she is good, so she does believe in herself more. Karin knows that she has *a disposition to do research*. To be a researcher is a way of life and work for her. She explains her uncertainty regarding academic world – in other words her low self-confidence – by reference to being a woman or coming from a non-academic family.

Are those two description/picture truly presenting a female and a male doctoral student or are they just representing two patterns of behaving as a research student? They are not necessary true for all female and male post-graduate students. But they represent patterns in two lives, and may be typical both for male and female young researchers. Is low self-esteem/low self-confidence more typical for women than for men? How much is it affected by Swedish academic culture? I have found that home environment, and especially the class and social background, make a difference for graduate students in relation to their self-esteem/confidence, and that this is probably independent of gender. Both women and men coming from working class background have difficulties to adjust to the culture of university, contrary – women and men coming form middle class families have better start to academic socialisation. But it is not so simple, as I found in my data women coming from middle class families who also have problems with their careers. Is it so that academic culture, dominated by men, have different rules for women behaviour? Such rules which don't allow women to act at the same way as men do, i.e. women have to know their place, by accepting the rules of a game. Yes, it might be accurate/true and depending to a great degree on institutional culture. Some departments are in favour of their post-graduate students by facilitating and simplifying their socialisation, others not. It depends on the department's power structure, either hierarchically run with professors on the top and with a formal rules or democratically; a kind of collegiatly run with an informal climate, in which both women and men feel that they are welcome. In the more democratic structure there is a place for everybody who is cleaver; in the more totalitarian context, there is a hierarchy of researchers where male senior researchers have an unquestionably higher status and often it is they who are in favour of male research students.

STRATEGIES TO BECOME A RESEARCHER

To explore and establish differences and similarities in the goals and strategies female and male post-graduate students choose and apply is an important method of analysis. Its aim is to discover a central category which is common for both groups and which is general for those who are pursuing research career. Thus, the question is what is the typical category describing the best the career path to become a researcher. How can we in one conceptual frame describe what is necessary to become a researcher according to both female and male actors. The starting point was two narratives which I analysed and compared with each other. The category I found there served as a hypothesis to be tested in the context of others' narratives. Those categories and strategies were also compared with the institutional culture which post-graduate students were a part of.

From the comparison of the first pair, social scientists: Karin and Ulf, a central category emerges which I have termed *self-confidence*. It means to gain trust or have faith in oneself as being a good researcher, and to be sure of one's own qualities. Feeling of belonging to the research community and having self-assurance is also important to establishing one's career. Strategies which Karin and Ulf employed in the context were not the same. For male researcher it is to find support in his external world, i.e. getting recognition from others, first of all professor(s) and other researchers. He sees himself in the others like in the mirror and looks for acceptance in their eyes. Thus, he discovers his strong and weak sides and works hard to improve them and he finds ways to reach others and interact with them. He is goal oriented. Contrary to that, a female researcher is looking for support and strength within herself, thus we can talk about finding acceptance in the inner world, which predominates in her strategies. To gain confidence is her goal also, but to reach it involves finding a balance between negative and positive judgements about herself. Feelings of being a good researcher have to be stronger than those of not belonging and being a stranger in academic world. It is also possible to find positive sides of oneself outside the academy, which she actually does and this strengthens her inner confidence also. Identification with university world becomes weaker for her than for him. The male doctoral student doesn't have a problem with feeling of belonging, while a female student does. But both feel like more or less independent researchers. Ulf knows that his future is in his hands (he is more actively accomplishing his goals). Karin thinks that her future is also dependent on circumstances and on others (thus, it is better to wait and see; She shows a more passive behaviour). But she finds confidence in herself and does not contrast herself with others.

The category of *self-confidence* can be seen on the continuum from low to high. Karin certainly is swinging from low to middle, never really getting close to high. Ulf, on the other hand, is in a pendulum between middle and high with the tendency towards the latter. Lack of self-confidence, or a low self-confidence is a hindrance in the process of socialisation to the academic culture. It is a hindrance to stay in this world as a postgraduate and after the graduation. By and large women in Sweden, more often than men, experience lower confidence in such contexts. It is not different in the academic world, even if the women have already made their decision to try. Even men coming from lower social strata feel the same way. To make self-confidence grow towards a higher level is to secure more possibilities: for feed back, working in teams, having support from others, and most of all from not being left alone as a researcher.

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Cecilia Almlöv (Uppsala)

Female and Male Face Strategies

A Qualitative Study of a Research Seminar

> "It also happens that a woman says something that gets no response from the seminar leader, but that is considered as brilliant as soon as it is repeated by a male doctoral student"
>
> (a female doctoral student).

1. Introduction

In the academic world discussions play a crucial role, especially within advanced research seminars. Here researchers and doctoral students have the opportunity to discuss their own research in progress. A brilliant comment made by a student can be an important step in her/his academic career (Swacker 1979). It is clear therefore, that it is possible to view the seminar as an arena for power plays, or as a forum where the participants can establish their positions and not only as a meeting to solve scientific problems. It is also clear that women experience participation in the seminars as unequal. Several female doctoral students complain about male dominance in the interaction, as, for example, in the quotation above.

A study of seminars at Uppsala University shows that male doctoral students talk more than their female colleagues (two-thirds of the total time), that men interrupt more often, and that men are allowed to be more critical in their comments than are their female colleagues. In interviews, male doctoral students also say that they feel encouraged to participate in an active way, to take the floor (Almlöv 1995). The results confirm those of previous studies: women take fewer talking turns, initiate fewer interruptions and are interrupted more at faculty meetings (Eakins and Eakins 1979), boys talk two-thirds of the available lesson time in school (Einarsson and Hultman 1984), and men break the conversational rules in political debates, get better treatment and take control of more resources (Edelsky 1981, Edelsky and Adams 1990).

The questions that arose in my quantitative study can be answered only by making an in-depth analysis of the interaction. This paper therefore examines the interactional procedures and strategies used by female and male participants in a seminar, and focuses mainly on two questions:[1]

- What politeness strategies do the participants use to show agreement and disagreement?
- Are the strategies related to gender?

1.1 Research Setting

The present study is based on one videorecorded research seminar taking place within a humanities department at Uppsala University. In this department seminars are held on a weekly basis. This department is traditional in that there is male dominance on more than one level: there are no women in higher positions, a man runs the department, and there is a long male tradition in the field of research. In the seminar, a female doctoral student, here called Lisa, presents her research. Thereafter the professor, a man named Mats, initiates a discussion in which he and the other participants comment on Lisa's work. In many other seminars where female doctoral students present their work, the presenters are silenced, but Lisa is not.[2] What seems to happen is that Lisa agrees or disagrees with the suggestions made and by so doing, she shows not only her excellent ability to interact, but also a successful female interactional style. Before I begin to examine this interactional process I will give an overview of the theoretical framework – a politeness approach.

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[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the conference "Language and Gender", Tromso University, Norway 3–5 November 1994. The study is one part of the project Women and Men in Research Settings, Uppsala University (see also Bron-Wojciechowska 1995), financed by Swedish Council for Work Life Research.

2. Theoretical Framework

In the so-called ethnomethodological tradition, language is analysed in great detail. By analysing conversational procedures such as micro-pauses, overlaps and interruptions the researcher can capture the interlocutors' way of shaping meaning (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). This is possible since the utterance "is in its own right an event that shapes a new context for the action that will follow it." (Goodwin and Duranti 1992:29). It is therefore essential to stress the perspective of analysis, the actors' perspective.

One way to look more closely at seminars is to study the disagreement and agreement strategies used by the participants. This analysis can be placed within the context of politeness. The theory goes back to Erving Goffman's studies of speakers' so called faces. Face is "the image of oneself which, in interaction, it is assumed that participants work to preserve and expect their co-interactants to help them preserve" (Taylor and Cameron 1987:114).

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[2] Fifteen seminars at three different departments are analyzed in the quantitative study.

The face-work is important for social relations as well as for interactional work. By agreeing or disagreeing the speaker comes close to or moves away from the listener. Agreement is one of the so-called positive face strategies by which the speaker claims common ground with the listener. The speaker, by agreeing, does not threat the listener's face, as he/she does when disagreeing. Brown and Levinson (1987) separate politeness strategies in order to view them as adjacency pairs, similar to question and answer pairs.

3. Analysis

After I had observed and listened to the videotapes several times, many strategies emerged out of my data. Briefly I can isolate three agreement strategies: *repetition, upgraded agreement*, and *back-channel responses*. The data also contain four disagreement strategies: *repetitions, prefaces, confirming one's own position* and *the use of a sharp tongue*.

Before presenting the results, it should be noted that the interlocutors have different roles in the seminar. The doctoral students and the professor takes a critical standpoint, while Lisa defends her work. It is possible to examine the ways in which she agrees or disagrees with the comments. But it is also possible to see which strategy of agreement or disagreement the students or the professor prefers. It is striking that only a few female doctoral students interact, and when they do they agree.

Silence can also be viewed as a language strategy. Being silent can be a demonstration of power. This proposed strategy needs to be analysed further in this interaction in order to see how it works.

3.1 Agreement Strategies

The first kind of strategy to be examined involves agreement. The most common such strategy is *repetition*. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), a speaker, by repeating part or all of what was said, not only demonstrates that he/she has heard correctly, but also stresses emotional agreement with the utterance. Pomerantz (1984) describes the repetition as evidence of a process of evaluation. You agree in order to show your evaluation of what was said, either by marking special words or by using preterms indicating the same content as prior talk.

In the beginning of the seminar discussion, Lisa often agrees when the professor, her supervisor, points out that she must make strategic choices of literature. The following example illustrates how Lisa repeats the professor's suggestions.[3]

Example 1. To use strategic choices

1. Mats: Isn't it that you by using strategic examples want to illustrate
2. how how uh this has been established as a genre and how it
3. has been understood by some what shall we say other leading
4. artists in / eh aesthetics or like that under a given / uh period
5. of time / you put the limit back seven- years from 1750 then
6. forwards
7. Lisa: (To approximately 1850) but of course I don't think that one
8. can lay claim to a kind of complete understanding when one
9. makes an investigation like this but what I / as you say if it is
10. a question of strategic choices and first it's important for the
11. German debate between ( ) and then some data will come too
12. Mats: This could be used as a working title

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[3] The reader should keep in mind that the transcriptions in this article are translated from Swedish to English.

This example shows a high degree of co-operation, even if Lisa has another opinion. The professor is questioning her ability to cover a large amount of data. She agrees and repeats his own words (line 9-10). "As you say, it is a question of strategic choices". She modifies and describes her purpose in a polite way. She uses one strategy of politeness, the repetition, to save the professor's positive face. Sometimes the professor also repeats her comment (although not as often as she repeats his). He does this not by using her own words, but by repeating the content, which could be called a lower level of agreement. The same pattern can be seen in the male students' interaction.

The second strategy of agreement is *upgraded agreement*. In conversation, speakers tend to upgrade their agreement in order to show solidarity and be polite. It is also possible that Lisa must agree to some extent with the suggestions made. Lisa upgrades her supervisor's talk and also that of the male students. She first uses the utterance "that's right", and several times "*you're* right". Here the second utterance functions as an intensifying modifier to show the speaker's strong opinion. She will not argue any more. He is right. Among the participants, male doctoral students often use supports that are *less personal*, such as "right", "okay", "I know", and not as often as the female student uses the *personal* "you're right". Only once does a male student use personal agreement in this discussion. He tells the professor that the latter is right. Otherwise male students do not save another's positive face as much as Lisa and her female colleagues do. Here we can see a remarkable gender difference between the actors.

From these examples we learn that the female doctoral student, Lisa, tends to repeat the professor's utterances and upgrade comments to support his points, whereas he tends to show agreement by making weak back-channel responses. She is more likely to save the professor's positive face than he is to save hers. The more powerful party, the professor and the male participants, is less polite in the interaction.

3.2 Disagreement Strategies

So far, I have illustrated some agreement strategies. The conversation as a whole is, however, characterised by the speakers' frequent disagreements. Among all seminars this is one of the few showing an active, argumentative female student.[4] As Lisa rejects some of the professor's statements about her research, he insists on his position and reformulates it over and over again. The disagreement includes the strategies of using *repetitions, prefaces* and *a sharp tongue*, or *confirming your own position*.

Disagreement is structurally marked. It is accompanied by delay or some preface marking its dispreferred status.[5] My second transcription draws on the use of disagreement.

Example 2. The focus of analysis

1. Mats: I wonder about the term is that that what you are
2. working with isn't it more the / discussion about or what
3. can I say the establishment of the texttype as a genre /
4. that you're interested in first of all there is / the term that
5. you focus on and that you concentrate on in the type of
6. writing that you now s- in the first ( )
7. Lisa: To be able to find the term at all / this requires a triadic
8. system where this term is established as a genre / and uh
9. when you once have established this then you can move
10. on and uh see what in that case this texttype looks like

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[4] In all seminars at this department, you can find a group of silent female doctoral students (Almlöv 1995).

[5] For a discussion of the terms "preferred" and "dispreferred", see Pragmatics (Levinson 1983:339–345).

11. Mats: Mm but then surely the genre is so to speak what is
12. more important [mm:Annika] so to speak / and only
13. afterwards will you (probably) look at what they mean
14. by uh this texttype ((clicking with the pencil)) in different
15. (writings)
16. Lisa: Yes this probably has- uh what can I say it has to do with
17. / as far as I see it so to speak interest will be shifted
18. more and more to the term ( ) I would like to say
19. Mats: Aha mm and it is a question about a term then
20. Lisa: Yes-

The professor starts by making a critical comment in lines 6. She should investigate the genre not a term. She responds in lines 7–10 that the study of a genre is just a way to begin dealing with the real problem. Then he repeats the same comment in lines 11–15: then the genre must be the most important subject. She once again clarifies in lines 16–18 that although it might look as if genre were her superior subject of study, this is only a consequence of the working process. Later in her research, it will be clear that the term is at the centre of attention. He repeats her answer in line 19: so it is the term then. After the repeating of utterances, the conflict talk is now coming to an end, and after a long pause, the professor introduces a new theme. This sequence can be called a disagreement sequence, and we can see the pattern of a *repetition* of comments.

Other parts of the interaction reveal an interesting pattern of repetitions. It is clear that although Lisa agrees with the male students, they tend to repeat their questions like a broken record. They establish or exercise their power by taking the floor, without risking losing the argument with Lisa since she has already declared her agreement. Example 1 also depends on a second strategy, the *preface but* (line 11). Such examples are common, but I will have to skip over them without any further comment.

In the interaction, two specific strategies were used when help was urgently needed in a crisis. After Lisa had already tried to repeat her statement in order to clarify her opinion, she finally spoke up in a loud voice, the fourth disagreement strategy, the so-called *sharp tongue*. The professor uses another strategy, that of *confirming his position*. By stating that he is the only one who ultimately can pass or fail her work, accept or reject her thesis, then as her supervisor he is right. These two strategies were exclusively used by Lisa and Mats.

The four strategies used can be viewed as indicators of power. An interesting point to make here is that only male students seem to learn the strategies used by the powerful professor. They are socialised into a male interactional style using other types of politeness strategies than do the female interlocutors.

	agreement	disagreement
men	repetition less personal support	frequent repetition confirm the own position
women	repetition personal support	repetition use of a sharp tongue

Figure 1. Politeness strategies in relation to gender.

To conclude, the professor exercises his power in different ways. He repeats his comments and sometimes emphasises that he is the examiner, who is responsible for the final "product" and therefore his arguments are of great importance. He is the most powerful person and also the one threatening others' faces most often.

4. Discussion

In this paper, I first investigated the agreement and disagreement strategies by giving examples from the interaction between Lisa and Mats. I propose that politeness principles underlie the constraint that governs the speaker's choices of language strategy.

I have found that a speaker's position and gender play a crucial role in this particular speech event. In the case of the professor, on the one hand, it is impossible to decide whether it is his sex or his position that makes him use specific strategies. Most professors are men. On the other hand, it is interesting to look more closely at the male doctoral students since, they have the same position as Lisa. It is clear that they use the same strategies as the professor, except for one, where he emphasises his position, since they do not have higher positions, yet. In the data, doctoral students, both female and male, several times point out a special group of male students called the professor's princes. This metaphor implies that princes have no real power but several advantages. These advantages will be useful in reaching the final goal, that is, becoming a professor. In this asymmetrical relationship generated by power, position and gender differences, it is the less powerful speaker who follows the principle of face-saving, but not her more powerful partners, here, the professor or male students.

I conclude that this qualitative approach can be useful in order to reveal new strategies and procedures, since it analyses an almost undiscovered field of research – language and gender in Academia. Further research is necessary to determine whether the same kind of complex interaction between gender and position exists in other educational settings.

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VII.

Higher Education

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Taking Entrance Examinations to Higher Education

A Greek Case Study

Background

In Greece the demand for higher education has always been high if compared to other countries (Kostakis 1990). In 1991 there were about 128,000 candidates competing for about 42,000 places in university-level education (Kiridis *et al.* 1994). The percentage of students that enrol in universities is higher than the European mean, a 'paradox', according to some researchers, since Greece has been defined under other respects 'the least developed member' in the European Community (Sherman Swing & Orivel 1992).

In Greece the tertiary level of education includes university-level institutions, *Anotata Ekpedeftika Idrimata* (AEIs) and short-cycle (non-university) institutions, *Technologika Ekpedeftika Idrimata* (TEIs, or Technological Institutions). The TEIs, established in 1983, are considered the equivalent of the English polytechnics or the German Fachhochschule (Karmas *et al.* 1988). Access to higher education is regulated through the *numerus clausus* system on grounds of the fact that public finance cannot guarantee free higher education for all those who want it (Psacharopoulos 1990), the intake capacity of the universities is limited (Soumelis 1979; Tsolakis 1981) and the graduates are thus given better opportunities (Karmas *et al.* 1988). After graduation from upper secondary school the candidates to higher education take part in competitive national written examinations of the essay type, held in June every year (Eurydice 1988; Polydorides 1985).

The competition results in a generalised resort to private tuition, whether at home or in preparatory schools (*frondistiria*) that the pupils attend out of school time. Papas and Psacharopoulos (1987) found that "a little less than one fifth of family income is on average devoted to the education of *one* child" (p. 494). Kostakis (1990) found that *frondistirio* tuition constitutes 93 percent of direct education expenditure for academic students and 54 percent for vocational students.

Many Greek students who do not gain admission in their home country pursue university studies abroad. The percentage of students abroad is higher for Greece than for any other country in Europe. In 1991-93 the foreign students ratio (nationals from various European countries studying in another country as percent of domestic enrolment) was 20.7 for Greece, compared to 3.8 for Portugal, 3.3 for Sweden, 1.8 for Italy and 1.3 for Spain (based on data from Unesco 1995). Transfer of foreign currency and brain drain are two consequences of the mass exodus towards foreign universities (Papas & Psacharopoulos 1987; Patrinos 1992).

According to article 16 of the Greek constitution (1975), higher education is provided only publicly and private universities are prohibited (*Eurydice* 1988; Lambropoulos & Psacharopoulos 1992; Papas & Psacharopoulos 1987; Patrinos 1992). However, quite a large number of private establishments operate in Greece. Some of them are known as Private Educational Centres (IEK) or as Centres of Free Studies (Kazamias & Starida 1992). Others are branches of foreign universities, mainly British and American, that provide tuition in Greece for the first year(s), after which students go and complete the course in the place where the university is based (Patrinos 1992). According to the Greek regulations, the local branches are allowed to function as long as they do not award degrees.

The Study

The paper summarises the main findings from a study whose aim was to understand what value pupils and parents in Greece may attach to higher education and the entrance examinations. The study draws on a number of theoretical views upon how people organise and use commonsense knowledge in everyday situations (D'Andrade 1984, 1987 and 1990; Holland & Quinn 1987; Holy & Stuchlik 1981 and 1983). It also uses the concept of ritual and in particular the concept of rite of transition (Bell 1992; Fortes 1962; Gluckman 1962; Klapp 1969; Leach 1976; Turner 1969; Van Gennep 1960) and rite of institution (Bourdieu 1992 and 1993). Literature relating to symbolic capital is also used in this study (Bourdieu 1977, 1984, 1990a, 1990b and 1991).

People's choices in educational matters have often been studied with macro level approaches, which usually do not examine the perceptions and expectations of individuals (Post 1985). In studying people's choices, background variables are usually stressed, and little attention is given to personal interest and reasoning and free individual choice. That is why some researchers advocate the use of qualitative methods (Bredo *et al.* 1993; Laursen 1993). Also, according to Lee & Ninnes (1995) the demand for education should be studied in relation to the culture. These suggestions have been taken into account in the present study.

The study is based on qualitative techniques of data collection, such as observation and in-depth interviewing. The results are analysed and interpreted within a cultural conceptual framework, in an attempt to find links between the people's desire to compete for a place at university and other features of local culture. The language used by the respondents has been used as a source in itself in the conviction that language is an important source of evidence of the corresponding conceptual system (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Certain syntactic structures and certain metaphors of wide use in the interviews are at the basis of great part of the analysis.

The field study took place in a town in north-western Greece in the summer 1995. A total of 24 boys and 40 girls were interviewed, aged between 17 and 24. Some of them were about to sit for the examinations, others had gone through them during the last two or three years. Also, 14 teachers and 15 parents took part in the study, plus 24 parents who were interviewed at the examination centres while they were waiting for their children to be over with the written test of the day. The interviews, conducted with the help of an interview guide, were taped and transcribed. The young people interviewed belong to a variety of (urban) background as to socio-economic level, parental occupation and parental educational level. However, the sample by no means claims to be representative of the town and the findings are not to be generalised. The author lived in Greece for twelve years, four of which in the town where the field study was conducted, where she took up a job as a teacher. Observation was mainly carried out during this period. This experience was important to the study because it gave the author background knowledge that was very useful especially in the phase of analysis.

Main Findings

Spiro (1987) asserts that in most cases the individual behaves according to cultural norms because that also satisfies personality needs. This idea is used to summarise the main findings and to link them together. The presentation is organised around personality needs that "have emerged" from the findings and the analysis. The aspects dealt with here are the need for security, achievement, recognition and independence. They have been found to be at work for both children and parents.

Security. Obtaining a degree satisfies the human need for *security*. Some even think that it ensures a job. Most do not, but still they see it as a kind of *insurance*, in the sense that it gives more probabilities to find employment. Statistics show that graduates have a strong position in the Greek labour market. On the other hand, unemployment is especially felt by those who have a lower secondary education and even more by the high school graduates (Carandinos 1988). The people seem to be aware of this.

Many parents also dream of their children getting into the civil service, either because they are civil servants themselves and see the advantage of, for instance, lifelong employment, or because they are self-employed and live in uncertainty. A degree is perceived as making it easier to enter the civil sector. Statistics confirm that in Greece the public sector plays an important role in the labour market for graduates. In fact, nine out of ten graduates are employed in state or quasi-state organisations (Lambropoulos 1992; Psacharopoulos 1988). The civil service has reached such proportions that it has been described as "hypertrophic" (Varnava Skoura 1992). Those who look favourably upon employment in the public sector, be they children or parents, underline exactly the *security* aspect, but young people on the whole declare much less favourable to becoming employed in the public sector.

There is a widespread dislike for TEI (Technological) institutions. According to the respondents, all are aware that, compared to certain university institutions, TEI institutions offer educational qualifications and knowledge that are much more useful on the labour market. Still they come last in the people's preferences, and the jobs they give access to continue to have lower status. Goodnow (1990) points out how the cultural framework that individuals acquire in the process of socialisation has also an evaluative component, which means that it allows us to categorise cultural items, in this case jobs, as "better" or "worse". Such a classification may defy purely economic or practical criteria.

Taking further education is seen as inevitable, related to the characteristics of the Greek educational system. Because of its structure and its curriculum, the Greek educational system fails to provide professional outlets in other directions and pushes pupils towards higher education. The respondents (students, parents and teachers alike) share the same views with researchers who have described the Greek educational system as having transfer character (Soumelis 1979) or unidimensional character (Dimou 1992), sometimes even using the same phrases with the respondents, for example "a one-way street that only leads to the universities" (Frangoudakis 1981: 7).

Achievement. A degree satisfies the individual's need for *achievement*. A frequent remark from the young respondents was *"I want to do something by myself"*.[1] Certainly, the more prestigious the degree, the greater the satisfaction. Passing the examinations is in itself a big satisfaction. To both children and parents, it is important in itself as a short term objective. To the children it has a special meaning because they feel parents to be overprotective. Also research findings show that the Greek family is child-centred and parents remove all the obstacles on the child's way in order to make things easier (Triandis & Vassiliou 1972; Vassiliou and Vassiliou 1970). It is understandable that the young individual will feel the need to accomplish something by him/her self alone.

All mention that in order to reach anything, from a job to a simple certificate, you need special "means" (that is, the connections with powerful people). These examinations are seen as unimpeachable.[2]

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[1] The words, phrases or sentences in italics *and* quotation marks are taken from the interviews.

[2] The candidates' names are covered when the examination papers are handed in. Teachers mark the papers without knowing anything about the candidates. Also, the examination papers are always marked in a neighbouring town by teachers

The respondents often describe them as the only unimpeachable procedure taking place in Greece. All candidates have the same odds, in the sense that none of them will be favoured through the 'means'. In addition, in case of success, nobody will be able to connect your success to the help of influential people.

If the child manages to get admission, the parents may feel that they have *achieved* something too. This feeling of theirs is explained by their deep involvement in the children's preparation. Beside (working harder for) paying for private tuition they may take care of the candidate in many ways in everyday life, devoting their own time and energy. Also, parents may tend to identify with their children and are likely to feel their children's achievement as their own. If they feel they are *"nothing"*, they want to feel they are *"something"*. Both "nothing" and "something" are very often used in this way in the interviews. But also to parents who are "something" the child's success may mean a lot because they do not want their children (and they themselves) to go back into "nothingness". Especially the parents who are not satisfied with what they have achieved may feel that they are being given one more chance to realise their dreams. The children may feel that this is a little heavy. As a girl said, *"you shoulder your parents' dreams"*. Parents may become very pressing, and certain pupils would not invest so much effort in these examinations if they did not feel the pressure from the parents.

The need for *achievement* takes on a very peculiar character among the respondents because it is related to certain cultural meanings that are greatly valued. Cultural meanings such as effort, sacrifice, success and especially struggle are all inseparable part of how success at the examinations is felt. In this sense, again, participation in the examinations may be important in itself. Whatever the

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who serve there so as to further reduce the danger of undue influences. The examinations questions (*themata*) are broadcast by the Ministry through the radio when the candidates are already in the examination centres sitting at their places.

outcome, one may, at least partly, be satisfied with the reward which comes from living up to a myth, like that of struggle, which is so deep in the culture. The term *"struggle"*, noun and verb, and similar metaphors (for example, *"wrestle"*) come up all the time in the responses when the respondents try to describe how they feel about the entrance examinations. It is with great satisfaction that pupils, while waiting for the results of the examinations, say *"I've done my effort"*, or *"I've fought my struggle"*. Again, the parents too may experience the examinations as a struggle, with economic and psychological implications.

Presented with an imaginary pupil who decided to go abroad at once without taking the entrance examinations in Greece, some of the respondents were rather critical of him. He *"surrendered"*, he *"didn't have guts"*. So, while satisfying the need for achievement and asserting their individuality and their efficacy, they, parents and children, struggling alike, also assert their membership in the group through honouring its values. The term "group" should here be taken at the community level but also at the national level, the latter usage being legitimate according to Edelman (1971: 78). Since most individuals behave like this, the result is a strengthening of collective identity. In the background there is probably the figure of the Greek hero of the war of independence (1821), still being present in everyday life, in the school textbooks (that are produced by the Ministry of Education) and in important moments of school life such as celebrations of national holidays.

Independence. Young generations have a strong desire to detach from their family. Boys and girls are looking forward to gaining freedom from the parents' control and taking some responsibilities on their own. There is a strong interest in the independence that student life, preferably in another town, represents. However, real (which must include economic) independence is preferably put off until later, as shown by the fact that students seldom intend to take up jobs, even part time, while studying. They refuse the *full* responsibilities of adulthood, and this makes their situation ambiguous. The contradiction is common in all industrialised countries and has been explained with prolonged education and the high rates of unemployment (Coleman & Husén 1985).

Whatever the economic burden, parents usually yield to the children's pressure for leaving home and study in another town even when the same studies could be pursued at the local university. Parents may believe that the child must have some independence for her/him to mature, or they may just want to make the child happy. Sometimes parents do more than just yielding to their children's pressures: it turned out that they may actively encourage the child to study telling her/him that there is student life waiting at the end of the route: *"My mother has always told me that the student life is the best thing."* Also teachers may do this: *'Kids- I tell them- become university students. There's no professional settlement, there's no future, there's no career. At least let there be four years of student life."* Parents may have a number of reasons for "encouraging" their children to leave home, even when they know that they will have to take up an extra job in order to support a child living alone. One reason is that the idea of a student life ahead will motivate the child to struggle for getting admission. The children's success may be important for the parents as much as for the children, if not more.

One common interpretation among the respondents is that both generations want the same thing, that is, success at the examinations, but for different reasons: the parents for social reasons, the children for getting four (or more) years of freedom. The concept of *"a free and independent student life"* is one of the most frequently touched upon, and studying is only a marginal part of it, student life mainly referring to social life. All the pupils dream of having the possibility to live four or five years of student life, and those who have had this possibility in the past remember this period of their life as a really special period. The myth of student life is thus reproduced over and over again, and is one powerful factor pushing young people towards universities.

The whole period from the last year of upper-secondary school (or earlier) to graduation may be looked upon at as a rite of transition to adulthood. In the respondents' words, *"the examinations make an adult of you."* It is *"a transition to another phase."* Children also feel that this is the first important thing they are doing in their life, the first thing they do *"as adults"*, without anybody's help. Whether they succeed or fail, they have obtained a different status after the examinations, and they may also be granted more freedom. For example they may be allowed to go on holidays alone.

Parents may view this period in much the same way, and feel that a new phase in the child's life is starting. At the same time, there is also change for parents. this is referred to in the literature as the "empty-nest" stage (Mayer & Schwarz 1989). Parents may feel both satisfied for having raised their children and sad at the idea that *"they are going to lose them."*

Recognition. A degree satisfies also the need for *recognition.* While the need for achievement functions mainly in relation to the self, the need for recognition is here to be seen in relation to the others. The degree as an act of naming is a very important ingredient in the social construction of status. The whole procedure may be seen also as a rite through which status is conferred, hence as a ritual of transition/incorporation into the social groups that enjoy higher status, that of the graduates. Adulthood and status being both a social construction, the line that demarcates them for other stages/social spaces is arbitrary and that is why the passage must be stressed. For the passage to be valid, it must be witnessed/approved by the community, and that is how certain events may take on a ritual dimension (Bourdieu 1992; Leach 1976).

Next to academic qualifications, economic capital is also an important, however insufficient factor for enjoying prestige. In fact, people high on economic capital may have their children get a degree though they may know from beforehand that they will never use it and will work in the family business instead. It is important to acquire symbolic capital, and to this aim people may mobilise and convert other kinds of capital they may have. Capitals (economic and cultural) are handled in such a way that they yield symbolic capital in the end. Symbolic in the sense that its true essence as a social construction is masked and it comes to be seen as based on natural properties (Bourdieu 1977, 1984, 1990a, 1990b and 1991).

Cultural meanings such as struggle and effort function also on the level of *recognition*. The child and the parent who will honour these values will gain the approval of the community. Success at the examinations gives immediate recognition and proof that one has struggled. The parent gets approval because s/he struggles to do everything s/he can for the child, thus enacting the cultural model of the *"good parent."* The child will gain approval for *"taking what the parents give and using it in the right way."* If s/he pass s/he will have done the *"proper thing"*, and enacted the model of the *"good child"*. Failure is usually interpreted, by the outside observer in the neighbourhood, and sometimes by the parents, as a proof of lack of effort and heavily condemned as such.

All societies apply a system of rewards and punishments (Spiro 1987). The member who doesn't conform experiences uneasiness, shame and humiliation. In the respondents' world this system functions largely through gossip. Gossip, and language in general, are a powerful means of social control (Bourdieu 1977 and 1990b). Acts of public naming (and gossip is one of them) create a social identity. For the pupil who, for example, refuses to study, the social identity that gossip will create for her/him will be an unpleasant one. S/he will feel it doesn't match her/his personal identity. The role (social identity) and personal identity may come in conflict (Johansson & Miegel 1992).

Everybody knows that there are candidates who do their utmost and still do not manage to get admission, as it is in the essence of *numerus clausus* that some be left out. But when you are left out you cannot easily prove that you struggled. The safest way to do it is to pass, and in this context it is possible to understand how dramatic failure is. Phenomena such as *dramatisation* of effort are to be seen in this context. A pupil may feel that, beside and while studying hard, s/he has also to make *sure* that the people in their environment *know* that s/he is studying hard. Success at the examinations is also a proof of intelligence. By opposition, failure is related to stupidity and mental disability, which seems to be closely linked to physical disability in the people's meaning system. The respondents take all the time the others' perspective, and they look at themselves as from the outside. That is what Mead (1970 and 1982) means when he argues that social control takes place between the 'I' and the 'me'. Imagining how the others will look upon her/him is often a strong motive for the individual to behave how s/he is expected to.

For both pupils and parents one can talk of merger of the role with the person (Turner 1978). The behaviour associated with one role (candidate/student and candidate's parent respectively) overtakes other roles, so that one feels first of all candidate or candidate's parent and then all the rest. Therefore, a poor performance in this role has enormous consequences for the individual, because s/he may feel that if s/he does not succeed there s/he has not succeeded anywhere.

Education and higher education in particular may be seen in their symbolic value as an object of consumption. A competition is going on in the respondents' community over who gets more goods and who gets them before than the others. Education may be seen as one more product/ status symbol to exhibit. Whatever its value on the labour market, on the symbolic market the value of education is still high. It is also kept such by the present arrangements (*numerus clausus*) which slow down the process of inflation of educational qualifications. If access were open to everybody they would undergo a much faster process of inflation and their symbolic value would fall. Properties that are highly valued awake competition, but they maintain their value as long as they are rare (Bourdieu 1984). Like other properties or goods, educational qualifications undergo the same process of inflation, and this leads to further striving (Milner 1972; Featherstone 1991). That is why most respondents think of getting a post-graduate diploma: *"You must do something more than the others."* In the literature the process has been described as a social race. For order to be maintained, it is important that the relationships, that is the whole set of exclusions, priorities, differences that are characteristic of a social formation remain as they are (Bourdieu 1990b). This means that in a country where most people managed to get a university degree and only a minority holds a post-graduate diploma, the university graduates would be much in the same position as the high school graduates today.

There are young people who state that they want to study because of an interest they have in some particular field, and this is usually the case of high achievers in school. Also, strong passions happen to be directed to prestigious fields such as Medicine, Law or Greek philology, which, because of the level of demand, require a high score at the examinations. Such a convergence in matter of personal tastes suggests that people come to like what the majority considers good. A pupil with high school grades is expected to direct her/himself toward a prestigious branch. Low achievers feel that they cannot afford to have preferences and, when asked what they would like to study they answer: *"I just want to get admission somewhere, no matter where."*

Under the present social arrangements, education as symbolic capital still gives some symbolic power. Against the background of the meritocratic ideal, educational qualifications seem to grant rights. The ideology of merit is very strong in the respondents' world, but they have adapted it (to their cultural meanings? to the selection system? to both?) and see it as more related to effort than to talent. One consequence of this is that success may be seen as more depending on will, and thus failure may be more difficult to accept. One good side of the present selection system, as seen by the respondents, is that in universities you find pupils who have proved to be hard-working. Talent is usually not mentioned because, under the present selection system, generations of candidates have developed the strategy of memorising whole books, which in certain option groups[3] is seen as the necessary condition to gain admission.

All the meanings of the knowledge taken-for-granted are "intersubjectively shared". This means that "everybody in the group knows the schema, and everybody knows that everyone else knows the schema, and everybody knows that everyone knows that everyone knows the schema" (D'Andrade 1987: 113). Since they are shared, they create expectations. Together with the language, young members of a social group learn what is expected of them and what they can expect from others. Often in indirect ways the young person is imprisoned in an image of her/himself as "our little teacher" or "our doctor". During the interviews, most respondents questioned much of what pushes them all to try to pass these examinations. Especially making choices according to the social pressure is condemned, in theory, and it turned out that certain meanings of their knowledge taken-for-granted are not so taken for granted after all. For example, they complain that so many *"parrots"* pass to university. They may question also the legitimacy of the symbolic power linked to a degree, and in this sense it is not symbolic anymore to them. In practice, however, they *adapt* to the system. They behave in practice *as if* success at the examinations were really a valid criterion for *"severing the intelligent from the stupid."* Each of these individuals is potentially innovative, but this potentiality gets lost in the everyday need to affirm oneself as an individual and as a member of the community. The individual feels that s/he has no chances to change the setting in which s/he operates, as the cultural meaning system constructed little by little by generations of individuals cannot be easily changed by the isolated individual.

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[3] The option type is chosen by the students at the beginning of the last year of upper-secondary school. There are four option types corresponding to four broad branches of study. One has the right to apply to all the faculties which belong to the option type chosen.

How much would the people really like to change the present selection system? It is not argued here that they would not, but the question makes it possible to raise even more questions. These examinations seem to satisfy the people's willingness to engage in a struggle. Next to the stress, the anxiety and the psychological drawbacks, there must be the satisfaction that comes from such a struggle. More than that, this satisfaction may be such exactly *because of* all the stress and anxiety, which are certainly inseparable part of the struggle. Pupils and parents in Greece complain, even when not interviewed, about the hardships of the last year(s) preceding the examinations. They declare that they would like to have a different system which spared them the anxiety. Could it be that complaining is part of the game? *Talking* about their getting a degree makes the event more meaningful (*"I want a degree for the people to say that I've got one")*. In the same way *talking* about the hardships and *saying* how unbearable their life is, is likely to make their endeavour more real both to the listener and to the speaker. Probably it makes it also more worthy, thus increasing the sense of sacrifice and struggle. In this perspective, could it be that their complaining about the social pressure and the rest too is *part of* the knowledge taken-for-granted? Could it be that it has a role to play in the whole process? Protests seem to be raised from outside the meaning system. Could it be instead that they are *within* it? A study of pilgrimage and gender conducted very recently on the Greek island of Tinos deals with the concept of suffering in a similar way (Dubisch 1995). As other anthropologists before, Dubisch observes that women complain to the men of the family, but also outside the family, about the hard work they have to do and the suffering that being mothers implies. This kind of complaints are culturally sanctioned, and they are used by women for calling attention upon how difficult it is to play the role of mother and wife. The performance of their role requires an audience, and that is how suffering takes on a public and performative dimension. Comparing the Greeks she met to the Americans she knew, Dubisch found that

Greeks tend to dramatise difficulty and pain. She also found that suffering, as "culturally constructed and expressed through verbal complaint, the body, ritual actions, or other means - can be seen as an expression of social identity and connection, as well as a validation of the performance of social roles. It is a means by which women - and men - can demonstrate to and remind others of the difficulties inherent in the performance of their roles" (Dubisch 1995: 217).

Discussion

The study has been an attempt to understand the meaning that the people attach to higher education and the entrance examinations that lead there. We can think of "taking the entrance examinations" as a model or, in D'Andrade's terms (1984), a cultural meaning system. How does the cultural meaning system (model) "taking the entrance examinations" come to have such a strong directive force? With what other cultural meanings is it intertwined? D'Andrade (1984) mentions a) external sanctions, such as the ones of economic nature; b) pressures for conformity; c) intrinsic direct personal rewards; d) rewards related to attachment to a particular set of values. For the present purpose the four series of factors can be classified along two dimensions: a) external/internal, depending on whether they are related to the material reality (such as the structure of the educational system) or to social identity on the one hand or to the personal identity of the individual on the other hand; b) universal/culture specific (Fig. 1).

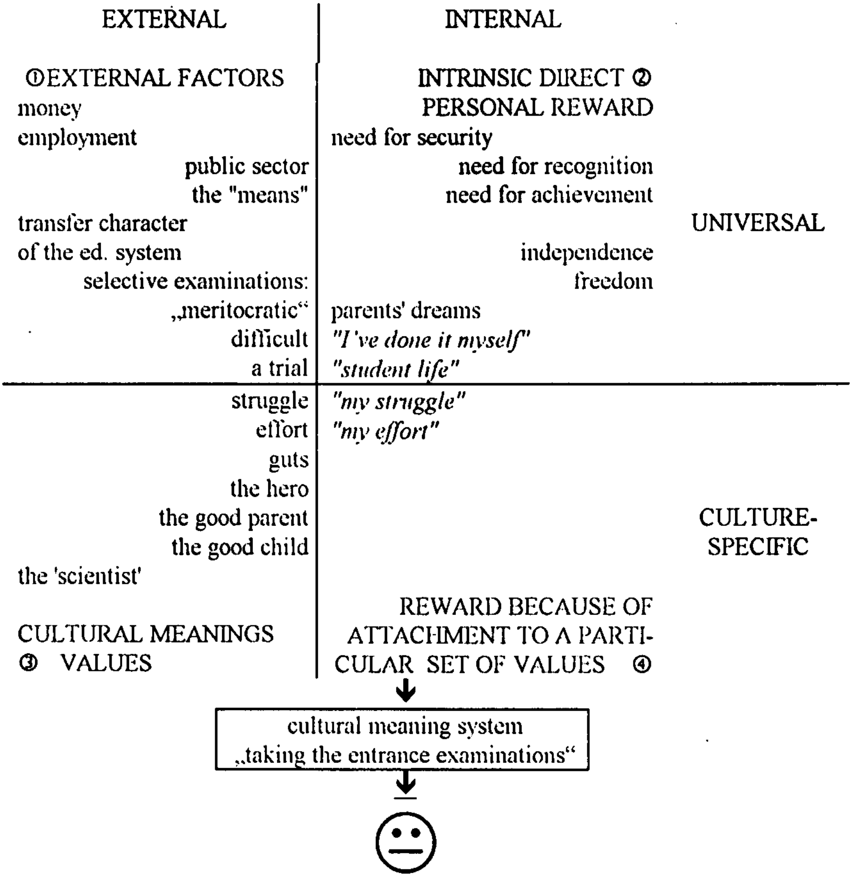
EXTERNAL
INTERNAL
①EXTERNAL FACTORS
money
employment
public sector
the "means"
transfer character
of the ed. system
selective examinations:
„meritocratic"
difficult
a trial
INTRINSIC DIRECT ②
PERSONAL REWARD
need for security
need for recognition
need for achievement
independence
freedom
parents' dreams
"I've done it myself"
"student life"
UNIVERSAL
struggle
effort
guts
the hero
the good parent
the good child
the 'scientist'
CULTURAL MEANINGS
③ VALUES
"my struggle"
"my effort"
REWARD BECAUSE OF
ATTACHMENT TO A PARTI-
CULAR SET OF VALUES ④
CULTURE-
SPECIFIC
cultural meaning system
„taking the entrance examinations"

Fig. 1. The Cultural Meaning System "Taking the Entrance Examinations" and The Overdetermination of its Directive Functions

As pointed out by Bateson (1972) we should not be talking of categories but of *aspects* of phenomena. The labels here used are but "labels for various points of view which we adopt in our studies." So, there is no concrete univocal reality "out there" which corresponds to the present (and any other) classification. This also implies that boundaries between categories (aspects) may be indefinite. Certain items may be seen as belonging to more than one category (aspect) depending, again, on the point of view that we adopt. For example, the "means" may belong to area 1 because it is assumed that they are, more or less, actively present everywhere, but the extent of their influence and the various forms that the phenomenon will take will vary across cultures, which can be said to pertain to area 3. This amounts to saying that Fig. 1 should be read with some elasticity. Towards the centre of the schema details from the four areas have been concentrated which are more concrete (vs. generic) and, according to the findings, particularly relevant in the constitution of the model "taking the entrance examinations" and its directive function.

How can this be related to the personality needs discussed before? They could belong to area 2 (internal + universal). These needs are certainly influenced by the external conditions of the labour market, the "means" and the transfer structure of the educational system (area 1). These needs, which could theoretically find infinite outlets (Spiro 1987), find certain outlets that are culturally specific. The outlets are those given in area 3, the cultural meanings, commonly called values. Thus we come to area 4, where the personality needs are dressed in local clothes. One and the same value may serve a double purpose: on the one to strengthen the self, on the other to express a sense of belonging to a group (Johansson & Miegel 1992). For the respondents, values like struggle are an important part of the cultural identity. If social roles (in this case the "good parent" and the "good child") are capable of satisfying personality needs, these needs may serve to motivate the performance of the roles (Spiro 1987: 117).

With all the limitations inherent in cutting out social reality into boxes, the model "taking the entrance examinations" can be further qualified. It is so motivating because it satisfies emotional needs of the individuals (parents and pupils) such as the need for security, achievement, independence and recognition. At the same time it embodies basic cultural meanings in the group, thus allowing the individual to feel that pursuing that goal s/he enacts the myth of the community. There are certainly pressures for conformity, which the individuals accept also because by obeying the rule they have the possibility to realise the two sets of values just mentioned (areas 2 and 4). There are also "pressures" from the "objective reality", that is from the structure of the educational system and the conditions of the local labour market, where higher educational qualifications, compared to lower, are always likely to pay. On the other hand, the lack of job opportunities minimises the opportunity costs. The "objective reality" includes a public sector that, however big, has been getting bigger and bigger all the time, thus creating expectations among the people. The need for security pushes many parents towards *"settling down"* their children in the public sector which so far has provided the main source of employment for graduates.

The contents of the four areas may mix in different ways. Local institutions and the people's goals and behaviour can be seen in great part as the result of this mixing. The same can be said of the model "taking entrance examinations". Though for practical reasons it has been placed out of the four areas, it should be placed in the centre, at the cross-roads of the four areas.

Conclusion

The findings from the study show that demand for education may be due to reasons that go beyond those related to the labour market and even beyond motives related to prestige and status. Other meanings have emerged that are more peculiar to the culture to which the respondents belong. The examinations, also with a view to the stiff competition and the effort that they require, may be experienced as a ritual of transition to adulthood. Also, they give the people a chance to enact the myth of struggle, which is one of the most powerful in their culture. If social roles (the "good parent" and the "good child") are capable of satisfying individual psychological needs, these needs may serve to motivate the performance of the roles (Spiro 1987: 117).

Like many studies about individual demand for higher education, the present study has also brought out motives such as the wish to get a "better" job and to be awarded the prestige that the community grants to graduates. However, the approach here adopted has allowed for going a little beyond that, to motives that spring directly from the local culture. There is reason to believe that qualitative techniques of data collection and analysis are likely to add interesting perspectives to research about the demand for higher education also in other cultures. This is particularly important in the context of the ongoing developments in Europe. Greater attention should be devoted to how educational structures and processes in any country relate to local values. In this way future initiatives in education at European level are likely to be more easily implemented.

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New Approaches to the Development of Lithuanian Higher Education in the Context of System Developments in the Western World

1. Introduction

At the end of the 20th century, the societies of the post-industrial countries have reached a high level of development. Information has gained a particularly significant role; the supply of information increases with extraordinary speed. On the other hand, the demand for information increases as well. In addition, this demand changes in a qualitative sense. Before, a greater need for specialised knowledge existed, while nowadays the demand for integrated, general information increases. Hence, it becomes more complex to apply acquired knowledge in specific areas of activities, and the need for professional expertise occurs. Moreover, it is not enough to educate only the young generation, in order to prepare them for life. While technology and other sciences reach new levels of development in post-industrial society, it is very important for individuals to upgrade his/her knowledge on a constant basis. As a result of this, the concept of life-long education arose. This concept requires assurance of permanent, continuous education, which allows every individual to realise the need for self-development in the institutions of the recurrent formal education. This not only sets additional goals to the education system, but also creates a new relationship between society and the educational institutions.

The system of higher education, which has as a fundamental mission to be the prime source of intellectual development for the society, is undoubtedly influenced by these changes. They set trends for the development of higher education. The analysis of these changes, their evaluation, the prediction of their effects, and further prospects in the development of higher education are important issues of educational research. They are particularly important for Lithuania, because it is possible to employ the rational ideas of modernisation of higher education for solving significant problems, which arise during reforms in the Lithuanian system of higher education.

The purpose of this paper is the analysis of the current global trends in the development of higher education, and based on this analysis, the attempt to set up some landmarks for the development of the Lithuanian system of higher education.

This was accomplished through reviewing literature, comparative analysis of the documents on the subject, in combination with observations by the author.

The paper is structured along the following lines:

- analysis of the new goals for contemporary higher education
- comparison of higher education developments with the current situation and tendencies in Lithuanian higher education
- suggestion of new solutions for the development of Lithuanian higher education in accordance with global trends.

A strong emphasis on the conceptual changes of higher education is applied in the analysis.

2. The goals of contemporary higher education

In the course of centuries, traditional ways of scientific and academical activities of the classical universities were developed. Their activities responded to fundamental and stable goals – creating scientific knowledge and providing a basis for education of the elite of the society. While the role and the significance of knowledge are changing, the goals for higher education become more diverse, too. Along with the importance of the creation of scientific knowledge, the application of this knowledge, involving the entire social environment, becomes no less important. E. A. Lynton and S. E. Elman (1988), who deeply analysed the tasks of the contemporary higher education, concluded that the task of application and distribution of knowledge is no less important than that of creation of scientific knowledge. Hence, in the sense of scientific knowledge, contemporary higher education should meet three equivalent goals:

- Creating knowledge
- Applying knowledge
- Distributing knowledge.

The three goals correspond with three functions of higher education, which according to the same logic, must be equivalent:

- Fundamental research
- Applied research
- Consultancy and education.

Increasing need in society for life-long education modifies the second traditional goal - the education of the elite of the society. It is important to emphasise that a majority, not a minority of the members of post-industrial society, is in need of modern knowledge. Thus, the goal of distribution should be specified in the following way:

- To satisfy the demand for modern, professional knowledge.

This goal generates an additional, more complex function of the higher education:

- Flexible study organisation.

The four functions of higher education are interdependent. Fundamental and applied scientific research, which is carried out within the institutions of higher education, not only serves as a source of modern scientific knowledge, but also as a pre-condition for the higher level studies (master's, doctor's) and as a means for the development of qualifications of professors.

Thus, the principle of the unity of research and teaching, which was formulated by Wilhelm von Humboldt in the 19th century, is both modern and classical. In the classical sense, it applies to the activities of the universities, and in the modern sense - at the state level, when conceptual decisions, concerning the system of research and teaching, are made. Neglecting this principle may complicate to considerable extent the correspondence of the research and teaching system to the requirements of the post-industrial society. By the way, post-industrial countries rarely make such mistakes, as they are more common to the less developed countries. Without an efficient, modern system of research and teaching, they do not exploit the potential for the acceleration of their development. The former Soviet Union can serve as an example. Research in this country was

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2. The goals of contemporary higher education

In the course of centuries, traditional ways of scientific and academical activities of the classical universities were developed. Their activities responded to fundamental and stable goals – creating scientific knowledge and providing a basis for education of the elite of the society. While the role and the significance of knowledge are changing, the goals for higher education become more diverse, too. Along with the importance of the creation of scientific knowledge, the application of this knowledge, involving the entire social environment, becomes no less important. E. A. Lynton and S. E. Elman (1988), who deeply analysed the tasks of the contemporary higher education, concluded that the task of application and distribution of knowledge is no less important than that of creation of scientific knowledge. Hence, in the sense of scientific knowledge, contemporary higher education should meet three equivalent goals:

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Hence, in the modern system of research and teaching (the commonly accepted term in Lithuania is "system of higher education", in USA - "universities"), all four functions are implemented. However, it does not imply the unification of the institutions of this system. This is impossible, because the complex goals of higher education, set by the contemporary conditions, imply increased obligations of the system of research and teaching to the society. Great variety of the needs for research and teaching in society requires a structural and functional diverse system.

3. Comparison of the characteristics of a modern system of research and teaching with the current situation and tendencies in Lithuanian higher education

The organisation of the system of research and teaching and of the activities of its institutions is based on the principle of democratisation. It implies the accessibility and openness to the society, of the system and of its institutions. Accessibility means that the system must include a sufficient capacity (in the sense of numbers, profiles, and levels), in order to give the opportunity to every individual who is able to study (in the learning sense). In this way, elitism is being gradually replaced by mass education. However, a number of problems arise, which are also important for Lithuania, a country having one of the lowest rates of student numbers in Europe (Zavadskas, 1994). Therefore, some questions arise:

- What should be the structure of the system of research and teaching?
- By what means should the quality of research and teaching be guaranteed?
- What is the best way to finance the system?

A comparative analysis of the world and Lithuanian systems of higher education, which was carried out by the author in 1992 (Jucevicienė, 1992) concluded, that all existing models of higher education are characterised by a variety of structural levels. Along with traditional universities (which moved away significantly from their original classical state), at the high end of the education system, there are institutions at other levels. Primarily, this is a consequence of the implementation of the principle of democratisation, of expanding borders of higher education - in the sense of the institutional variety in real life. This happened in post-war period in U.S. (Lynton, Elman, 1988), some time later - in other developed countries. It is happening even nowadays in some countries (New Universities and Regional Context, 1994), and it is a quite complicated process.

From the point of view of the author, a number of problems, concerning the concept itself, arise. In the Middle ages 'higher education' implied a strictly defined area university education, but in later periods, when the area started expanding, the concept of higher education gradually lost its precision. Probably only in the Soviet Union, where the whole system was characterised by inertness, classification of the levels of the education system was "hard" and clearly defined: secondary school (including primary school), high school, higher school. Lithuania, which inherited this system, is not satisfied any more with such a classification. For example, the high schools themselves, looking at the experience of the Western countries, perceive their unclear position and try to find their place. A similar process, caused by the demands of the present situation, took place in Sweden not long ago.

These educational problems could be solved much easier, if they were analysed on the level of educational science and if an agreement was reached about the structure and levels of the research and teaching system.

First of all, we will review the education levels, which are generalised in UNESCO ISCED (International Standard Classification of Education). ISCED suggest the following definitions of levels:

- *Education before the first level* (if applicable) usually starts at the age of three (sometimes even younger), four, or five; it lasts 1-3 years.
- *Education at the first level* usually starts at the age of five, six, or seven, and it lasts 5-6 years. Literacy programmes for older people, who are illiterate because they have not attended school before, vocational programmes for people who have received some years of education, can also be categorised to this primary level.
- *Education at the second level, first stage* starts at the age of 11-12 and lasts 3 years. The core of this lower secondary education is supplemented by various extracurricular programmes (most of them are vocational) for adults and young people. These programmes are available to those who have completed 5-6 years' secondary education. This level also includes vocational training programmes supplying students with basic skills (for example, apprentice programmes).

- *Education at the second level, second stage starts* at the *age of* 14-15 and lasts about 3 years. The programmes at this level are for those who have completed 8 years secondary education. They train students for skilled or semi-skilled work (for example, apprentice, housekeeping, secretary training, agricultural and other programmes, in some countries they also include teacher-training programmes), or educate for further studies.
- *Education at the third level, first stage, of the type that does not lead to a university degree or equivalent*, starts at the age of 17-18 and lasts 3 years. Hence, a youth of 20-21 is qualified for work. The core of the third level, first stage education is supplemented by the number of programmes which are more "practical" than university programmes. The completion of this programme results in education, which enables to do highly responsible and skilled work. Most of these programmes have form of a part-time education.
- *Education at the third level, first stage, of the type that leads to a university degree or equivalent.* Education at this stage starts at the age of 17-18 and lasts about 4 years. Thus, young people of 20-21, who have finished secondary school and was granted first university degree, are qualified for work or further study.
- *Education at the third level, second stage, of the type that leads to a postgraduate university degree or equivalent.* It lasts 3-5 years. Education at the undefined level is based on very specialised programmes because it must satisfy various needs and interests of the number of adult and youth groups. Course subjects may include academic studies, as well as training in certain interest areas or development of practical skills.

The most common world practice is to divide education system into three subsystems:

1. primary/elementary education (education at the first level, according to ISCED),

2. secondary education (basic - education at the second level, first stage, and high - education at the second level, second stage), and
3. higher education. Nowadays the last subsystem is frequently called the subsystem of post-secondary education, emphasising its continuity.

Along with these three main subsystems, two more are mentioned: the subsystem of pre-school education, and the subsystem of high education. As pre-school education expands in different countries, the subsystem of high education is more often absorbed by the third subsystem of higher or post-secondary education. Apparently, this third subsystem will maintain its traditional name (higher education) in Lithuania, though it will most probably not only house university-level institutions.

So, what is the optimal way of classification of the system of higher education? To answer this question, we have to analyse the variety of levels in the developed countries in the context of contemporary trends in the system.

Particularly large diversity of levels can be observed in the structure of the modern research and teaching system in the USA. We will discuss it briefly.

The Carnegie Council classification of institutions of higher education, developed in 1973 and revised in 1976, established ten categories based on size, levels of degrees, amount of research support and range of academic fields. The need for such classification arose because of the explosive growth in the university sector, which took place after the Second World War. Today, there exist approximately 300 educational institutions that carry the label "university", 220 of them became universities in the post-war period.

E. A. Lynton and S. E. Elman (1988) present a comprehensive description of these categories in their work "New Priorities for the Universities".

Top four of these categories encompass 173 public and private doctorate-granting institutions, further classified into two groups of Research Universities and two of Doctorate-Granting Universities. The 92 Research Universities were, at the time of classification in 1976, among the 100 leading recipients of federal research funds and awarded at least fifty Ph.D.'s in 1973-74. The 81 Doctorate-Granting University awarded at least twenty Ph.D.'s in at least five fields in that year. 323 additional institutions that teach several professional programmes in addition to the liberal arts and usually offer a number of master's programmes, but have little or no doctoral work, are classified as Comprehensive Universities and Colleges I. As indicated in Table 1 (Lynton, Elman, 1988: 9), these five categories together contain 277 of the 305 public institutions that carry the name of universities. Twenty-four additional ones are in the sixth Carnegie category of Comprehensive Universities and Colleges II, because they only have one professional programme and do not offer doctoral degrees. Four are in none of the top six categories. The striking fact is that 60 percent of the public universities are in the categories labelled "comprehensive" and that almost all these institutions were created or designated as universities during the post-war period.

Moreover, the combined total of sponsored research in the ten 'research universities' constituted almost 30 percent of the total received by all public universities that year. The pattern persists throughout the public and private sectors. Of the 563 colleges and universities receiving research support from the National Science Foundation in 1980-81, the top 90 received 80 percent of the total, the top 130 received 90 percent.

The situation in the private sector is quite problematic. Among the private institutions there are some "universities" which have enrolments under 100 per year. Some states have control over private universities, at least in their evaluation and classification, the others grant them absolute freedom. What concerns more traditional institutions, the situation in both the public and the private sectors is quite similar.

Table 1. Classification of the public universities

Carnegie Classification	**Number of Institutions**	**Percentage**
Research I	29	9.5
Research II	32	10.5
Doctorate-granting (I)	38	12.5
Doctorate-granting (II)	19	6.2
Comprehensive (I)	159	52.1
Comprehensive (II)	24	7.9
Others	4	1.3

According to Lynton and Elman (1988), many researchers apply the term "university" only to about 150 institutions - essentially those in the Carnegie Research I and II categories, along with a few in Doctoral I. All other institutions are viewed by these researchers as colleges.

The U.S. National Institute of Education has classified research and educational institutions into four major sectors: the community colleges, the liberal arts colleges, the state colleges, and the research universities. Making this classification, the factors determining hierarchical level were taken into account, therefore only a limited number of institutions became Research Universities, so that all other institutions carrying that undergraduate and graduate education and to engage in a variety of scholarly and professional activities.

These regional universities play a particularly important role at the local and regional level.

Label, including many in the Doctoral and virtually all in the Comprehensive categories, were relegated to the "state college" group. This group also includes so called 'regional universities', such as San Diego and San Francisco state universities, Purdue Calumet University and others, which, despite not belonging to the class of Research Universities, have a strong faculty with doctoral degrees from prestigious universities. They are fully qualified both to provide excellent.

4. Suggestions for new solutions for the development of Lithuanian higher education

Classification

The analysis of the research and academic activities enables to draw a conclusion that institutions of different types emphasise the implementation of the above mentioned four contemporary functions of research and teaching (Figure 1).

Lithuania also faces a necessity to classify higher schools into levels. The regulations approved by the Lithuanian Government divide these institutions into university and non-university level higher schools. Apparently, such classification is not satisfactory, especially in the situation when new private schools are being established, which claim the labels of higher schools but do not meet the standards of the same level state institutions. It is also important to stress the problem of the place in education system of high schools which may be assigned to the third level, first stage of education (their programmes correspond to those of the community and the liberal art colleges in U.S.).

On the basis of what criteria can we classify Lithuanian higher schools in an optimal way? Taking into account the above analysis of the contemporary trends in higher education, it is important to assess:

1. type of higher school
2. dominating character of research activities (fundamental research, applied research, expertise of knowledge, consulting - educational activities), and their volume
3. nature of the study programmes
4. level and volume of study programmes.

On the basis of these criteria, it would be possible to divide Lithuanian higher schools into four levels. Table 2 presents a suggested classification for future discussion. This classification is based on the characteristics of levels.

Table 2. A suggested classification of Lithuanian higher schools

Level (1=highest)	**Characteristics**
1. Research universities	1. Traditional or profiled universities; 2. The fundamental research dominates, but other functions are also carried out: Applied research, expertise on the application of new knowledge, Consultative-educational activities; 3. University level study programmes; 4. Doctoral studies in 4-6 scientific areas; their experience is based on the Undergraduate and master studies in various fields.

2. Regional universities	1. Traditional or profiled universities; 2. The applied research, the expertise on application of new knowledge, Consultative-educational activities dominate, fundamental research is also possible; 3. mainly the university level study programmes, but the professional study programmes are also possible; 4. doctoral studies in 3-5 scientific fields, various master and bachelor programmes
3. Professional higher schools	1. professional higher schools; 2. the applied research, the expertise on application of new knowledge, consultative-educational activities dominate; 3. professional study programmes dominate; 4. master's and bachelor's study programmes, or the programmes leading to the professional diploma (not lower than bachelor's level). The doctoral studies programmes in one or several areas are also possible.
4. Colleges	1. professional higher schools or higher schools of liberal arts; 2. the expertise on application of new knowledge, consultative-educational activities dominate; 3. professional study programmes corresponding to the bachelor's degree, or comprehensive study programmes which

	enable to join the last year studies in the regional universities or professional higher schools; 4. professional study programmes at bachelor's level, or corresponding to it, also comprehensive study programmes (usually, 2-year) which lead to associate degree.

Introduction of such classification in Lithuania would cause the expansion of the network of higher schools; the possibility of its citizens to enter higher education would increase. Certainly, higher schools would like to reach the higher level in the system, and it would stimulate their development. The high schools would also at last find their place in the contemporary system of education. Those schools that run programmes of particularly high quality at the third level, first stage of non-university education, which participate in the expertise of new knowledge, and which take part in consulting - educational activities, could become the institutions of the first, the lowest, level in the system of higher education, i.e. the colleges. In the future they could also run incomplete programmes of university education at the third level, first stage. Other high schools which have pretensions to the programmes of non-university education at the third level, first stage, but, according to international standards, in reality run the programmes at the second level, second stage could be assigned to the subsystem of secondary education. Of course, all these changes are possible only after thorough assessment and evaluation of high schools and of their activities.

The expansion of the network of higher schools is particularly important in a geographical sense. The influence of higher schools would reach small towns; it would encourage cultural development and solution of economic problems. In the sense of life-long education, the higher education would become accessible for adults, whose intention to study is often stopped by a large distance to the nearest higher school.

The student, funding and quality control

The increased adult population's need for education is observed particularly in the developed countries. At first, it is necessary to define the concept of a student.

Who is student?

For a long time this question has a traditional answer: it is an individual who, after completion of secondary school, climbs up the ladder of formal education seeking a higher education diploma. However, the following trends are observed in the Western countries: l) young students often quit studies and take up a job (Lynton, 1986); 2) adult education has gained new dimensions. First of all, the number of adults in the system of formal education, including higher education, increases (Lynton, 1983). Secondly, rapid development of science and technology causes major changes in the work contents, and this demands new classification.

Higher education becomes more accessible due to flexibility of study programmes. Study programmes consist of final courses, with a study load that is easily measured by creditpoints. This system allows the students to complete the programme at individual speed, i.e. to satisfy the needs of self-development on the basis of recurrent formal education. Thus, the current trends in the Western countries show that the age of enrolled students increases. Most of the students follow part-time study programmes; therefore the length of their study also increases. For example, in the U.S. these trends are particularly vivid (Table 3).

Table 3. Distribution of undergraduate enrolment by age and status

Students characteristics	Percentage of newly enrolled undergraduates		
	1972	**1982**	**1992**
24 years and under	69	61	51
25 years and over	31	39	49
Full-time studies	66	58	52
Part-time studies	34	42	48

(Lynton, Elman, 1988: 89).

Hence, those who were called "non-traditional" before, now become regular students. The education process evolves from "regular" to continuing education. Thus, continuing education becomes an ordinary mission of higher education (Lynton, Elman, 1988: 98).

Although the majority of the students in Lithuanian higher schools are young, the above-mentioned trends also become apparent. Primarily they are caused by economic conditions and by the situation in the labour market. A great number of young people combine work and studies, and the elder people who have lost their jobs are often forced to change their profession. An increasing number of students are enrolled in part-time programmes. Modernised study programmes at most of the higher schools allow them to do this. Flexible study programmes encourage students to select courses, which are not in the main study programme.

So, in Lithuania too, it becomes important to change the interpretation of the concept of 'student'. The definition, which is used in the Western higher education, is entirely applicable: the student in a higher school is a person who at the given time period is taking at least one course on this level.

The above-defined conception of student is widespread in higher education of US. In Lithuania we still can observe the traditional approach to higher education, which was influenced by concept of elitist education. Here it is common to call student a person who is engaged in a full-time programme. Individuals enrolled in part-time programmes are called differently, very often external students. Despite this term being traditional (it was used in the independent Lithuania before), it becomes unnecessary in contemporary higher education, with new student concept. By the way, the persistence of this concept is caused not only by historical traditions, but also by half a century old ideas that only those institutions, which are supported by the state, have a right to exist. Thus, students can only be different by nature their of financial support for their studies, but they are often called by different terms. In the context of a modern concept of the student, this should not be done any more.

What should be the optimal ways of financing the system of higher education?

It is common in most systems to have both public and private institutions. Some private schools have been established in Lithuania but there is no officially recognised higher school. The private sector in the Western countries is of a different size: for example, it is rather big in the USA, but very small in Sweden. However, even in the public higher schools state financing of research and teaching constitutes only a part of the whole budget. The rest is accumulated from the tuition fees, research contracts and other services, such as supplementary courses for qualification improvement, educational sciences and consultative activities.

I would like to touch the main problem, which is now being solved in Lithuania - the problem of tuition fees. Very contradictory views are expressed in the discussions on this topic. The paper will discuss this problem in the conceptual aspect of the higher education.

One of the tasks of the contemporary system of research and teaching is the provision of modern, professional knowledge to every person who demands it. Thus, higher schools must be open to everybody who wants and is able (in learning sense) to study. However? the state does not finance all individuals seeking education even in the advanced countries, although the studies are considered there as commonly accepted value. Therefore, democratic countries first of all emphasise human rights to study, which can be realised in different ways.

Thus, in Lithuania, where possibility of financing higher education from the state budget is limited, the rejection of tuition fees would mean the restriction of human right to study, which is not a right feature of democratic states. A different question is, what proportion of the state budget should be spend on higher education. We need discussions of this problem not only among different specialists, but also in society as a whole. According to the view of the author, it is essential to come to an agreement to what extent the state's need for professionals can be satisfied, and on the minimal level of research and higher education that can be guaranteed by state support. Of course, the calculations should take into account the normal functioning of higher schools, i.e. equipment, conditions of work, salaries. The community should be informed about the actual state possibilities and the level of budgets, because taxpayers have to approve them. The higher schools should be able to decide on the volume of research and teaching that is financed from private sources. Lithuania, which is in the process of transition to a market economy, should not be afraid of the market system in education.

Clearly, the questions of quality of research and teaching are not only important as to the exploitation of resources, but also of the education of society at international standards.

How should the quality of research and teaching be guaranteed?

It is a complex problem, which requires special investigation, based on the Total Quality Management concept. We will touch here the problem of quality control in higher education, which is an urgent problem for Lithuania at the moment. The problem was reviewed in theoretical respect (Jucevicienė, 1992). It was concluded that in the contemporary system of research and teaching, the relationship between autonomy and quality control is solved by means of accreditation of higher schools, of their study programmes, and their degrees. In some areas of the professional activity of licensing is used (by licensing we mean the assessment of the professional's qualification, its evaluation and approval). The accreditation process has three components: assessment, evaluation, and accreditation decision, which concerns the official decision on the level of a higher school or of a study programme. Approval normally allows to acquire more formal and informal rights within the system of higher education and in relations with public institutions, and to get to specific position in the market.

So far in Lithuania only first steps were made in internal and external (experts from Norway were invited) assessment and evaluation; a Centre for Quality Evaluation was established. However, the accreditation system, which receives great attention in the Western universities, has not been discussed yet. Thus the question, what institutions will make the accreditation decisions, remains without reply. One more question - what rights should be granted to schools which were accredited at different levels? On the basis of accreditation experience of the Western countries, we can argue that: 1) accreditation process must be recurrent (happen every 5-7 years); 2) higher schools must be affected by the level of institution, which was determined by accreditation process.

The success of the accreditation process primarily depends on assessment of relevant aspects of the situation particularly on the self-assessment by the institution. American universities that prepare thorough assessment plans give great attention to this procedure. For example, the Assessment Plan of Purdue University Calumet (1994) presents the philosophy and experience of assessment, discusses the comprehensive university education and its assessment, the improvement of the study programmes, the structure and procedures of the assessment, and its implementation. Lithuanian higher schools still have much work to do in this area.

5. Conclusions:

1. At the end of the 20th century higher education is influenced by qualitative changes in society. The growing influence of democratic processes and of significance of information is particularly important.
2. The mission of higher education expands from a philosophical to a social accent. The fundamental traditional mission of being the prime source of intellectual development for society, which emphasised the opportunities for elite members to enter higher education, evolves into the mission of providing mass higher education and participating in various social processes. The emphasis is transferred from elite to masses.
3. Contemporary systems of higher education are hierarchical. Several levels can characterise them.
4. Lithuanian higher schools can be classified into four levels: research universities, regional universities, professional higher schools and colleges.
5. As the concepts of life-long, continuing and recurrent education influence higher education, the requirements for organisation of study process and the concept of 'student' virtually changes.
6. With a view to this, a student is a person who studies at least one subject (course) at a given time period in a higher education institution.
7. Contemporary higher education must be open and accessible.

8. Market function is present in contemporary higher education, like in other sectors.
9. Limitation of funding research and teaching to only the state would lead to the restriction in human rights to study.
10. Private initiative in higher education (private institutions, tuition fees) is a positive phenomenon in contemporary higher education. However, here, as well as in the whole system of higher education, the quality of the teaching and of its results must be emphasised.
11. In search for quality in higher education, the accreditation process has a particularly important place.
12. The internal analysis of the system of research and teaching is crucial in the accreditation process.
13. The accreditation process is already started in Lithuania. It is essential to take into account the significance of accreditation decisions.

N.B.

The author had opportunity to observe from inside the activities of the two Lithuanian Universities. She was employed in the Kaunas University of Technology (which was called Kaunas Polytechnic Institute before its reformation) in 1973-1986 and in 1991-1995, and in the Vytautas Magnus University in 1990. In addition, she was involved in the research courses at two universities of the highly industrialised countries: 4 month course at Lund University (Sweden), 1992-1993, and 6 - month course at Purdue Calumet University (USA), 1995. As a member of the Science Council of Lithuania, the author took an active part in the discussions on the problems of reformation of the higher education system (1991-199~).

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Luisa Ribolzi (Genova)

Old and New Inequalities in Italian Higher Education

The debate on the relationships between 'equality' and 'quality' in higher education originated from the changes all Western countries had to deal with after the Second World War, when both the needs of the economic system and the democratic claim to increase access forced the small élite universities to become mass institutions (Trow, 1974): the pessimistic idea was that 'more means worse', the optimistic one was that 'more means different'. Mass higher education has generated a number of major antinomies: quantity versus quality, diversification versus standardisation, academic freedom versus accountability towards the community, autonomy versus centralism: my idea is that the Italian university has not been able to cope adequately with this change, and for this reason the existing, formal inequality determined by the restricted access to the university has changed to an informal one, between people that are allowed to follow higher education, but have different educational destinations.

1. The Characteristics of Mass University in Italy

The realisation of mass universities in developed countries took place at different times and was marked by different characteristics. In Italy this procedure was affected by three facts: the positive demographic trend and the introduction of two laws. The year of the shift from élite to mass higher education is generally considered to be 1969, when a law allowed access to higher education to everyone with a five-year secondary degree, without any restrictions. As a matter of fact, the growth of higher education has started before (table 1), and stabilised in that year[1]. A second law has strongly influenced the expansion of the educational system: in 1962, compulsory education changed from 5 to 8 years, and net enrolment in secondary education doubled in ten years (929.000 in 1962, 1.820.000 in 1972), and so did the demand for higher education (370.000 regular students in 1967, 769.000 in 1977).

Table 1 Higher education in Italy, 1950 - 1995

year	*nr of universities*	*nr of faculties*	*nr of* students*	*annual growth*	*nr of* graduates*	*annual growth*	*nr of teachers*
1950	27	186	231	-	20	-	4.286
1960	29	206	268	16.0	22	10.0	6.282
1970	42	271	681	154.1	60	172.7	9.272
1980	45	295	1.047	53.7	74	23.3	25.855
1990	49	345	1.381	31.9	89	20.2	30.663
1995	56	401	1.660	20.2	104	16.8	34.724

Higher education is considered mass education when participation exceeds 15% of the corresponding age class: at this moment, the expansion is not sufficient, according to Trow (1975), and a transformation is needed to cope with 'new' students and their specific educational needs. In order to adequately manage the change, Western countries have adopted specific models of higher education, evolving in time. The Italian university, that, for a long time, was attended by no more than 300.000 students, has probably been the most conservative, hosting three times more people in the old élite structures in a period of ten years. The expansion rates of the components varied (table 2), but in general the faculties became overcrowded, which caused a decrease in productivity and in the great variety of the quality of the course supply[2].

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[1] From 1964/65, the average growth of regular students used to be 40.000 per year, increasing to 70.000 for three years after implementation of the law, but from 1972/73 it had decreased to 30.000 per year.

Table 2: Rates of expansion in Italian university, 1950/1995

number of universities	107.4
number of faculties	115.6
number of students	618.6
number of graduates	420.0
number of teachers	710.2

Ironically, only the ratio between students and teachers in mass university is better than in the traditional one (53.9 to 47.8), because in order to deal adequately with the invasion, a lot of provisional teachers were appointed without selection, with the same phenomenon of "reconversion to teachers of the exceeding graduates" that Barbagli (1974) has described for the secondary school. From 1981 they were appointed practically without control, closing the doors to younger researchers for a long time. With a short supply of human, structural and financial resources, a lack of control, low motivation of both teachers and students, the quality of higher education decreased.

The "new" students that enrolled in university often came from technical or vocational secondary education and were not oriented to higher education. Generally they had poorer cultural backgrounds and were often working or adult students. With a lack of any particular form of didactics, nor part-time courses neither credits for working experience, failures were inevitable (table 3).

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[2] Nine Italian universities (Torino, Milano, Padova, Bologna, Firenze, Roma, Napoli, Bari e Palermo) have more than fifty thousand students, a total of more than 750.000 students, (45.6% of the total population). The remaining 54.4% has been divided over 47 universities. The largest one is Roma, 199.685 students, 12% of the total.

Table 3 Indicators of performance for some courses (average 1992/1995)

	% of regular graduates	% of graduates on first year students
mathematics	16.0	33.4
physics	12.0	35.0
chemistry	21.3	38.3
industrial chemistry	21.8	29.8
geology	3.4	30.9
computer sciences	5.3	32.8
natural sciences	7.9	29.5
biology	10.9	41.6
pharmacy	10.0	57.6
medicine	25.4	81.2
dentistry	61.2	91.6
engineering	10.4	45.4
architecture	2.9	33.1
agriculture	26.8	43.8
veterinary medicine	3.6	59.0
economics	9.7	27.3
statistics	10.9	37.5
political sciences	10.3	18.7
sociology	30.2	29.5
law	9.0	31.6
humanities	12.0	37.9
philosophy	13.6	37.9
foreign languages	9.6	36.1
arts	2.6	28.4
psychology	23.6	23.7

The percentage of the so-called *fuoricorso* (students who do not complete their study within the regular number of years) is now 32.5% and the average rate of graduations is 35.8% among the newcomers, with a minimum in political sciences (about 18.7%) and a maximum in medicine (81.2%) and dentistry (91.1%). The percentage of graduates in the regular number of years was 12.2% in 1992, and in the less productive faculties (political sciences, psychology, architecture), the money wasted on dropouts was more than the money spent on graduates (Ali, 1988).

Of course, not only in Italy the traditional (good or bad) higher education has been overcharged, and "the choice appears to be between a redefinition of the mission to respond to these opportunities through growth and diversification, and contracting around the older core purpose - initial education of a small élite cadre and selective high-level research. This, however, implies more clear, rational and purposeful behaviour than most universities by their very nature can commonly muster" (Duke, 1992:7). The problem to solve was, and still is, to create a balance between integrating free admission students into "mainstream" provisions, and making separate provisions for them and the traditional students (Allen, 1988), in order to maintain quality.

In the traditional élite university quality was not a problem, because it was by definition a place of excellence: "for a long time, degree level education was the preserve and privilege of a handful of university institutions, with an élite faculty staff teaching a relatively narrow range of subjects to a small group of very able students. While higher education systems remained small, institutions were allowed considerable freedom to run their own affairs. The academic staff was expected to aim for and achieve excellence, and comparability of quality between institutions and over time was assumed" (Craft, 1992:1). The expansion of higher education in combination with a limited governmental budget, the internationalisation of higher education and of economic competition, and in general the ideology of liberalisation and deregulation have diminished the capability of universities to adapt to the changing conditions with which they are confronted, enhancing the importance of quality assessment of teaching and learning. Unfortunately, 'the concept of quality seems to be as elusive as it is pervasive' (Van Vught, 1994), particularly in an institution intrinsically ambiguous and with contrasting aims and strategies.

2. Uniformity and Difference in Italian Higher Education

The Italian university gives exactly the same courses to all the different types of students, i.e. the traditional "degree courses" from four to six years, determined by government at a national level[3], realised more or less in the same manner by each institution and which the students have to follow from the beginning of the first day to the end of the last day of the final year. The change in students' characteristics should have implied a paradigm shift in educational provision and curriculum design, to offer a range of educational possibilities from which each student can choose.

Only in recent years, urged by the market in relation with the spread of the IT and the so-called post-Fordist work organisation, the Italian university has introduced some changes, in order to differentiate the course supply for a variety of users (Benadusi, 1993): in 1990 the law with regard to the reform of university established the so-called 'university diploma' (D.U.), which implies shorter courses, mainly in the technical or scientific field, with a large part of learning by work, often in co-operation with industrial associations, that actually started in 1992/93[4]. In Southern Italy a number of innovative annual 'post secondary courses' has been financed by the European Social Fund in 1994/95, and was extended to the whole country in the following years, in co-operation with the regional system of vocational education. In June 1997 the Ministry of Education proposed a reform of the educational system, in which higher education implies a system including university, university diploma and post-secondary courses: but at the moment Italian tertiary education only has long or short courses in university; non-university sectors only exist in vocational education, and are not considered a form of higher education.

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[3] The main problem in changing the centralized structure of the Italian university is the legal value of every school degree: to make them valid in order to apply for public jobs, they must be subjected to a standardised procedure, but there are no accreditation agencies in Italy.

Like in other European countries, the educational shift was caused by the demand to increase the highly qualified labour force by improving both "mass quality" and the excellence of some research centres (Jannaccone, Ribolzi, 1991). As the birth rate is decreasing, the number of students entering university from secondary education is virtually stable. For this reason the desired growth can only be realised by increasing the number of adult or part-time students. In this situation it was no longer possible to identify higher education with the full-time academic university: we needed a diversification, with an emphasis on operational matters. Some changes were introduced by the university itself: the greater part of the new courses had limited admission (i.e. fixed numbers, admittance based on test results), and many of them had periods of learning by work, which were usually shorter than the D.U..

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[4] Until 1991/92 university diplomas existed only for teachers of physical education and a few experts in the musical sector.

All these procedures were introduced in order to try to avoid the "more means worse" phenomenon, but they have produced new forms of inequality in Italian higher education.

Enrolment in D.U. has been rising (table 4), although admission is restricted and the number of examinees is established on the basis of the market demand. It is too early to say whether the employability of young certified graduates is satisfactorily or even better than that of the traditional ones. A recent survey conducted by Progetto Excelsior, on the educational needs of enterprises, (with a sample of more than 80.000), shows that enterprises require a total of 7.3% of graduates in their labour force, of which 4.8% with a degree and 2.5% with a university diploma (Ribolzi, 1997). At the moment this percentage is more or less the same (7.7%), with 7.2% graduates and 0.5% university diploma.

Table 4 Enrolment in university diplomas, 1992/93 - 1995/96

	1992/93	**1993/94**	**1994/95**	**1995/96**
nr. of courses	509	550	648	727
total of students	45.695	53.357	58.755	
% on total	3.0	3.4	3.7	
first year stud.	16.590	18.069	20.119	
% on total	4.8	5.0	5.9	

From a general point of view, the D.U. courses are considered "second choice" higher education, (selecting at the entrance not only by tests, but also) because middle and upper class students continue to prefer the university, and regard the new courses as vocational education, which, in Italy, has always had a poor reputation and a low institutional profile. The D.U.'s are located in the faculties, but the professors usually do not receive any additional salaries and scarcely have the opportunity to do research. They cannot boost their professional prestige and for this reason they will try to refuse the teaching and devolve it upon their younger assistants. In addition, pastoral care is probably more extensive than in the university. Williams (1990: 76) states: "when access to higher education was confined to highly motivated young people coming to university directly from an intensive secondary education, it was reasonable to assume that within broad limits they could take care of themselves. Now that higher education is being opened up to school leavers who are not sure of their own motivation and who have not performed particularly well in secondary education, and to adults who have not studied seriously for several years, there is a far greater responsibility on providers to ensure that educational experience is worth having, and suited to the needs and interests of the students".

3. From Formal to Informal Inequality

One of the biggest problems in Italian mass university was (and still is, as indicated by table 3) the number of dropouts. In the old university the formal selection was high (only the students coming from classical lyceums could attend all the faculties, there where little restrictions for the scientific lyceum, and few possibilities for all the others), but the greater part of the freshmen graduated. The equality of opportunities after 1969 was only apparent: the students coming from different types of secondary education had neither the same rate of admission to university, nor the same probability to graduate (table 5).

Table 5 Composition of final secondary school students, university first year students and graduates, average 1992/1995

	vocational	**technical**	**lyceums**
final year secondary	14.3	46.2	26.1
first year university	6.1	34.3	43.1
graduates	2.0	21.2	63.5

In 1994/95 the lyceums still accommodated 43.1% of the first-year students, which is 26.1% of the students completing a five-year course; vocational and technical education had 40.4% of the first year students, which is 60.5% of the students completing a five-year course. The inequality increases because technical and vocational students run higher risks of dropping out: 63.5% of the graduates were coming from lyceums, whereas 23.2% of the graduates were coming from vocational or technical secondary education.

The distribution of first-year students over the subjects is formally free, but is actually influenced by the secondary education diploma, and for this reason the success rate of graduates also varies.

Working or adult students enrol in courses where attendance is not compulsory. Generally they do not attend the lectures (the average rate of voluntarily attendance is about 20%-25%), need more time to graduate and they have lower marks.

Table 3 shows that graduation rates decrease of the courses with compulsory attendance and *numerus clausus*, such as medicine or engineering courses, to 'open' faculties such as economics or political sciences.

There is a number of 'intermediate' courses, such as humanities or sociology, that have a high level of productivity, also if there is no compulsory attendance or restricted access, but they have a very poor credential value. Gender seems to have no influence on dropout rates: 52.4% of the newcomers, 52.0% of the total amount of students, 49.9% of the *fuoricorso* and 52.8% of the graduates are females.

Many people were in favour of the D.U., because they thought that is was a solution to prevent failures: in university, 20% of the freshmen does not complete the first year and 30% withdraws within the first two years. Nevertheless, it is difficult to think that all these students - more or less 110.000 every year - could attend D.U., where the places offered are normally less than 10% of the total, no more than 20.000 in number. Prosecution rates are lower than in university, about 75% from first to second year, about 70% from second to third, because 'the withdrawal regards students with a higher probability to abandon the studies: they have chosen the D.U. thinking that it was easier than university, but it is more difficult and selective' (Isfol, 1996:32). The 'poor' image of the short courses itself operates as a selection tool, attracting students by its apparent facility.

The last form of new inequality regards the restricted admission to some new courses, which came into effect in private universities, in the faculties of medicine and architecture, and in places with a strong lack of structural support. These courses cause the phenomenon of 'skimming of the cream' among students, which has at least three consequences:

- the students who have passed the selection have more possibilities to complete their studies, because they probably have had a better secondary qualification and they are working in an environment offering better services: a lower number of students per teacher, the possibility of personal guidance, more efficient laboratories and libraries, and so on;
- the students who failed the selection, are forced to change their choice of university. If they change courses, they are probably less motivated; if they change university, they have to move from their homes or may be unable to attend the lectures, which will cause a lack of quality in the studies; and if there is no restricted admission in the new faculty, it will probably be overcrowded;
- the professors teaching in 'open' faculties have more badly performing students, which will result in a lack of motivation, because they will have to work harder in a worse situation (more examinations and thesis, lack of co-operation and structures, students not attending the lectures).

For these reasons, the gap between effective and non-effective faculties would increase, generating new patterns of inequality instead of enhancing the processes of qualification of human resources. In periods of rapid growth, the structural and quantitative problems are the most important, but we are now in a period of greater stability, in which the quality is emerging as the most important facet of higher education[5]. Probably it is impossible to provide quality and quantity, equity and excellence at the same time (Luhmann & Schorr, 1990). The analysis of the performance indicators in the E.U. countries (Kells, 1990) indicates two trends, that we can call "equivalence" or "variety", the first is trying to apply the same quality level in all the universities, the second aims to increase the variety of the course supply. Educational policy can promote either one, if decision makers will be able to make well-considered choices.

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[5] Italy has started very late with the assessment of higher education quality: the CRUI (conference of principals) has published three national reports based on standardized performance indicators, but many important universities have not yet answered to these (including Roma). As from 1996 every university must have an evaluation group, relating to a central

4. Improving Quality and Equality

Perhaps, the crisis of the welfare state, the changing priorities in public services (keeping in mind that Italy is the first country where the age group of over 65 exceeds the age group of under 15) and the increasing costs of higher education were forcing the decision makers not only to ask for a more efficient management, but also to check on the quality. The external control is a consequence of a lack of trust in the universities and in their social role: "the public (often represented by government) is no longer willing to place total confidence in the 'ivory tower' image of tertiary education, but expects independent evidence that higher education is providing good quality and value for money (Craft, 1992).

The central concept to improve quality without denying equity, is "accountability": if, at any time, the universities had social functions, then now they should be the first (of all) to show accountability. As Gareth Williams writes: "higher education

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„Osservatorio“ centre for the evaluation of the university. There does not yet exist a teachers' appraisal, and research assessment is still in its infancy.

institutions are in some sense accountable to students and their families, to employers and to tax payers who pay a substantial, though declining, proportion of the bill. There is social and political accountability which is concerned with issues such as ensuring that higher education is accessible to those who are likely to be able to benefit from it. There is financial accountability which is about the efficient use of resources and there is quality accountability which is concerned with promise and performance and the relationship between them" (Williams, Loder, 1990:3).

This requires a change in the attitudes of the academics, because until now many of them believed that their prime loyalty was to their academic discipline and that accountability was to peers within the discipline. So they are largely against the change, and do not want to accept the fact that, introducing some forms of competition, "university staff can no longer take the university for granted, treating it merely as a backdrop. Survival in an inhospitable environment demands a measure of understanding, identification and effort that was previously unnecessary and is undoubtedly still impalpable, if not inconceivable, to the majority of the academic staff" (Duke, 1992:107).

The universities are responsible for the qualification of both the old and the new students, helping them to enter the labour market, and their role can be stronger for people with low educational qualifications. Education has strong effects on mobility: comparing the social status of two generations, in relation with the level of schooling, Cobalti (1995) found that the probability to improve occupational status doubled, comparing primary level to university (table 5). From another source it appears that in 1996 12.1% of the population in Italy was unemployed, among which only 7.7% of graduates.

Table 6 Relation between level of schooling and occupational mobility (males, Italy 1985)

educ. level	*occupational mobility* *increasing*	*constant*	*decreasing*
primary	35.1	35.8	29.1
lower secondary	41.1	34.9	24.0
higher secondary	58.0	26.6	15.4
higher education	70.8	20.5	8.7
total	44.9	32.3	22.8

Growing international competition demands higher qualifications in the labour forces. In Italy, international mobility of graduates is very low at the moment, and only 1.1% of the graduates in 1992 was working abroad in 1995 (ISTAT, 1996), but we have to keep in mind that the labour market is becoming more and more international, and in 1994 Italy had only 8% of graduates in the age group 25-34, which is the lowest number of the E.U. countries (OECD, 1996).

The educational policy of the Government has strong relations with institutional policy and this also applies for the financial policy: at the same time, it follows mission and it can facilitate (or restrict) institutional policy.

In periods of expansion the state could be considered a *facilitatory state* (Neave, 1991), for which the university is a mean to allow students with "right" characteristics to enter higher education, regardless of their socio-economic status. The realisation of mass university caused an enormous increase in the costs of higher education, so in recent years the state became an *interventionary state*, aiming to manage the private lives of the universities, because it is paying for them. In the third (and last) phase, the stress is on corporate rationality and on entrepreneurial management, and the *evaluative state* is "setting higher education free from the shackles of the state and placing responsibility for shaping the fortunes of individual institutions in the hands of their leadership" (Neave, van Vught, 1991). The growing interest of governments in strategic evaluation reflects, of course, their desire to see higher education itself to develop strategic management capacities, to formulate objectives in the long term and to demonstrate how resources are used to attain them: but in the "self regulation" perhaps the control is as strong as before. "To revert to the well-known analogy of policy as a music-hall, the costumes have changed, but the chorus, their dance and the song, remain as ever they were" (ibid.).

'Creative financial management' or 'unorthodox problem solving attention' could be a way to enhance quality in higher education: 'a creative approach to day to day problem solving can generate long-lasting and effective solutions, that contribute to the survival of universities as academic communities' (Acherman, Brons, 1989). Quality in education is largely unquantifiable: nevertheless, there is an obvious link between resources and quality, and probably the limitation of the governmental budget will push political decision makers to reduce contribution to higher education, financing only the institutions that can win the challenge in teaching and in research. For this reason, in my opinion, creativity is not enough, and equity passes through formal rules specifying the characteristics of different institutions, instead of through changeable patterns or an unlimited expansion that is only apparently more democratic, as Boudon demonstrated twenty-five years ago (Boudon, 1973). The "ivory tower" idea is not yet valid: the university has to become "transmural", which means it has to accept the existence of other learning places, such as the industry. In fact, the "new" students, represented in Italy in the new university diploma, have taken into the "ivory tower" their experience, and "the relationship between different learning setting such as factories, programmes offered by professional associations, colleges and universities would alter in such a way that boundaries between them would become 'porous' - learners would transfer back and forth between setting or select various mixtures of settings" (Knapper & Cropley, 1985:34).

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Internationalisation of Universities.

The Causes of Difference: Fields of Study or Social Background?

Introduction

Internationalisation of universities recently emerging world-wide has produced several arguments concerning its aims and consequences. Should internationalisation of universities serve the international learning community or should it serve the nation's purposes? Would it create better understanding and respect of the differences between countries or would it violate national identity and national culture? Would it bring about uniformity or a diversity of university models? Until now, there is little research on the topic available to answer these questions.

Those who take the side of internationalisation of universities to serve the international learning community, usually refer to the historic movement of universities. This perspective is based on the assumption that universities in the past have gone from a global to a more isolationist period, and that the globalisation of present society requires a renewal of their universal role. One who takes this side is, therefore, likely to agree that there will be one uniform university model, when the internationalisation of universities is accomplished

Those who adhere the view that internationalisation of universities is to serve the nation's purposes, argue that diversification of universities has been developing for a long time. There is also a trend towards decentralisation and increasing institutional autonomy in many countries. Moreover, collaborations among multiple universities will cause borrowing and copying, and by that developing into more diversification. One who takes this side is likely to agree that the internationalisation of universities will bring about a diversirather than uniform university models.

However, in practice, the direction and success of internationalisation of universities will depend on acceptance and co-operation of academic staff and students. The study about the perspectives of academic staff and students on the internationalisation of universities is, therefore, needed. Because it could produce a better understanding about what academic staff and students think and want to do about the internationalisation of universities. Do they think differently? What are the factors that affect their ways of thinking? The results perhaps could give the answers to the argument mentioned above.

This paper, first, presents the opinions of the academic staff and students from universities in Europe and Asia whether they line up on the side of universalization or nationalisation. Secondly, it studies whether social background and fields of study affect their opinions. Finally, a factor analysis is performed to examine the components of the internationalisation of universities.

Perspectives on Internationalisation of Universities

Kerr (1990) described the development of university models from convergence to divergence and at present to a partial reconvergence. From the Academy up to 500 years ago, higher education could be typified by the convergent model of universal learning in which universities were fully autonomous from governments. Scholars and students at that time travelled freely from place to place. University first served the universal knowledge. There was one scholarly language, Latin in Europe, and one curriculum.

The model was replaced after the Middle Ages by a divergence model in which universities came to serve the nation's purposes and became an essential institution for the development of the national identity. Several distinctive models of universities were created. The flow of scholars and students was controlled by the nation states. There was no longer a single curriculum, and national rather than international languages were promoted. Recently, there is a tendency for a reconversion from distinctive national models of universities to the convergence model of university in which „nation states and ideologies playing a lesser role in defining university behaviour, and new languages, English and mathematics, are coming to unite intellectual discourse". However, Kerr judges that it will take a century for universities to finally develop in the direction of the supremacy of what he called the pure model of academic life: the universalization of learning.

From Kerr's point of view, the national purpose for higher education is opposite to the universalization of learning. Universities are, at present, situated between these two poles. According to Kerr, „it might also be expected that the academic profession would line up on the side of internationalisation, that it would be dedicated to the free advancement of learning everywhere and all the time-not bound by the parochial interests of nations". However, from the reviewed literature, there is no related research available to suggest where the universities are between these two poles.

The issue that English will become a common scholarly language corresponds with the viewpoint of Altbach (1987). On his analysis of „International knowledge network", Altbach comments that, never before, any language has been so widely used throughout the world as English is used at present. Especially, scientific knowledge that is widely disseminated in terms of scientific journal, textbook, database, and the computer network is mainly in English. One reason is that most of the producers and consumers of scientific knowledge are located in English speaking countries: the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia. He then prospects that English will become „Latin of the 21st Century". Therefore, English is seen as the factor that highly correlates to the universalization of knowledge.

Following Kerr's analysis, this research is based on the assumption that universalization and nationalisation are opposite to each other. English is included in the universalization because of its predominance as the language of knowledge dissemination world-wide. And then it leads to the first hypothesis that academic staff and students would line up on the side of universalization.

There is a diversity of the definitions of internationalisation of universities. In this research, we define internationalisation of universities as the process to develop universities into a more global dimension. Following this view, universalization means the viewpoint that the internationalisation of universities should aim at serving the international learning community. Nationalisation means the viewpoint that the internationalisation of universities should aim at serving the nation's purposes.

Also, from his observations, Kerr found that faculty members in some fields of study were more international than those in other fields. The causes of difference are due to the language used for communication, the differences in methodology employed, and the content. In the first case, in some fields, people use fewer words for communication than other fields. For instance, a scientist would say more with fewer words than a humanists. In some fields, the methodologies employed are diversified, „as Neil J. Smelser has noted for sociology, contrasting the more empirical Americans and the less empirical Europeans" (cited in Kerr, 1990). And in some fields, for instance, Science has a single content, while Law has multiple contents ranging from domestic to international.

Kerr divided the fields of study into three categories: areas of world orbit, areas of intra-cultural orbit, and areas of intranational orbit. He defined these three categories as follows:

1. „Areas of world-wide uniformity in the content of knowledge, as in mathematics, science and engineering. In some areas, all leading scholars even seem to know each other-to constitute a fraternity, as in astronomy. Anthropology, more than any of the other social sciences, falls in this group.
2. Areas of intra-cultural similarity of knowledge, as in the study of history and of the classical literature of each civilisation. These culture loops of knowledge include particularly the Western and the Oriental, with many subdivisions in each.
3. Areas of intra-national particularity, as in domestic law, public administration, education and social welfare -all marked by great diversity in national content. Diversity may also follow the methodology employed."

Kerr stated that faculty members in the fields of world-orbit are the most international. This leads to the second hypothesis that academic staff and students in different fields of study will have different viewpoints on the internationalisation of universities. Those who are in the fields of world-orbit such as Sciences and Applied Sciences are more likely to agree with the universalization than those who are in the fields of Liberal Arts and Applied Arts.

As mentioned earlier, the aims and consequences of the internationalisation of universities are still debatable issues.

Cerych (1989) believes that the diversity of the higher education system is being continued because of two main reasons. First, until now, diversification of universities has been taking place for more than fifty years. Moreover, a tendency towards decentralisation and greater institutional autonomy in several traditionally centralised countries could be seen. Secondly, the collaboration of multi-partners from different countries will cause a borrowing and copying from multiple resources, thereby producing a diversification of higher education models instead of unification. This implies that it remains the question whether increasing internationalisation of universities will cause the decrease of national identity.

According to Cerych, universities in different countries have created their own system for a long time. Each country has its own historical and sociological development. Therefore, it is perhaps difficult for some countries to discard their identities and cultures. On the contrast, increasing protectionist nationalism can be seen in many places, i.e. in voting of Quebec for independence from Canada. However, the emerging of globalisation makes countries around the world become more interdependent. It is difficult for any country to survive on its own. Nationalisation and universalization are then becoming essential dimensions for countries across the world.

This leads to the idea that perhaps the internationalisation of universities will result in an increase instead of in a decrease of nationalisation. In other words, nationalisation might have a positive relation with universalization. However, as mentioned earlier, countries are different in historical and sociological development, and their standing points on nationalisation and universalization are possibly different. Furthermore, perhaps it is not always the case that universalization will have a positive correlation to nationalisation. Occasionally, universalization may have a negative correlation to nationalisation. Or sometimes universalization might have no correlation to nationalisation. This gives us an alternate assumption that universalization and nationalisation are not in conflict because they are different dimensions.

This alternate assumption then leads to the third hypothesis and the fourth hypothesis. The third hypothesis is that academic staff and students who have different social background are likely to have different opinions on the internationalisation of universities. The fourth hypothesis is that universalization and nationalisation are different dimensions. However, English is still likely to correlate with universalization.

Instrument and Data Collection

The instrument used for data gathering was the questionnaire constructed by the researcher. The first part of the questionnaire was devoted to the demographic data. The second part was devoted to the opinions about the aims and consequences of the internationalisation of universities, and the use of English as the medium for instruction and communication. This part consisted of 25 items with a five-point Likert scale. The 25 questionnaire items were constructed based on Kerr's analysis together with the issues obtained from the interviews of the university administrators and the reviewed literature.

This research intended to examine the differences of the opinions of academic staff and students who had different social background, and were in different fields of study. The other topic was the use of English for instruction and communication. Therefore, the samples were the academic staff and the students selected from universities in different countries where English were not the mother tongue. Those selected universities were the University of Amsterdam of the Netherlands, the Catholic University of Leuven of Belgium, Chulalongkorn University of Thailand, the University of Malaya of Malaysia, and the National University of Singapore of Singapore.

The selected faculties were based on four fields of study: Liberal Arts, Applied Arts, Basic Sciences, and Applied Sciences. However, the organisation of each university is different. Therefore, to be able to do a comparison, the selected faculties were divided into four groups: Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Faculty of Law, Faculty of Sciences, and Faculty of Medical Sciences.

The names and addresses of the samples were drawn randomly from the computerised records. The questionnaire, with a covering letter explaining the purposes of the research, was sent to the samples. Two weeks after the first mail, a reminding letter was sent to the samples again. The rates of return of all sub-sample groups were over 60%. The total number of the returned questionnaires used in the analyses was 2133 (for more details see Table 1).

Results

The reliability of the 25 items of the second part of the questionnaire for each subgroup sample and for the total sample was satisfactory. Cronbach's alpha for the subgroup of the University of Amsterdam, the Catholic University of Leuven, Chulalongkorn University, the University of Malaya, and the National University of Singapore were 0.72, 0.64, 0.73, 0.65, and 0.61 respectively. The Cronbach's alpha for the total sample was 0.68.

First, we examined the results of all 25 items. The total mean scores showed that the academic staff and students lied up on the side of the universalization (mean=3.48, sd=0.35 and mean=3.45, sd=0.37 respectively). The first hypothesis is accepted.

Table 2 shows the results of a comparison among group mean scores. It shows that there are significant differences among academic staff and students who are in different countries. From the Scheffe multiple comparison test, it was found that the academic staff and students of the Catholic University of Leuven had the lowest score and that was significantly different from the other universities. There was no significant difference among the Asian universities. It could be seen that the academic staff and students of the Asian universities were more likely to agree with the universalization than those who are in the European universities.

Table 3 shows that there is no significant difference among fields of study. This implies that fields of study are becoming less important factors that affect the opinions about the internationalisation of universities. From these results, the second hypothesis is rejected, but the third hypothesis is accepted.

Next, a factor analysis was used to examine the components of the internationalisation of universities. The analysis was performed for each university and each field of study separately. This was also performed for the total samples. A principal component analysis with varimax and oblique rotation was used.

It was found that the factor results from each subgroup sample and total samples were the same, and the three factor extraction analysis with oblique rotation gave the most interpretable of the factors obtained. Cronbach's alpha for Factor 1, 2, and 3 were 0.80, 0.65, and 0.68 respectively. Table 4 presents the results of the factor analysis for the total sample together.

Consequently, three factor variables, namely Universalization, Nationalisation, and English Domination were created. The differences among universities on each factor variable, as shown in Table 5, could be seen. The results from the Scheffe multiple comparison test showed that for Universalization the Asian universities had higher scores and were significantly different from the European universities. For the Nationalisation, Chulalongkorn

University and the Catholic University of Leuven were significantly different from the rest. And for the English Domination, the University of Malaya, the University of Amsterdam, and the Catholic University of Leuven were significantly different from Chulalongkorn University and the National University of Singapore.

The differences among fields of study on each factor variable are shown in Table 6. The multiple comparison test indicated that for Universalization, only the field of Sciences was significantly different from the field of Medical Sciences. There was no significant difference on Nationalisation among fields of study. For English Domination, only the field of Medical Sciences was significantly different from the field of Arts and Social Sciences. This confirms that fields of study have less influence on opinions of the internationalisation of universities.

Furthermore, from factor correlation matrix (see Table 4), it could be seen that the Universalization was orthogonal to the Nationalisation, they were not correlated. English Domination was different. It was orthogonal to Nationalisation, but positively correlated to Universalization. It implies that increasing of universalization does not always result in decreasing of nationalisation. The fourth hypothesis is accepted. This could be clearly seen from Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4.

Figure 1 shows the differences of universities on two factor variables, Universalization and Nationalisation. Chulalongkorn University has highest scores on both variables while; the University of Amsterdam has lower scores on both variables. The Catholic University of Leuven has a higher score on Nationalisation, but a lower score on the Universalization. The University of Malaya and the National University of Singapore are almost the same. They have higher scores on Universalization, but lower scores on Nationalisation.

Figure 2 shows that the Catholic University of Leuven has higher scores on both variables, Nationalisation and English Domination.

Chulalongkorn University has a higher score on Nationalisation, but a lower score on the English Domination. The University of Amsterdam and the University of Malaya have higher scores on the English Domination, but lower scores on the Nationalisation. In contrast, the National University of Singapore has lower scores on both variables.

Also, Figures 3 and 4 show the differences among fields of study. However, compared to the differences among universities, the differences among fields of study are relatively small.

According to the factor correlation matrix, the English Domination correlated with Universalization. However, the magnitude of the correlation coefficient is rather small ($r=0.30$). Therefore, the possibility that English becoming a common scholarly language as a consequence of internationalisation is not clearly foreseeable.

Discussion

In general, we found that the academic staff and students of all universities lined up on the side of universalization. However, the findings of the factor analysis give more details for the explanation of the internationalisation of universities. One finding, the universalization was orthogonal to the nationalisation gives another approach to the argument about the internationalisation of universities. It implies that the universalization is not opposite to nationalisation, like Kerr described. Therefore, it is not always the case that if academic staff and students agree with the universalization, they should disagree with nationalisation.

The empirical data showed that the opinions of academic staff and students differed from university to university. This indicates that the historical and social background of the universities could influence the differences. For example, the Catholic University of Leuven has a higher score on the nationalisation. This is not a surprise given the historical background of education in Belgium. Belgium is a geographical bilingual country. People in the northern part speak Dutch, and people in the southern part speak French. In the eastern part, there is also a small German speaking region. The Catholic University of Leuven is situated in the Dutch speaking region (Flemish). In this region, the French language used to be the language of education. French, therefore, was the language of educated elites in Flanders. It is about fifty years ago that they have shifted from French to Dutch as educational language, and the Flemish want to maintain the Dutch as their native language. This makes the academic staff and students of the Catholic University of Leuven react highly on the nationalisation.

Among the Asian countries concerned, the University of Malaya and the National University of Singapore have lower scores on the nationalisation. The population of Malaysia and Singapore are multi-racial, multi-cultural, multi-religious, and multi-lingual. The three main races in these countries are Malays, Chinese, and Indians. The creation of national identity is said to be the problem of multi-racial countries. This is a possible reason why the academic staff and students of these two universities react lower on nationalisation.

For Thailand, the academic staff and students of Chulalongkorn University reacted highly on both scales, the universalization and nationalisation. This is because the internationalisation of universities in Thailand has been widely promoted by the Ministry of University Affairs since 1989. The internationalisation of universities has been stated as a goal of the Long-Range Plan of Thai universities. Moreover, Thai universities have four main functions, to teach, to seek for knowledge, to service the community, and to conserve the national heritage and culture. It is, therefore, the responsibility of Thai universities to promote both universalization and nationalisation.

It is expected that developing countries would agree on the internationalisation of universities. This is because the internationalisation of universities is seen as the mean to transfer technology from the more developed countries to the less developed countries. It then could be seen from the results that the Asian universities are more likely to agree with the universalization than the European universities. However, the other possible reason is that the European countries put priority on Europeanization rather than internationalisation throughout the world.

For the English domination, each university reacted differently into all directions. It is surprising that the University of Amsterdam reacted to the English domination differently from the National University of Singapore. Though, the Netherlands and Singapore are trade countries, and English is, at present, accepted to be a trade language. However, this finding agrees with the study of Cha (1995) which found that the individual national characteristics seem to play an insignificant role in the world-wide expansion of English in the school curriculum. Therefore, a further study about the social backgrounds of the universities is needed in order to understand these differences.

Most publications on the internationalisation issue indicate that the internationalisation of universities differs according to various fields of study. From the results, it can be seen that the academic staff and students in the fields of Sciences and Medical Sciences are more likely to agree with the universalization and the English domination than those in the field of Arts and Social Sciences. However, the differences among fields of study are remarkably small. This implies that fields of study are becoming less important for the differences of the internationalisation of universities.

The general findings in this study indicate that the internationalisation of universities differs from university to university. The causes of differences are due to social backgrounds rather than the fields of study. Although the academic staff and students agree with the universalization, this does not mean that they discard the nationalisation. Therefore, the tendency of internationalisation of universities ending with the universalization as it used to be in former time is not foreseeable. The possibility that the English language will become a common scholarly language as a consequence of internationalisation is also not clearly foreseeable.

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Table 1 Number of samples by status, sex, faculties, and universities

Universities	UvA	UL	CU	UM	NUS	Total
Status:						
Academic Staff	218	151	183	168	147	867
Students	213	301	331	211	210	1266
Total:	431	452	514	379	357	2133
Sex:						
Male	241	284	226	211	223	1185
Female	211	147	288	168	134	948
Total:	431	452	514	379	357	2133
Faculty:						
Arts	71	54	102			
				123	121	791
Social Sciences	85	139	96			
Law	80	80	82	44	56	342
Sciences	90	76	137	122	116	531
Medical Sciences	105	103	97	100	64	469
Total:	431	452	514	379	357	2133

Note:

UvA = University of Amsterdam of the Netherlands

KUL = Katholieke University of Leuven of Belgium

CU = Chulalongkorn University of Thailand

UM = University of Malaya of Malaysia

NUS = National University of Singapore of Singapore

For UM and NUS, Faculty of Arts and Faculty of Social Sciences are organized into one faculty, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences.

Table 2 Mean differences in total scores by universities

University	Mean	Sd	F	Prob.
University of Amsterdam	3.36	.35	84.96	.00
Kath. Univ. of Leuven	3.26	.31		
Chulalongkorn University	3.57	.37		
University of Malaya	3.61	.33		
Nation. Uni. of Singapore	3.53	.30		

Table 3 Mean differences in total scores by fields of study

Field of study	Mean	Sd	F	Prob.
Arts and Social Sciences	3.45	.35	2.41	.06
Law	3.43	.38		
Sciences	3.48	.36		
Medical Sciences	3.49	.35		

Table 4 Factor loadings for total samples

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
12. All programmes should be	.73	-.03	-.07
handled in English.	.73	-.07	.05
14. Universities should create	.65	.07	.10
more courses teaching in English.	.61	.01	.17
25. Internationalization should aim			
at international competition.	.56	.25	-.07
05. Teachers and students should			
have international experience.	.55	-.18	.16
13. Teaching in English will help	.54	.00	.29
teachers and students keeping pace			
with advanced knowledge.	.52	-.06	.01
03. Universities should serve the	-.10	.62	-.01
universal truth rather than the	.30	.62	-.14
nation's			
purposes.	.06	.60	-.11
23. To distribute knowledge			
widely, reports must be written in	-.34	.60	.10
English.	.21	.47	-.08
21. Language for communication	-.02	.46	.10
among scholars should be two or			
three international languages.	.40	.41	.02
16. All programmes should be	-.06	.34	.11
handled only in the native			
languages.	.24	.26	.19
04. Having extensive international	-.20	-.02	.73
relations makes a nation's culture	-.01	.01	.63
vanish.	.01	.03	.61
17. Teaching all programmes in	.03	.07	.53
English will create an educated			
élite in societies.	.14	.04	.52
18. Teaching all programmes in a	.06	.06	.51
foreign language will damage the			
native languages.	.19	-.11	.36
06. In the future, a single	.19	-.10	.31
university model may be needed.			
20. There should be diversity of	4.78	2.55	1.70
university models.	19.1	29.3	36.1

15. Undergraduate programmes should be conducted only in the native languages.	1.00 .00	1.00	
19. Teaching in English should be only in upper courses.	.30	-.08	1.00
02. Universities should be places where teachers and students come from various countries.			
11. English has become the worldwide dominant language of knowledge.			
08. University collaborations need a common language for communication.			
10. Graduates should be competent in English.			
07. Graduates should handle at least two languages.			
24. English is an important tool to access and contributes to knowledge worldwide.			
09. English could be a common university langauge.			
22. University curricula should introduce more global perspectives and understanding of other cultures.			
01. University studies should be comparable to the international level.			
Eigenvalue			
Cumulative variance			
Factor correlation matrix:			
F1			
F2			
F3			

Table 5 Mean differences in factor variables by universities

Universities	Universali-zation	Nationali-zation	English Domination
University of Amsterdam	-0.85	-0.16	0.23
Kath. University of Leuven	-0.90	0.16	0.12
Chulalongkorn University	1.14	0.29	-0.34
University of Malaya	0.18	-0.16	0.25
National Univ. of Singapore	0.33	-0.25	-0.19
F	771.65	25.24	30.05
Prob.	.00	.00	.00

Table 6 Mean differences in factor variables by fields of study

Fields of study	Universali-zation	Nationali-zation	English Domination
Arts & Social Sciences	0.01	-0.04	-0.08
Law	-0.07	0.04	-0.04
Sciences	0.12	0.07	0.02
Medical Sciences	-0.11	-0.05	0.15
F	4.57	1.77	4.78
Prob.	.00	.15	.00

Figure 1 Mean differences in universalization and nationalization variables among different universities

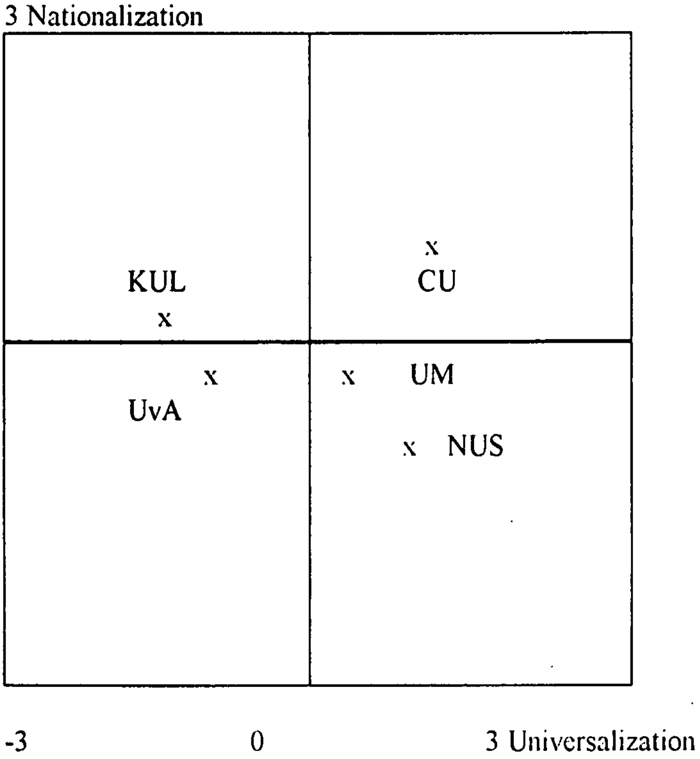
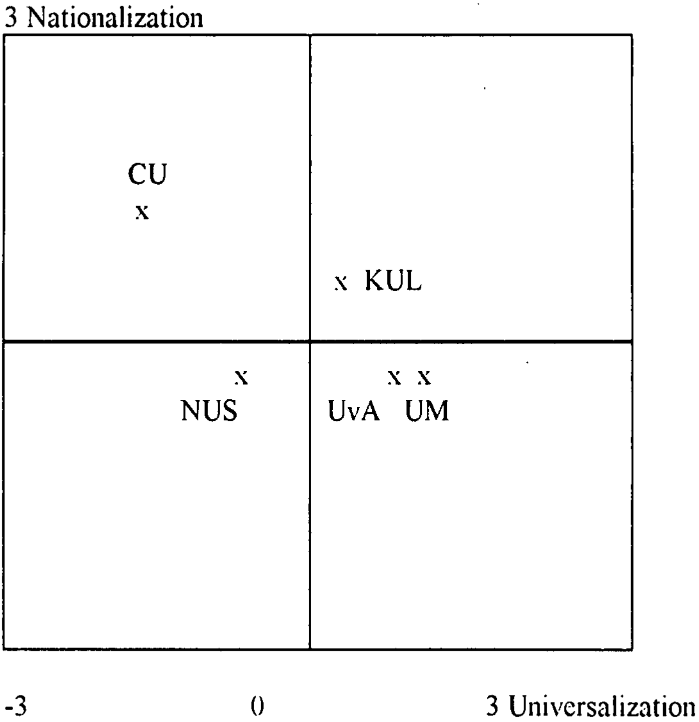


Figure 2 Mean differences in nationalization and English domination variables among different universities



UvA = University of Amsterdam of the Netherlands

KUL = Katholieke University of Leuven of Belgium

CU = Chulalongkorn University of Thailand

UM = University of Malaya of Malaysia

NUS = National University of Singapore of Singapore

Figure 3 Mean differences in universalization and nationalization variables among different fields of study

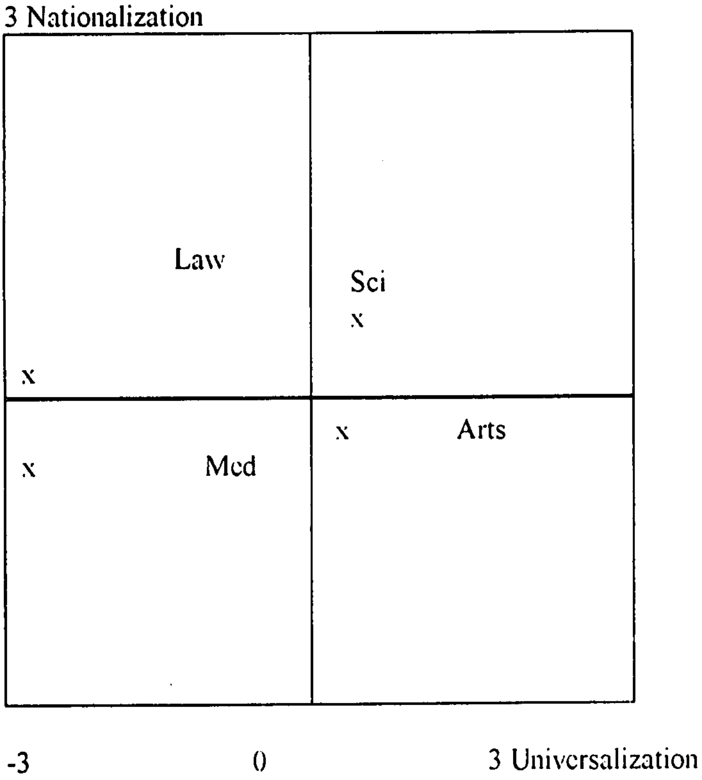
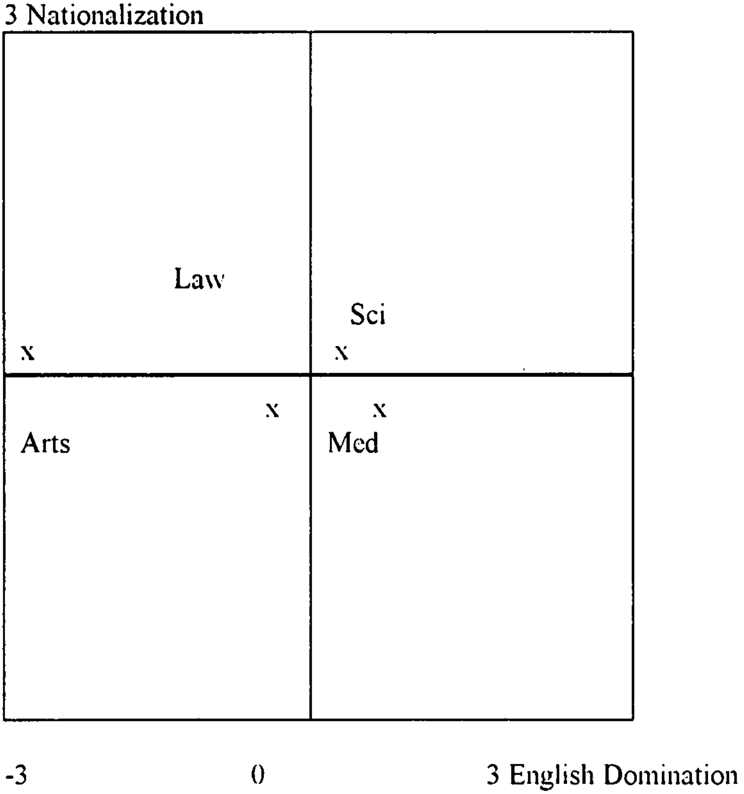


Figure 4 Mean differences in nationalization and English domination among different fields of study



Note:

Arts = Arts and Social Sciences

Law = Law

Sci = Sciences

Med = Medical Sciences

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NESA-Steering Committee

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