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UNDERSTANDING FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE TEACHERS' ACCEPTANCE OF TECHNOLOGY AND ACTUAL COMPUTER USE FOR TEACHING: THE CASE OF GREECE

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Abstract – *During the past few decades, governments worldwide have been actively promoting the use of information and communication technologies in schools because of their potential to enhance teaching and learning. Despite several policies undertaken towards this end, the adoption of new technologies by teachers remains controversial. Teachers' attitudes influence technology acceptance and actual usage in education. This paper introduces a new instrument that measures teachers' attitudes towards computer use. The instrument, named the Attitude Scale towards Computer Use for Teaching (ASCUT), was developed following the Technology Acceptance Model and it contains four subscales: perceived usefulness, perceived ease of use, satisfaction expected and teacher's image. It was completed by 450 Greek primary and secondary school teachers. Confirmatory factor analysis was used to validate it. Internal consistency reliability was found to be high. The role of demographic, end-user background and environmental variables on teachers' attitudes were examined as well as the effect of attitudes on actual usage.*

Introduction

*T*he move of contemporary societies to a new phase of technological development has been signalled in various ways in sociological literature. Three decades ago Bell (1973) announced the arrival of what he called 'post-industrial societies'. Later, scholars such as Manuel Castells and Anthony Giddens spoke of 'information societies' (see Webster, 2003). The popular term nowadays has become 'knowledge societies' (Cartelli, 2006). All these terms refer, in some way or another, to computer-linked technologies that support information-based economies. Such a major development cannot leave education unaffected: many facets of education systems—such as curricula, infrastructure and organizational modalities—have been transformed in unprecedented ways to bring the school classroom in line with developments in other areas of social activity.

This would have been the ideal development had schools and teachers not exhibited a kind of institutional conservatism towards change, which has been well described by Slater & Tashakkori (1991). Specifically, these authors indicate that observers of school reform typically point to teachers in explaining the slowness of educational reform. According to Hu, Clark & Ma (2003), despite the fact that the role of information technology in education has significantly increased, resistance to technology by public school teachers worldwide remains high. Similarly Ma, Anderson & Streith (2005) recognize that the use of computer technology in schools has made slow progress since the mid-1980s even though governments had been generous in funding their introduction both in terms of infrastructure and training of teaching personnel.

In Europe the integration of ICT in education has been central in policies drawn by many countries (Eurydice, 2001), and after the realization of the slow impact of these policies, more detailed data began to be collected regarding the particularities of ICT use in education (Eurydice, 2004). Research points to the fact that teachers not only fail to effectively integrate information and communication technologies (ICTs) in their teaching, but they tend to stick to traditional methods of delivering lessons (Aldullah, Abidin, Su Luan, Majid & Atan, 2006; Dawes, 1999; Seyal, Rahman & Rahim, 2000; Underwood, 1997). Addressing teacher's attitudes towards ICTs becomes a pressing issue in view of the fact that younger generations are often more susceptible to their introduction and usage and it is only when teachers have share similar attitudes with their students that the integration of the new technologies in the classroom becomes feasible.

The introduction of ICTs in the Greek educational system has been one of the major innovations during the past few years. However, as Kiridis, Drossos & Tsakaridou (2006) remark, this introduction has been spasmodic. During this period schools have been equipped with ICT hardware and large scale teacher in-service training programmes have been implemented (Markakis, 1997; Papanikolaou & Tzimoyiannis, 2005; Roussos, Karmanis, Tsaousis & Politis, 2000) whose quality and effectiveness though, have been questioned (Kiridis *et al*., 2006). In this framework and despite the latter comment, one might have expected that the use of ICTs in the Greek schools would be a growing feature of everyday pedagogy.

The reality, however, as argued by a number of researchers and academics, is that computer use is limited and in some cases non-existent (e.g., Koustourakis & Panayiotakopoulos, 2008, Paraskeva *et al*., 2008). In order to examine ICT usage, the investigation of the role of teachers' attitudes towards ICTs for teaching was thought to be vital. In fact, studies in Greece and elsewhere have pointed to the fact that positive attitudes towards ICTs appear to be generally a good predictor of

whether teachers will eventually use these new technologies (Mitra, 1998; Rozell & Gardner, 2000; Paraskeva *et al.*, 2008; Roussos, 2007; Kotsambasaki & Ioannides, 2004; Tzimoyiannis & Komis, 2004).

Accepting technology in schools

The theoretical framework of the present study is largely based on the Technology Acceptance Model (TAM). TAM (see Figure 1) was specifically designed to explain individual technology acceptance and use across a wide range of organizational contexts, computer technologies, and user populations (e.g., Davis, 1989; Venkatesh & Davis, 2000). TAM postulates that two particular beliefs, perceived usefulness and perceived ease of use, are of primary relevance for computer acceptance behaviours.

FIGURE 1: The Technology Acceptance Model (TAM)
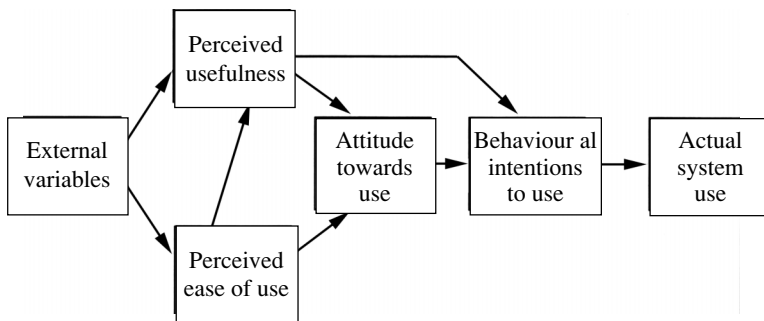
TAM provides a basis for tracing the impact of external factors on internal beliefs, attitudes and intentions. Several researchers have been using it to address computer acceptance behaviours in different contexts and have adapted it to suit these contexts. In addition, Harrisson & Rainer (1996), Al-Gahtani & King (1999), and Wixan & Todd (2005) have expanded the model combining the technology acceptance literature with the user satisfaction literature. Also more recently, Legris, Ingham & Collerette (2003) pointed to the fact that even though TAM has been a useful model to examine ICT usage, it needs to include other variables as well.

Following this suggestion and in an effort to extend the TAM model to provide deeper explanations for computer technology acceptance for teaching in Greece a new instrument was developed and examined. This new research instrument was constructed to assess teachers' attitudes towards computer use for teaching as part of a European Union and Greek government co-funded project (under the Pythagoras II initiative). The main objective of this paper is to present the

construction of this new instrument designed for measuring teachers' attitudes towards computer use for teaching within an extended TAM framework. At the same time it was important to investigate factors that contributed to the formation of teachers' attitudes and the role of attitudes on actual usage. More specifically the research questions for the present study were:

– What are teachers' attitudes towards computer use for teaching?
– What are the factors that influence teachers' attitudes towards computer use for teaching?
– To what extent do teachers' attitudes towards computer use for teaching affect their actual usage of computers in the classroom?

A number of hypotheses were then formulated taking into account possible characteristics of teachers/users that could lead to a diversified use of ICTs. These included the role of demographic variables (gender and age), end-user background variables (experience, ownership of computer, training), work-related variables (teaching experience), and environmental variables (availability of computers and access to computers in schools).

Research hypotheses

H1: Gender will have a significant effect on teachers' attitudes. We predict that men will have more positive attitudes than women.

H2: Age will be an important factor for predicting teachers' attitudes. We hypothesize that the older the teacher, the less positive his/her attitudes will be.

H3: Having a personal computer at home will be a determinant variable of teachers' attitudes. We hypothesize that teachers who own a personal computer will have more positive attitudes towards computer use for teaching.

H4: Experience in computer use will be an important factor for predicting teachers' attitudes. We predict that the more experienced in computer use a teacher is (measured in years of experience of computer use), the more positive his/her attitudes will be.

H5: Training in computers will have a significant influence on teachers' attitudes. We expect that trained teachers will have more positive attitudes.

H6: Teaching experience will be an important factor for predicting teachers' attitudes. We predict that novice and veteran teachers will not have very positive

attitudes towards using computers for teaching, but for different reasons; novice teachers have too many things to handle in their new profession, especially discipline, and veteran teachers have already an established teaching style and might be very reluctant to change.

H7: Computer availability at school will be a factor that shapes teachers' attitudes. We predict that teachers who work in schools that have computers which are easily accessed by them and their students, will have more positive attitudes towards computer use for teaching.

H8: Teachers' attitudes will have a significant effect on teachers' actual computer usage for teaching. We hypothesize that the more positive teachers' attitudes are, the more teachers will be using computers for teaching.

Research methodology

Participants

The sample consisted of 293 female teachers and 157 male teachers. 258 of these teachers taught in primary schools (90 male and 168 female teachers) and 192 taught in secondary schools (67 male and 125 female teachers). The schools were located in seventeen out of the 52 districts of Greece. The participants mean age was 41.47 years (SD= 7.28). Their teaching experience ranged from 1 to 34 years (mean 14.58 years, SD= 8.17) and their computer experience ranged from 0 to 23 years (mean 5.66 years, SD= 5.12). The majority of the participants (373 of them) had their own personal computer and had training in computer use (353). Regarding computer availability, 385 teachers indicated that there was a computer lab at their school. Of those teachers who reported that there was a computer lab, 275 of them noted that they had easy access to the computer laboratory while 121 of them noted that the computer laboratory was not easily accessed to anyone who might want to use it. In addition, 70 teachers (35 from primary education and 35 from secondary education) noted that there were computer(s) in their regular classrooms whereas 367 teachers noted that there were not any computers in their regular classroom.

Research instruments

Demographic sheet: One page with demographic data was used to elicit personal information regarding demographic variables (gender and age), end-user background variables (computer ownership, training in computers and experience

in computer use), work-related variables (teaching experience and level of education), and environmental variables (computer availability and access at school).

ASCUT: The Attitude Scale towards Computer Use for Teaching (ASCUT) has a 5-point Likert-type response scale ranging from 'disagree a lot' to 'agree a lot'. It has seventeen positively worded items towards computer usage for teaching, which are scored from 1 to 5, and eleven negatively worded items towards computer usage, which are scored from 5 to 1. Thus high scores are indicators of positive views towards computer usage for teaching. The ASCUT has four subscales:

[a] The perceived usefulness subscale includes thirteen items that measure teachers' perceptions about the usefulness (or not) of computer use in teaching.

[b] The perceived ease of use subscale which includes six items that measure teachers' perceptions about how easy (or difficult) it is to use computers for teaching purposes.

[c] The satisfaction expected subscale (six items) that measures the level of enjoyment teachers believe they would gain from using computers for teaching.

[d] The teacher' image subscale which includes three items that measure how teachers perceive learners' appreciation of their teaching when it includes computer usage.

CUST: The Computer Use Scale for Teaching is a uni-dimensional scale developed specifically for Greek primary and secondary school teachers. It contains five items, one for each potential area of computer usage identified by several researchers (Becker, 2000; Hu, & Kuh, 2001; O'Dwyer, Russell, Bebell & Tucker-Seeley, 2005; Whitrow, 1999; Williams, Wilson, Richardson, Tuson & Coles, 1998). In particular the five items refer to computer usage by the teacher for lesson preparation and for preparation of educational materials (items 1 and 2), to computer usage in the classroom by teachers and learners (items 3 and 4) and to computer usage by learners at home based on teacher instructions (item 5). The CUST has a 7-point response scale ranging from 'almost never' to 'almost daily'. High scores are indicative of frequent computer usage whereas low scores are indicative of limited or no computer usage. For more information about the CUST, see Pavlou (2007).

The development of the Attitude Scale towards Computer Use for Teaching (ASCUT) underwent four steps. The first step in the construction of this new instrument was to determine clearly the concept under investigation. Therefore it was important to define precisely what was meant by 'attitudes towards computer use for teaching'. As it was elaborated in the introduction section ideas about how to conceptualise attitudes were sought from the technology acceptance model (Davis, 1989; Venkatesh & Davis, 2000) and from the area of user satisfaction literacy (Harrison &Rainer, 1996; Wixon & Todd, 2005). Thus, initially teachers' attitudes towards computer use for teaching were conceptualised in terms of *perceived usefulness*, *perceived ease of use* and *satisfaction expected.*

The second step was to construct a pilot scale. A pool of positive and negative statements about computer use for teaching purposes was gathered using both new items derived by two in-depth group interviews with primary and secondary school teachers and from existing well documented instruments, and in particular from instruments that adopted the technology acceptance model (TAM; Davies, 1986, Davis, Bagozzi & Warshaw, 1989; Hu *et al.*, 2003; Gefen & Straub, 1997; Ma *et al.*, 2005). Items that were adopted from other instruments were translated in Greek and adapted to the specific context of this study, that is, to teaching and learning situations. In this way 70 items were developed covering three domains: perceptions about the usefulness of computer use for teaching, perceptions about ease of use of computers for teaching, and satisfaction expected to be received by the teachers when using computers for teaching.

The third step was to test the pilot scale. The pilot scale was administered to 158 primary and secondary school teachers. In order to initially validate it, an empirical appraising of its underlying factor structure was performed using exploratory factor analysis. Several issues were examined, including the factorability of the correlation matrix. The Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant providing evidence for scale factorability. The principal components method of analysis was selected to examine the underlying dimensionality of the item set. Several factors were obtained as a result of this exploratory factor analysis. According to the scree test criteria the first four factors were retained. The eigen values of these factors were: 22.02, 5.98, 4.40 and 3.57. These values implied a four-factor structure for the pilot scale, explaining 47.23% of the total variance. Items with factor loadings less than .40 and items that simultaneously loaded high in multiple factors were deleted from the scale. Thus the items were reduced to twenty-eight. Because a fourth factor was not expected, the items included to this factor were given to an expert for external interpretation. The fourth factor was named, by the expert, as *teacher's image* and it included items

that reflected how teachers thought that their students perceived them according to computer usage. The expert also labelled the other three subscales. His labelling matched the initial labelling.

The fourth step was to validate the revised scale using a confirmatory analysis technique. The results of this procedure are the main focus of this paper and are presented in the results section.

Procedure

The snowball technique was used to gather the data. In particular 70 schools were selected and one teacher from each school was asked to act as a mediator between the authors and the schools for the collection and posting of the questionnaires. 45 schools/teachers responded to our call and participated in the study. The questionnaires were then sent by mail to the 'mediator' teachers who were responsible for distributing and collecting them. An average of ten teachers in each school completed the questionnaires on a voluntary basis. A total of 450 questionnaires were returned in closed envelopes to the 'mediator' teachers who forwarded them to the authors after the data collection period had expired.

Reliability

Cronbach's alpha coefficient was used to assess the reliability of ASCUT. The Cronbach's alpha score were: 0.86 for the perceived usefulness subscale, 0.70 for the perceived ease of use subscale, 0.80 for the satisfaction expected subscale, 0.74 for the teacher's image subscale and 0.89 for the total score.

Validity

The Amos 7 (Analysis of Moment Structures) software was used to perform a Confirmatory Factor Analysis in order to test whether the four-factor structure of the attitude scale was appropriate. In a Confirmatory Factor Analysis an a priori model is fitted on to the data. The model fit is evaluated by means of a Chi-square statistical test. The null hypothesis underlying the test statistic is model fit, thus significance implies misfit of the model (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1989). There are several fit indices that describe the fit of a model. Model fit is a multifaceted concept and no fit indices in isolation should be considered. Instead it is suggested that in order to build an overall understanding of the fit to the measurement model, one should use at least four fit indices. In evaluating our model we examined the Goodness-of-Fit Index (GFI; Raykov & Marcoulides, 2006) and the Comparative Fit Index (CFI; Bentler, 1990), in which values higher than 0.90 indicate a model

FIGURE 2: Path diagram of the model
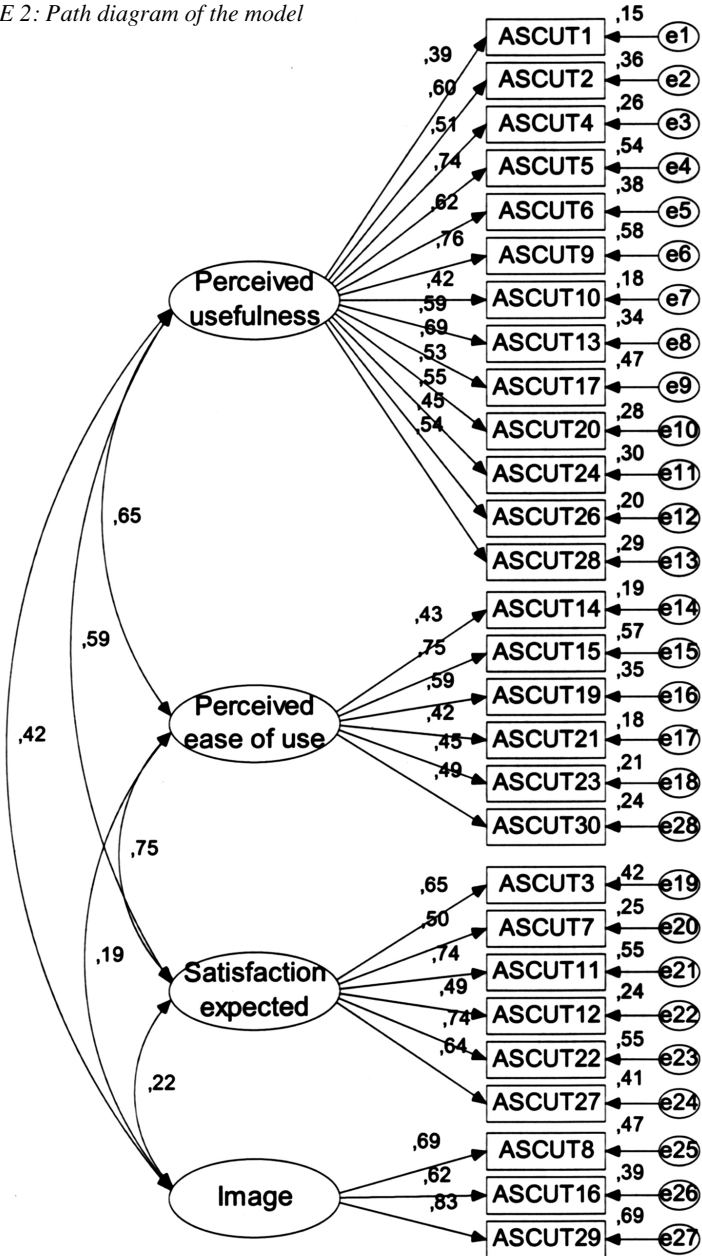
with a good fit, and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA; Hu & Betler, 1999), in which values less than 0.06 indicate a model with a good fit. In addition, the chi-square/degrees of freedom ($\chi 2/df$) indicator was examined. Generally a χ^2/df less than 3.0 is considered good.

The results indicate that there was a good fit with the theoretical framework of the four-factor model. More specifically, the factor structure of the applicant sample fitted the data well according to the chi-square/degrees of freedom and to the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation indices ($\chi^2(318, N = 450) = 802.829$; $\chi^2/df = 2.33$; $RMSEA = 0.05$). Moreover, the values of the Goodness-of-Fit Index and the Comparative Fit Index were very close to the cut off point of 0.90 ($CFI = 0.88$; $GFI = 0.88$). These results lead us to accept the model. This decision was supported by the modification indexes; if any covariance terms were to be added to the model, these would not result in an improvement of the fit indices.

The path diagram of the model is presented in Figure 2. In the diagram the correlations between the latent variables (subscales) are given. Standardized regression coefficients link the observed variables with the latent variables on the diagram. Twenty of them indicate a 'large' effect (values above 0.50) and eight have a 'medium' effect (values above 0.30). The R^2 value for the observed variables (items in the subscales) appears on the left side of their rectangle shape on the diagram. The R^2 value summarizes the proportion of variance in the manifested indicator that is accounted for by the latent variable. The R^2 values of the observed variables range from 0.15 to 0.58 for the perceived usefulness subscale, 0.18 to 0.57 for the perceived ease of use subscale, 0.24 to 0.55 for the satisfaction expected subscale, and 0.39 to 0.69 for the teacher's image needed subscale. The R^2 values further justify the validity of the instrument; that ASCUT measures what it supposes to measure.

TABLE 1: Means and standard deviations for ASCUT by gender

	Men (N=157)		Women (N=1293)		Range of scores
	M	SD	M	SD	
Perceived usefulness	51.25	6.98	49.81	7.19	13-65*
Perceived ease of use	19.20	3.93	18.12	3.73	6-30*
Satisfaction expected	21.07	4.79	18.73	4.69	6-30*
Teacher's image	9.97	2.58	9.96	2.41	3-15*
ASCUT total	101.50	13.83	96.62	13.91	28-140*

Note: * The higher the scores, the more positive are the views of the respondents towards computer use for teaching.

Research results

Descriptive statistics

The means and standard deviation of the ASCUT (total and subscales scores) are reported in Table 1. *What factors influence teachers' attitudes towards computer use for teaching?*

Several variables (demographic, end-user background, work-related and environmental variables) were tested to examine if they were influencing in a significant manner the scores of the ASCUT. This examination followed the hypotheses that were formulated in the introduction section and are presented in the same order below.

H1: Gender will have a significant effect on teachers' attitudes towards computer use for teaching

We hypothesized that men would have more positive attitudes than women. The results from the analysis provided support to our prediction. Particularly, t-tests showed that men believed more strongly than women that using computers for teaching was useful ($t = 2.058$, df= 448, p= .040), that computers were easy to use for teaching purposes (t= 2.858, df= 448, p= .004) and they also expected to derive more satisfaction from using them (t= 5.006, df= 448, p=0.000) than women. No differences were found for the teacher's image subscale (t= .063, df= 448, ns). A statistical significant difference was also reported for the total score of ASUCT with men receiving higher score indicating that they had more positive attitudes towards computer use for teaching ($t = 3,553$, df= 448, p=.000).

H2: Age will be related with teachers' attitudes.

We hypothesized that the older a teacher was, the less likely s/he would be to endorse computer use for teaching. Our hypothesis was partially confirmed. There was a significant, negative albeit weak correlation between teachers' age and their scores on the perceived usefulness subscale (Pearson correlation= -.149, p= .002), on the satisfaction expected subscale (Pearson correlation= -.179, p= .000) and on the total scores (Pearson correlation= -.155, p= .001).

H3: Having a personal computer at home will be a determinant variable on teachers' attitudes.

We predicted that teachers who owned a personal computer would have more positive attitudes towards computer use for teaching. This hypothesis was also

confirmed. Teachers who owned a personal computer believed more about its usefulness ($t= 5.74$, df= 440, p= .000), about its ease of use ($t= 4.34$, df= 440, p= .000), expected to be more satisfied from a forthcoming use ($t= 5.28$, df= 440, p= .000) and felt that computer use was important for teachers' image ($t= 2.09$, df=103, equal variance is not assumed, p= .39). Consequently there was a significant difference between those teachers who owned a computer and those who did not own a personal computer for the total scores of ASCUT ($t = 6,357$, df= 440, p=.000).

H4: Experience in computer use will be related with teachers' attitudes.

Computer experience was measured in years of computer use. We hypothesized that the more experienced in computer use teachers were, that is the more years of experience of computer use they had, the more positive their attitudes would be. That proved to be the case for the perceived usefulness subscale (Pearson correlation= .334, p= .000), for the perceived ease of use subscale (Pearson correlation= .255, p= .000), for the satisfaction expected subscale (Pearson correlation= .530, p= .000) and for the total score (Pearson correlation= .483, p= .000). No significant differences were noted for the teacher's image subscale (Pearson correlation= .088, ns).

H5: Training in computers will have a significant influence on teachers' attitudes.

We expected that teachers who received computer training would have more positive attitudes towards computer use for teaching. Our hypothesis was confirmed for the perceived ease of use subscale ($t= 2.92$, df= 440, p= .004), for the satisfaction expected subscale ($t= 3.19$, df= 440, p= .002) and for the total score ($t= 2.57$, df= 440, p= .01).

H6: Teaching experience will be an important factor for predicting teachers' attitudes.

We predicted that there would be a cullivear relationship between teachers' attitudes and years of teaching experience, that is novice and veteran teachers will have less positive attitudes towards using computers for teaching than other teachers. In order to analyze the effect of teaching experience on attitudes toward computer use for teaching a curve estimation regression analysis was performed for each of the subscales and for the total ASCUT score. Subscale scores and the total score represented the dependent variables, and teaching experience measured

in years (range 1–34) represented the independent variable. In total, 5 single curve estimation regression analyses were performed (4 subscales + 1 total). Within each analysis, the data were tested for linear and quadratic regression models (which had been indicated by scatterplots of the data). The analysis indicated that both the linear and the quadratic model of regression result in significant relationships between teaching experience and attitudes (see Table 2) for the two subscales (perceived usefulness and satisfaction expected) and for the total score. In particular the results showed a quadratic relationship in the perceived usefulness subscale, the satisfaction expected subscale and in the total score between attitudes and teaching experience thus partially confirming our hypothesis; teachers with 'middle' teaching experience showed the most positive attitudes.

TABLE 2: Results of the curve estimation regression analysis

Scale	Regression model	$R2$	*df*	*F*-value
Perceived usefulness	Linear	.029	442	13.12***
	Quadratic	.044	221	10.06***
Perceived ease of use	Linear	.004	442	1.71
	Quadratic	.004	221	.92
Satisfaction expected	Linear	.026	442	11.81**
	Quadratic	.026	221	5.89**
Teacher's image	Linear	.007	442	3.01
	Quadratic	.012	221	2.68
Total ASCUT score	Linear	0.30	442	13.67***
	Quadratic	0.36	221	8.25***

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

H7: Computer availability at school will be a significant factor that shapes teachers' attitudes.

Three questions were asked in order to examine computer availability at school: a) whether there were computers in regular classrooms, b) whether there were computer labs in schools and c) whether there was easy access to the computer lab whenever teachers wished to use it. T-tests showed that teachers who had computer(s) in their regular classrooms had more positive attitudes towards computer use than those who did not have computer(s) in their classrooms (Perceived usefulness: $t= 4,732$, df=435, p= .000; Perceived ease of use: $t= 5,266$,

TABLE 3: Regression analysis for Computer Use Scale for Teaching' scores

Predictors	Model I		Model II		Model III		Model IV		Model V	
	Beta	Sig.	Beta	Sig.	Beta	Sig.	Beta	Sig.	Beta	Sig.
Age	-.258	.000	-.174	.000	-.247	.004	-.182	.025	-.208	.006
Gender	-.211	.000	-.050	.279	-.055	.239	-.026	.550	-.014	.738
Training			-.032	.467	-.034	.432	-.030	.465	-.021	.581
Ownership			-.176	.000	-.174	.000	-.176	.000	-.121	.003
Experience			.455	.000	.451	.000	.356	.000	.258	.000
Teaching experience					.078	.347	.052	.509	.116	.114
Computers in classrooms							-.291	.000	-.226	.000
Computer lab							-.036	.401	-.041	.300
Ease of access to computer lab							-.070	.101	-.044	.263
Attitudes towards Computer Use for Teaching									.341	.000
R^2	.088		.354		.356		.442		.527	

df= 435, p= .000; Satisfaction expected: t= 9,338, p= .000; Teacher's image: t= 2,859, df= 435, p= .004; Total: t = 7,597, df= 435, p= .000). The existence or not of a computer laboratory was not a determinant factor for teachers' attitudes; no significant differences were found between teachers' attitudes whose schools had a computer lab and those whose schools did not have a computer lab. However, statistically significant findings were noted between the teachers who had easy access to the computer lab and the teachers who did not have easy access to the computer lab. As predicted, those who had easy access had more positive attitudes towards computer use for teaching (Perceived usefulness: t= 2,322, df=394, p= .021; Satisfaction: t= 2,500, df=394, p= .013; Total: t = 2,596, df= 394, p= .010).

H8: Teachers' attitudes will have a significant effect on teachers' actual computer usage for teaching.

A regression analysis was carried out in order to investigate the extent to which teachers' attitudes as well as other variables (demographic, end-user background,

work-related, and environmental) affect teachers' actual computer usage for teaching purposes. The hierarchical regression analysis technique was used and variables were grouped in five blocks. They were then entered consecutively to the model to get to a final stage where all variables appeared in the model (see Table 3). Model I includes only the demographic variables. Model II includes demographic and end-user background variables. In Model III the work-related variables are introduced. In Model IV the environmental variables are added. The attitudinal variables (teachers' attitudes towards computer use for teaching) are introduced in the last stage. Model V includes all variables. In Model V the variables accounted for the 53 percent of the total variance of the scores of the Computer Use Scale for Teaching. In particular the attitudinal variables increase the amount of variance explained from 44.2% to 52.8%. In the last step (Model V), five variables exert a significant effect on computer use; the attitudinal variable (as measured with ASCUT) ($\beta = 0.341$, p<0.001), the computer in classrooms variable ($\beta = -0.226$, p<0.001), the experience variable ($\beta = 0.258$, p<0.001), followed by age ($\beta = -0.208$, p=0.006) and the ownership variable ($\beta = -0.121$, p=0.003).

Discussion

Results indicate that the scale developed to assess computer attitudes (ASCUT) in the Greek schools is a reliable and valid instrument that can be applied in research projects both in the Greek educational contexts and possibly in other social and educational contexts. The instrument has acceptable levels of reliability and validity and therefore can be used to build a database for teachers' attitudes towards computer use for teaching. The reliability of the four subscales is demonstrated at a high level on the basis of internal consistency as determined by Cronbach's Alpha. The Confirmatory Factor Analysis indicates that there is a good fit of the model and that the four key dimensions (subscales) identified are supported by the data. Importantly, teachers' attitudes, as measured by ASCUT, appear to be the most influential predictor of actual usage in the classroom thus providing a powerful means to explain the limited usage of computers in Greek schools today.

As hypothesized, gender does relate to attitudes towards computer use. This is in line with a large body of literature that points to the fact the new technologies are gendered (see Green, 2001 and Whitley, 1997) and with recent research conducted in Greece examining Greek teachers' attitudes towards computers (Roussos, 2007). Male teachers more than their female colleagues appear to regard computers as a more useful tool for teaching, as a tool which is easy to use and

from which they can expect to gain satisfaction when they use it. In view of the fact that the teaching profession in Greece, as elsewhere, is becoming a female dominated profession the need to target the stereotypical perception of men being more able to interact with this tool becomes paramount for successfully integrating ICTs in schools. And this is probably something that needs to start not just from teachers' initial training programs but also from children's education at the early stages of their socialization processes.

Even though the relationship between age and attitudes towards computer use was weak the fact that such relationship exists was to some degree expected and can be straightforwardly interpreted along two interconnected lines of explanation. One being that older teachers are less susceptible to innovations and change and the other which points to the fact that older age groups appear to be less integrated in the information society as cross national surveys point time after time (see for example the latest European Social Survey, 2006). Older teachers in this study believed less in computers' usefulness for teaching and did not expect to be as satisfied as younger teachers from a forthcoming use of computers. It is frequently noted that older teachers value innovations less positively than their younger colleagues (Huberman, 1988). However, this finding contradicts the results from a research conducted in Greece during the last few years (Roussos, 2007) which did not support the hypothesis that younger people had more positive attitudes than older people towards computers. Although teaching experience and age are highly interrelated, we cannot automatically deduce that the relationship between teaching experience and attitudes is similar to the relationship between age and attitudes. In fact, as shown by our analysis, a cullivear relationship exists between teachers' attitudes and years of teaching experience indicating that not only teachers with many years of teaching experience but also novice teachers did not have very positive attitudes towards computer use for teaching. Teaching experience can be connected with teachers' vision about teaching and learning strategies but because teaching and learning are complex concepts one cannot detect a linear relationship between these two. For example, one would expect that young teachers will be more familiar with current learning theories, such as teaching children 'how to learn', have a broad vision on 'learning to learn' and embrace innovations towards this end, including the use of new technologies. However, this is not always the case as Waeytens, Lens & Vandenberghe have shown (2002). Often, young teachers are preoccupied by other issues such as discipline issues and time needed for preparation.

Having a personal computer and using it for a long time is bound to have positive effects on attitudes towards computer use. For one, regular and long term interaction would more likely disprove myths that denote that one needs to have

specialized knowledge and abilities to use these new technologies. Moreover, it would make teachers view the availability of these new technologies in schools in a favourable way regardless of whether they actually exist in a school or not. Positive effects on attitudes towards computer use also exist in teachers who received training as part of specialized programs organized by the Greek government. In that respect, even though as was commented earlier, there are doubts as to the quality of these programs, they appear to at least contribute in shaping positive attitudes to the use of computers. Of course as it turned out training was not an important direct factor that predicted actual computer use for teaching purposes. This is particularly interesting and to some degree verifies the arguments of Kiridis *et al.* (2006). Besides, computer availability was important in shaping teachers' attitudes. The results indicated that having computer labs was not the crucial issue. Having access to the labs was more important as having computers in regular access. This result suggests that probably it is not the best policy to install large labs in schools and it concurs with the study of Reynolds, Treharne & Trip (2003).

So, in view of the above, how can one provide broader explanations about the limited use of ICTs in the Greek schools for teaching and learning? Certainly positive attitudes do help but as widely acknowledged changing people's attitudes is a long term process and involves the cultivation of a certain kind of professional ethos that includes for examples the integration of ICTs in schools which at the moment seems to be absent. In the meantime short to medium term initiatives could be introduced with regard to shaping a different environment in schools among teachers and administrators that could pave the way for better integration of ICTs in schools. Such initiatives could include further investment in technical support, production of relevant material and importantly constant mentoring of in-service teachers in order to overcome cultural, psychological and other barriers and to offer them the kind of practical expertise needed to make ICT an everyday reality of the Greek school.

Conclusion

Overall the expanded model of TAM has been a valuable starting point to evaluate the current state of ICT integration in the Greek educational system. There are important policy implications that emerge from our research pointing to possible action that should be taken by policy makers to actively encourage ICTs for teaching learning purposes. It appears that initial funding to create basic infrastructure and training programs alone cannot facilitate the successful transition of the Greek educational system to the knowledge age. Teachers'

attitudes need to change, a task which is neither straightforward nor easy to be achieved. A combination of initiatives and policies such as constant support and quality in-service training programs which would primarily aim to convey the value of bringing schools and teaching in the 21st century should be introduced. For example, flexible programs and curricula should be introduced that incorporate the innovations of modern technologies in a speedy and timely fashion taking into account the knowledge and expertise that students acquire by themselves.

From a macro-level perspective, there is a need for radical reforms to be introduced in relation to organizational cultures and the professional ethos among Greek teachers, and especially so among the younger generation. It is common knowledge that in the Greek social setting, many university graduates see the teaching profession as a safe employment route in the civil service. For many working class and lower middle class families in Greece, this constitutes a lifelong aspiration for securing the future of their children in a very tight labour market. Thus, one might speculate that if this is one of the primary reasons why many teachers eventually enter the profession, the prospects for ground breaking changes in the professional ethos of Greek public school teachers are grim. And this is so, because if they regard their job more as a position which primarily offers a secure income and steady working conditions rather than a challenging career which offers rewards (material and intrinsic) to those who actually wish to be in line with the developments of the modern era, how can policy makers' envisioned policies in relation to ICT integration in the educational system be implemented?

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IMPLEMENTING THE FIRST PALESTINIAN ENGLISH LANGUAGE CURRICULUM: A NEED FOR TEACHER EMPOWERMENT

DUA DAJANI
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Abstract – *The educational system in Palestine is totally unique. The Palestinians assumed control of their educational system only in 1994, following hundreds of years of outside rule. This educational system 'emerged against a backdrop of chronic crisis' (Nicolai 2007, p.20). A new Palestinian curriculum has been developed and introduced progressively since 2000. For the first time English language became a core subject starting from the first grade (age 6 years) in an educational system which traditionally introduced English as a curriculum subject only in grade five (age 11 years). This article describes the current situation of English Language Teaching in Palestinian schools. It consists of three distinct but interconnected parts. The first part introduces the Palestinian English Curriculum with a focus on English for Palestine series. The second part discusses teachers' preparedness to teach English and overviews English teachers development programs. The third part describes educational initiatives taken by Qattan Centre for Educational Research and Development (QCERD) in Ramallah to empower teachers to implement the new curriculum in more fun and effective ways. Finally some recommendations for future research are discussed.*

Introduction

*E*nglish language education in Palestine today faces serious challenges. With unmanageably large class sizes, virtually no resources, unreliable Internet access and unreasonably low salaries, there are few incentives for teachers to be motivated, energetic and creative in the classroom. Teacher dissatisfaction, combined with both a traditional methodological approach focusing on rote learning and repetition, and a school leaving exam (the Tawjihi) which has neither a listening nor a speaking component, has resulted in a local population which has generally poor communication skills in English.

The Palestinians, through generations of conflict and military occupation, have always placed emphasis on education as a means to a better future. For young Palestinians to be successful in today's global economy, they need to be articulate and artful communicators. The curriculum document construes the English

language as a key resource which can offer Palestinians a competitive edge in the world of global communications. In acknowledgment of its importance in global communications, English is now a core subject in the first Palestinian National Curriculum from the first grade (age 6 years). Although it was a challenging process for the Ministry of Education, cooperation with McMillan Education and a number of bilateral and multilateral donors led to the introduction, in 2000, of the first series of Palestinian English language textbooks for state schools. *English for Palestine* textbooks (published by McMillan in cooperation with the Curriculum Centre) represent one of many local initiatives aimed at improving the quality of English language education in Palestine.

In this paper we explore the ways in which the first English language curriculum and textbooks are impacting English language teaching in Palestine. We provide an overview of the *English for Palestine* Grade 3 textbook (age 9 years), discuss its points of strength and weakness, and describe teachers' perceived and real challenges in using the new textbooks. Finally, we detail a number of empowering initiatives taken by individual Palestinian teachers, in collaboration with us in our role as researchers at the Qattan Centre for Educational Research and Development (QCERD) in Ramallah, to implement the texts using communicative methods suitable for the young learner.

The first Palestinian English language curriculum: background[1]

The Palestinian English language curriculum is realized in the *English for Palestine* series of textbooks, which marks the first time the Palestinian people have had control over their educational destiny. From 1948, when Israel became a state and the West Bank fell under Jordanian control and the Gaza Strip fell under Egyptian control, Palestinian students studied the English language through the lens of Jordanian and Egyptian textbooks and cultural values, and those residing from now on in Israel fell under the Israeli educational system.

The year 2000 saw the introduction of the first Palestinian-designed textbooks for grades one (age 6 years) and five (age 11 years), and two new texts have been introduced each year since then. *English for Palestine* was warmly welcomed by school administrators and teachers, despite the challenge it posed to an educational system which traditionally introduced English as a curriculum subject only in grade five. The pupil's book and workbook for grades one to three are accompanied by a teacher's guide, a cassette, a set of flashcards (alphabet, numbers, etc.) and a set of large posters which serve as useful and colorful visual aids. The grades one to three textbook are designed around 24 one-week units, with three 45 minute lessons per unit. There are four unit types, each focusing on

a particular topic or function and rotated on a weekly basis so that skills are developed over time. The teacher's book provides guidelines for the teacher, showing that:

The unit of the first week:	Promotes listening and speaking skills by means of a "read and act out" activity.
The unit of the second week:	Promotes writing and reading skills through an *English Club* magazine page.
The unit of the third week:	Promotes listening and pronunciation via dialogue and song.
The unit of the fourth week:	Is an integrated skills unit utilizing project work.

When summarizing the aims and approach of the textbook series, the teacher's guide states that "*English for Palestine* provides a comprehensive and structured introduction to English. The language is carefully controlled and graded. Children will become involved in a wide range of classroom activities, promoting all four language skills. This will provide a solid foundation for further learning as they get older" (*English for Palestine*, Teacher's Book 3: 5).

The *English for Palestine* series of textbooks represents a solid first attempt at realizing a national curriculum. Indeed, the texts could be described as a departure from the traditional grammar-based ones characteristic of the region in general, in an attempt to adopt a communicative approach. The textbooks are aesthetically pleasing, using brightly colored pictures to convey information. The inclusion of a limited number of songs, games and projects in the texts has been received positively by teachers, students and parents. Despite reports of teachers' difficulties using the texts in the first year (primarily because of a lack of teacher-training programs), the Curriculum Development Centre[2] maintains that teachers, parents and the wider community are, overall, pleased with the new texts. However, a close reading of the texts, and a number of focus groups[3] with Palestinian teachers, suggest that teaching English in Palestine remains a challenge.

English for Palestine: Notes on a curriculum and textbooks

Textbooks and course materials for young learners should be the product of extensive research and thorough understanding of how children learn languages (Scott *et al*., 2004). The Palestinian Ministry of Education's curriculum document, drafted in 1999, exhibits in-depth knowledge of how children learn languages. Drawing on a range of theories of second language acquisition and learning, the curriculum document asserts an adherence to a number of general principles on

language learning and teaching, including, for example, the following concepts: language is functional; language acquisition occurs through meaningful use and interaction; language learning and teaching is shaped by student needs and objectives in particular circumstances; and, language learning should be fostered through the use of every possible medium and modality (English Language Curriculum Document, 1999: 2-5).

Based on widely accepted principles of second/foreign language learning and teaching, the Palestinian English curriculum is also informed by the curricula of neighboring Arab and other developing countries. The result is said to be "a model that is appropriate to Palestinian students" and which is "mainly consistent with the principles of learner-centered approaches to learning" (English Language Curriculum Document, 1999: 5). The curriculum goals, which focus on the learners' ability to "communicate freely and effectively in different situations and settings with native and non-native speakers" (English Language Curriculum Document, 1999: 5) reinforces the claim of communicativeness. The curriculum, as it is outlined in the curriculum document, fosters linguistic competence in the four language skills by providing opportunities for the learner to use acquired language structures and vocabulary items in thematic contexts and practice activities which represent the range of real-life situations and communicative functions the language has evolved to express.

The curriculum document displays an awareness of the most recent trends in ESOL (English for speakers of other languages) teaching, and knowledge of the importance of viewing English not only as a curriculum subject, but as a vehicle through which broader social and cultural values (both English speaking and Palestinian-Arabic speaking cultures) can be instilled, and critical and analytical thinking skills developed. However, the discussion of the grade three textbook will show how the curriculum's goals are not always successfully translated into practice in the *English for Palestine* pupils' book.

ESL textbooks for young learners should be "topic, content or story based" (Scott *et al.*, 2004: 277). It is difficult to determine if the *English for Palestine* textbook series is, indeed, topic/content or structure based. The units of the text vary between being organized around a theme (as in families, seasons, etc.) and a structure (obligations, plurals, going to, etc.). Within the unit itself, there seems to be an odd switching of topics. For example, one unit randomly switches from hobbies to telling the time (*English for Palestine*, Pupil's Book Grade 3: 7-8). It is, presumably, difficult for the children to follow and to focus when the lesson is so disjointed. In another example, the unit opens by drawing children's attention to the Old MacDonald song, yet the song is never sung, nor are animals included in the unit; instead, the children are asked to discuss vegetables in a market using prepositions of place (*English for Palestine*, Pupil's Book Grade 3: 16).

Although there is a clear attempt at making the textbook content based (families, seasons, likes/dislikes, transport, etc.), the same cannot be said of a story-based approach to learning. All children love stories, and all cultures tell stories. It seems then, that the use of stories in the ESL classroom would not only be fun and interesting for young learners, but also as would allow for more meaningful interactions. It would also positively influence children's language development, resulting in greatly improved literacy skills (Isbell *et al.*, 2004). A further benefit of story-based English lessons is that stories will naturally develop students' imagination, thinking skills, emotional intelligence and appreciation of other cultures (Al-Jafar & Buzzelli, 2004; Kelley, 2005). However, *English for Palestine* grades one to three textbooks contain no stories (picture or written). In one focus group with English language teachers and Ministry officials and administrators, it was a generally held opinion that stories are 'too difficult' for young children who have very limited knowledge of English. While discussing strategies for incorporating stories into the curriculum which use simplified language and detailed illustrations to aid comprehension, one administrator raised the point that 'the curriculum was not designed for the elite.' Such a perspective has resulted in a lost opportunity for the *English for Palestine* textbooks (grades one to three) to capitalize on child- centered teaching methods.

English for Palestine (grade 3) makes attempts at incorporating acceptable values. For example there is a lesson about class rules: you must come early, you must not come late, you must listen to the teacher, etc. At the bottom of the page a parrot reinforces these rules, saying 'you must obey the class rules' (*English for Palestine*, Pupil's Book Grade 3: 50).This lesson, emphasizes obedience and discipline. An alternative way, which we present to teachers in our workshops, is to tell the children a brief story about a naughty character in the class (the parrot, for example), and then to ask them to evaluate the behavior of that character. For example, 'screaming in the classroom' the children have to say either 'yes, yes, yes!' or 'no, no, no!' depending on their understanding of the classroom rules. This is a more fun way for setting classroom rules that requires pupils to be reflective decision-makers.

Effective ESL textbook will most likely revolve around tasks and activities which are both purposeful and meaningful for learners and will cater to diverse learning styles and intelligences (Scott *et al.*, 2004). One general comment that can be made about *English for Palestine* (grade 3) is that it has a serious limitation, in terms of pedagogical effectiveness and student motivation, in that it relies on a very small number of activity types. The main activities the students are asked to engage in are: listen and point, listen and say, count and say, and point and say. These exercises have little real communicative purpose and do not foster a great deal of cognitive development. They focus on memorization, rote repetition and

recall of isolated language chunks and do not provide students with the opportunity to use the language in any spontaneous or unfamiliar context.

In keeping student's interest level and motivation high, a useful strategy is to reflect the real interests of the learners by varying the types of activities engaged in, also by varying text types and using examples of real English that is relevant, useful and common to pupils' everyday lives (Scott *et al.*, 2004). In this regard, *English for Palestine* (grade 3) falls short. There is a very limited range of text types introduced in this book. The children are exposed primarily to postcards and letters, two text types which, incidentally, are not common in Palestine (the military occupation tends to impede postal delivery). Email as a text type would therefore be a more logical choice, both in terms of genre in English, and in terms of linking the English curriculum to aspects of technology addressed in other curriculum subjects. The context of the texts' *English Club* units, where the children are asked to write letters to children in England, provides an ideal opportunity to incorporate email into the textbook.

One other area that *English for Palestine* (grade 3) is weak in is providing opportunities for pupils' self-assessment. The gradual increase of student responsibility for assessment is part of developing students' autonomy as lifelong learners. Tools that help students to reflect on their learning are: learning logs, statement of goals, self-reflective captions on portfolio items and self-assessment rubrics (Panwar *et al.*, 2007). One strategy for incorporating these tools is project work. It is a credit to the *English for Palestine* grade 3 textbook that projects feature regularly. There are a few shortcomings, however, in the sense that the projects do not, in all cases, challenge the students or require them to use acquired language or skills in new contexts, work creatively or imaginatively.

Further still, the projects do not tend to have a real communicative purpose. For example, a school timetable activity is included just to have the students use new vocabulary items. The children could have been asked to personalize the language by writing a schedule for their dream- day at school and then share it with others!

The curriculum document repeatedly stresses that the goal of the Palestinian English curriculum is to give students the tools they need to be able to communicate. One way to reach this goal is to provide students with the opportunity to speak and listen, and therefore communicate, for real purposes. One of many ways *not* to reach this goal is to have students repeat language patterns in meaningless ways. The primary source of listening and speaking exercises/activities/tasks are derived from the dialogue that appears in the first lesson of every unit (with the *English Club* and revision units being the exceptions). The dialogues consist of four frames, each frame usually consisting of short utterances, or sometimes a full sentence. There are three main weaknesses

in the dialogues which lend themselves to merely practicing language patterns rather than providing real language models. The first is that, apart from sometimes being quite illogical, the dialogues cannot be considered as actually representing real, human dialogue. An example of this is Unit 15, Lesson 2:

> a. Hello Waleed. What are you doing?
> b. I'm running. I'm hot.
> c. What are Sami and Khalid doing?
> d. We are all running in a race.
> e. Waleed, you're the first. Well done, Waleed. Well done, Sami.
> f. I'm thirsty.
> g. I'm tired.

When read in conjunction with the pictures, it becomes clear how this dialogue is not consistent with natural dialogue (daily conversation). The first speaker asks the second speaker (Waleed) what he is doing, even though the first speaker has already seen Waleed running. Afterwards, the question is repeated, this time in reference to two other children who are also running. In this dialogue the question is not a question that seeks to discover unknown information (which is normally the case of real life questions). Instead, the question merely maps English words onto an already known context. Second, the dialogues exhibit none of the false starts, repetitions or other features common to natural spoken discourse (Eggins & Slade, 2005; Gilmore, 2004; Thornbury & Slade, 2006).

Related to this is the fact that the language in the dialogues does not seem to flow smoothly the way natural speech does, i.e. there appears to be no authentic communication taking place in the dialogues. Third, the dialogues fail to make use of a very good opportunity to show, at a very basic level appropriate to grade three, how language can express logical relationships using conjunctions and transitions. Each frame in the dialogue is, in a sense, isolated from the one preceding it. For example, looking again at the dialogue above, the final frame includes the statements *I'm thirsty* and *I'm tired*. The pictures give the meaning for the children, but the opportunity is not taken to show the causal relationship between running and feeling thirsty and tired. For example, the boys might have said 'I'm happy the race is over because I'm really thirsty'. In short, the dialogues, which are the basis of oral communication activities, neither provide a model of real-life communication, nor do they provide a real reason for communication. In order for the dialogues to be effective, teachers will have to develop their own strategies for creating meaningful speaking activities, such as having students work in pairs to describe or share similar experiences of running a race.

Songs provide a fun and effective way of practicing vocabulary and grammar, while implicitly focusing on pronunciation, stress and intonation. Children generally love to sing, integrating experiences with music in the early childhood classroom supports English language learners' literacy development. Paquette Rieg (2008) note that the value of fostering creativity and enhancing literacy instruction through music is vital in classrooms. Music can transform classrooms into positive learning environments where children thrive academically and emotionally. The teachers we have worked with all say that their students really enjoy singing the songs in *English for Palestine*. Although the songs do present a good attempt at using language in a fun, communicative way, there is still room for improvement. Generally speaking, the songs are poorly constructed and focus on a very small set of vocabulary items and often only one language structure. The songs are weak in providing opportunities for incidental learning (e.g. through repetition and context) of unknown language items. For example, the ice cream song in Unit 19 Lesson 3 focuses just on the theme of likes/dislikes by focusing on the formation and answering of yes/no questions. The song could have incorporated a number of different lexical items, such as the flavors vanilla, chocolate and strawberry. This is quite a logical suggestion because the picture accompanying the song is of a bowl containing three scoops of ice cream: chocolate, strawberry and vanilla. Furthermore, it would make the song more authentic, as the native speaker would ask about the flavor of ice cream someone likes, rather than simply whether or not s/he likes ice cream.

After looking closely at the textbook, it became apparent that effective implementation of the texts would require a teacher-training program focusing on ESL methodologies as well as on the specific learning styles and needs of the very young learner. Such a training program was designed by the textbook series editors; but, only two weeks into the start of the 2000 school year, the second Palestinian uprising for independence (the Intifada) erupted, halting all planned activities. Subsequent years saw the introduction of other textbooks as planned, but without the teacher-training program originally intended. Instead, introductory workshops for the texts were left to Ministry of Education and UNRWA English language supervisors. Unfortunately, many of the supervisors themselves had little experience with teaching very young learners of English. Although some training has been carried out, Palestinian English teachers generally have not benefited from the skills development necessary to effectively implement textbook material.

The next section gives a brief overview of the types of teacher-training currently available in Palestine, and provides a better understanding of teachers' abilities to implement the *English for Palestine* textbooks.

Implementation of the English curriculum: an overview of teacher-training programs in Palestine

Most English teachers in Palestinian schools are graduates of either the English Literature or Education departments in local universities, or of vocational training institutes run by the Palestinian Ministry of Higher Education or the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). If teachers are graduates of Literature departments, they will have had very little, if any, training in teaching methodologies. If they are graduates of Education departments, they will have had very few, if any, opportunities to improve their own English language competence. There is therefore the combined challenge of the majority of newly qualified teachers being unskilled in methods and having a very low level of English, sometimes lower than the level they will actually be teaching.

Any teacher-training programs which do offer a course on ELT methods are, unfortunately, focused on theory rather than feasible ideas for practical application in the classroom. An evaluation of teacher-training programs in Palestine finds that this focus on theory is not unique to English as a core curriculum subject; indeed, the study concludes that many programs are overly theoretical and neglect the practical dimension of real school settings. The study finds, moreover, that training focuses on the coverage of theories and facts more than developing critical and reflective practitioners (QCERD, 2001). Sabri (1997) calls for improvements in Palestinian teacher training programs, arguing that competencies related to the practical issues of classrooms are more important than other theoretical issues of education. Teacher-training programs in Palestinian universities should, Sabri (1997) argues, place more emphasis on classroom applications and teaching techniques rather than concepts and theories of learning.

If Palestinian teachers were equipped with solid English language teaching methodologies as pre-service teachers, they would presumably have the necessary skills and strategies to implement the textbooks in a communicative manner. They would be able, for example: to introduce vocabulary items using pictures, mime, gesture, realia, personalization, etc. which ensures students' comprehension and storage in the long-term memory; to utilize pair and group work activities which help to manage large classes and promote communication; and make the classroom more fun and more alive. In addition, a suitable teacher training program would train teachers to foster pupils' critical thinking skills and to provide plenty of opportunities to personalize the language. For example, teachers would learn to encourage the pupils to talk about themselves, their likes and dislikes, what they love, hate, and fear and then compare their answers with

each other. Teachers would learn to invite the children to talk about their challenges and successes in learning a language, and learn to encourage them to keep a little diary to note down their thoughts and opinions about each project or unit. Finally, teachers would learn to support the children to express themselves in English, using different modes of expression including drawing, stickers and puppets. All of these practices, introduced in a solid teacher-training program, would enhance pupils' thinking skills, develop their creativity and foster their emotional intelligence.

English for Palestine: the Teacher's Guide

As has just been described, Palestinian teachers who have graduated from local teacher-training programs are generally ill-equipped and unprepared to enter the classroom. The teacher's guide accompanying the pupil's book (for grade 3) is an invaluable resource, particularly for new teachers. The *English for Palestine* Teacher's Guide (for third grade) provides some useful teaching tips and encourages teachers to experiment with their classroom practices: teachers 'should feel free to vary the methodology according to what seems right for [their] class at any particular time' (Teachers' Guide 3, p. 5). Furthermore, the guide insists that any textbook is merely a tool, and that successful implementation depends on the teacher: 'Remember, no classroom material can be successful without an enthusiastic teacher who enjoys teaching' (Teacher's Guide 3, p. 5).

Teacher enthusiasm is a critical element of any classroom; however, the very real limitations of the teaching context in Palestinian schools (e.g. classes of 40 students in average, very few periods per week, and extremely limited access to native speaker resources) are not addressed by the Guide. In fact, one of the main limitations of the Guide is that there is not enough focus on helping teachers manage unreasonably large classrooms. Instead, there are a number of suggestions for classroom activities which are ill-suited to the Palestinian teaching context. One repeated suggestion throughout the guide is that teachers have one student come to the board and point to the correct word, or write the correct word. When classes have 40 students, and the dynamic is one in which only one student is involved at any time, it becomes impossible to maintain students' attention. The Guide could be a more useful tool for teachers if it made frequent mention of the benefit of group work and provided explicit instructions for implementing pair and/or group work activities.

Although the Teacher's Guide does encourage teachers to be flexible and adapt their ideas to their own teaching realities, two questions come to mind.

First, do teachers have the teaching confidence necessary to deviate from the Teacher's Guide and modify textbook material? Second, to what extent is teacher flexibility and adaptability actually supported in practice in schools by principals, Ministry/UNRWA supervisors and other officials? Throughout our focus groups, teachers regularly voice complaints that they are closely monitored (by principals, supervisors and parents) and must complete each and every activity, laboring on the language points in an uncommunicative way until every student has memorized everything. Based on our work with teachers and also the supervisors who have attended our workshops in the past, we can conclude that there is a gap between the desired classroom atmosphere (as revealed in the curriculum document) and actual teacher experiences. The concept of teacher autonomy is generally not followed-through in practice.

The next section will describe how a Palestinian educational NGO has worked in recent years to strengthen teaching skills, thus empowering teachers by developing their teaching confidence, and to work with administrators to raise awareness about the necessity of shifting from a traditional grammar-based classroom to a more communicative one.

Initiatives taken by Qattan Centre for Educational Research and Development to empower English language teachers

The Qattan Centre for Educational Research and Development (QCERD) is an independent Palestinian research institution whose primary mission is to assist teachers in acquiring new skills and improving their knowledge base. The QCERD is committed to promoting the highest standards of excellence in school-based education through action research and cooperative educational projects. In order to reach this goal, QCERD organizes educational workshops and training programs for in-service teachers in all disciplines in several educational fields, such as: enhancing pupils' thinking skills; matching teachers' methodologies with students' learning styles; developing emotional intelligence; and, using drama for better teaching and in other innovative educational themes. Researchers in QCERD have published several teacher guidebooks on these educational areas and several articles about their experiences. The Qattan Centre for Educational Research and Development (QCERD) has supported a number of practical initiatives aimed at strengthening teachers' capacities to adapt the textbooks and implement their content via communicative teaching strategies.

QCERD Initiative 1: Training in Communicative English Language Teaching methodologies

These initiatives began in the summer of 2002 with a core group of ten teachers. They attended a week long workshop which introduced them to key methods in communicative language teaching, and prompted them to reflect on their own practices in the classroom. Furthermore, the workshop provided an opportunity for teachers to examine a range of internationally-produced ESL textbooks, games and activities and, an opportunity to work together to devise ways of adapting materials to the specific classroom realities of Palestine. The workshop's feedback forms revealed that, for these teachers, the workshop brought to their attention, for the first time, the importance of using language to learn language, of managing large classes by group and pair-work activities, and of using child-centered activities (i.e. songs, games, play, Total Physical Response, etc.) in the primary classroom.

In the fall of 2002, this same group of teachers met again to share their experiences using their newly acquired skills and knowledge in the classroom. They all reported that the children loved the songs and games, and that they themselves were enjoying teaching more, but that two primary challenges remained: one, convincing the headmaster/mistress that a totally silent classroom where only the teacher talks will not lead to the students' ability to communicate in English; and two, that with only three 45-minute English classes per week, the curriculum itself is a challenge to complete, leaving absolutely no time for supplementary games and activities.

The second challenge was something that QCERD could address directly. Two strategies were adopted. First, the core group of teachers decided that they would meet on a bi-weekly basis. The purpose of these meetings was to identify and practice, with the support of the QCERD researcher, strategies for covering the *English for Palestine* textbook material in a timely, yet effective, communicative and fun manner. The teachers were encouraged to keep a journal of their experiences, noting the ways in which their teaching strategies made their job easier, also were clearly contributing to the raising of children's comprehension levels and general desire to learn English. Over the course of the year it was clear that a real transformation was taking place. The teachers relayed that they found the journal writing to be a very useful tool in their professional development. When meeting as a group to discuss their journals, they identified recurring problem areas, engaged in critical debate about how the textbooks material, and developed solid lesson plans that utilized group work and fostered creativity and imagination.

The teachers were not always successful and they faced many challenges along

the way: the children did not always respond to the lessons with a positive attitude; the teachers were not always successful in developing a network of exchange with other English teachers at their school or changing school administrators' and parents' perceptions of what English classrooms should look like. Despite these challenges, the teachers remained committed.

It was evident that QCERD's initiatives to support these English teachers were working. Yet, with the core group comprised of only ten teachers, it remained a challenge to raise the quality of English language teaching in all Palestinian schools. Consequently, the second initiative QCERD undertook was to share the results of the year-long action research project with this core group of teachers with other Palestinian English teachers. It was decided that the most effective way of doing so would be to publish a series of teaching manuals, or guides, that were both theoretical and practical in nature. The first guide, *Strategies for Teaching English*, which was published in Ramallah in the spring of 2003, provides a broad range of methodologies for teaching vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation. The guide also includes a number of practical classroom ideas and activities for developing the students' competence in each of the three areas mentioned above. The second guide, *Games, Activities and Worksheets for the English Language Classroom*, published in Ramallah in the autumn of 2004, is comprised entirely of practical classroom ideas in the areas of vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation development.

The two guides, which were distributed at no cost to English teachers across the West Bank and Gaza Strip, received very positive feedback. Comments were generally related to the teachers' perceived appropriateness of the methods to Palestinian teaching realities, and their perceptions that the activities are not only fun, but are linked to content across the curriculum and encourage the development of critical and analytical thinking skills.

Despite the value of the two guides and the transformations beginning to take place in English classes across Palestine, our observations of classroom practice and teachers' admissions of shyness when engaging in song, rhyme, mime, drama and play with their students, revealed a need for QCERD's initiatives to focus more specifically on supporting teachers to create a classroom environment appropriate to very young learners (i.e. grades 1, 2 and 3). Although there was a general recognition that young learners have very different needs and learning styles compared to older students, very few teachers had the resources or skills necessary to teach the first three levels of the new curriculum. Consequently, the third guide, entitled English for Young Learners and published by QCERD in the autumn of 2004, presents teachers with suitable teaching methodologies for the first four years of English language learning. The guide also provides numerous classroom activities for grades 1 to 4 which reinforce the lexis, structures,

functions and themes presented in the *English for Palestine* textbooks. This guide was also distributed at no cost to English teachers across the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and was followed-up with a 15-hour participatory workshop in Jericho and Gaza cities.

This guide and accompanying workshop received mixed feedback. On the one hand, there were comments that such an approach to learning was specific to the West, and not suitable for children in Palestine who, living in conflict and poverty, have to contribute to the family's survival from a young age, leaving no room for trivial activities like song and play. Teachers making these comments believed that children should be made aware of the harsh realities of life sooner rather than later. On the other hand, many teachers thought that it is precisely because of the miserable daily reality facing Palestinian children that an atmosphere of song, movement and play is a crucial part of the learning process. A healthy debate on this topic was engaged in by the workshop participants, and one very positive result can be found in the change of belief of one teacher who, very much opposed to the premise of the workshop on the first day, was a vocal supporter of its underlying principles by the last day.

Overall, the specific initiatives taken by QCERD to develop the English teachers' implementation of the curriculum have been successful. Those initiatives have given the participating teachers a solid foundation in communicative teaching methodologies which focus on the needs of the very young learners. In addition, the initiatives have encouraged those teachers to become reflective and critical practitioners.

QCERD Initiative 2: Integrating stories into the curriculum

The QCERD has also led an initiative to help English teachers incorporate the use of stories into their lesson planning. Reading and listening to stories can be an enjoyable activity for both teachers and pupils and in principle should be engaged in at all grade levels. Stories offer natural language experiences for children. They encourage reading motivation and aid listening comprehension. Storytelling and story reading influence positively the language development and comprehension of young learners, and can be a powerful tool to engage the children in discussions. Besides, storytelling can be an important factor in developing pupils' imagination, thinking skills, emotional intelligence, and appreciation of other cultures (Al-Jafar & Buzzelli, 2004; Kelley, 2005).

Reading stories expands language, develops personality and increases the understanding of the culture and the people of the story language. Therefore, learners should keep listening, reading and telling stories at all grade levels.

Several English course books for primary stages, e.g. *New English Parade* (Pearson Education, 2000), *Story Magic* (Oxford: Macmillan Education, 2003), *Pingu loves English* (Pearson Education, 2001), use stories to make the material child-centered and to widen the pupils' knowledge of the world. It is unfortunate that *English for Palestine* book 3 does not include any story. This discourages children from becoming active readers of English and impedes their development of constructive and creative comprehension.

In spite of the absence of stories in the textbooks, there are outstanding teachers who work hard to include stories in their teaching. For example, an Instructor of English Teaching methodology at Al-Quds Open University focuses on useful practical ideas and instructional procedures for integrating stories, using big books, and combining shared reading and writing. We at the QCERD have worked with this instructor on a small project on storytelling for 3rd graders in the years 2003- 2004. We worked with five pre-service teachers and two in service teachers in an action research style. At the beginning, the in-service teachers explained that they are already overloaded with the material in the textbooks, they have little prior experience with integrating stories in their teaching, and they don't know how to select the appropriate stories. The teachers had training on how to choose the best stories for their classes, how to prepare the pupils, how to plan pre-reading, while reading, post reading activities, and how to implement these activities. At the end of the training, the teachers presented selected stories that they planned to the group. We had these presentations videotaped and later discussed. After that, teachers applied what they have learned in their classrooms (for third graders). We chose stories that reinforce pupils learning of the content of the textbook. For example, we worked on a story *My Friend* which is about a little girl and her animal friends. This story focuses on the names of animals and the actions that animals can/ can't do. It was a good choice because *English for Palestine* grade three concentrates on the names of animals, actions and ability (can, can't). In class the teachers presented stories in a lively manner, they used the colorful and descriptive language of the stories. Teachers experimented with their voice, tone, eye-contact, gestures, and facial expressions. They were successful in holding children's attention. Pupils played the roles of the characters of the story and had to accomplish a performance task that indicates their learning. For example, after reading the story about animals, they had to create a poster about their 'animal friend'. They had a checklist in Arabic that helps them to accomplish their task and to assess their performance.

One creative teacher has written innovative stories to help her pupils to overcome difficulties in their learning. In class, she introduced this story in the form of a big book:

LONELY IN THE GARDEN OF PRESENT TENSE

By Areej Ashhab

There were three friends. Their names were (He), (She) and (It). One day, the friends went to play in the present Tense garden.
In the garden the friends met (We), (You), (I) and (They).The three friends (He), (She), (It) sat together happily.
Into the garden came the (S).The (S) felt lonely.
(S) went to (We) and said: "Hello, can I play with you? "The (We) said: "No, No!"
The (S) went to the (You), and said: "Hello, can I play with you?" The (You) said: "No, No!"
The(S) went to the (I), and said:" Hello, can I play with you?" The (I) said: "No, No"!
The (S) went to the (They), and said: "Hello, can I play with you?" The (They) said: "No, No"!
"I am alone," said the(S). "No body wants to play with me." The (S) saw the three friends; (He), (She) and (It).

(S) Came to them and said: "Hello, can I play with you?" (He), (She) and (It) said:" yes, yes". (S) asked: "where can I sit?"
(He), (She) and (It) said: "Sit next to the verb."
Their verb said: "Come (S) and hold my hand like this. Stick to me and don't leave me." Their verb said to (S):
"We will always be with (He), (She) and (It) in the garden of present tense."

QCERD's Initiative 3: Teacher Empowerment – A conference in cooperation with IATEFL and the British Council

Palestinian teachers and educators have almost no opportunity to travel abroad or even to other areas of Palestine because of the Israeli policy of closure.[4] Thus, academics are kept out of all sorts of national and international educational collaborations. With limited chance of participating in collective gatherings, Palestinian teachers do not get the opportunity to realize their full capabilities, to engage in discussions or to share experiences. This conference was an attempt to remove boundaries on education by allowing Palestinian teachers to meet international experts.

An EFL (English as a Foreign Language) conference was held in August 2007 under the auspices of the IATEFL TD SIG (International Association for Teachers of English as a Foreign Language – Teacher Development Special Interest Group). The title of this conference was "Curriculum and Classroom Practices: A Need for Teacher Empowerment". It was organized by QCERD in partnership with the British Council.

Almost 300 professionals from different cities and villages in the West bank attended the conference, many of whom had to spend long hours of queues and questioning at armed checkpoints just to get to the Ramallah conference. This was an impressive reflection on the keen interest and enthusiasm of the Palestinian TEFL community.

The conference brought together EFL professionals, including internationally recognized experts and regional educators, to share their expertise and experiences in areas crucial to the development of English language teaching in the country. The conference was truly international not only in terms of the participants, but also in relation to the topics and issues tackled.

The two days of the conference were packed with workshops and presentations led by international and Palestinian professionals. Topics covered included teachers' experiences, motivating weaker students, curriculum and textbook development, teaching English in the Palestinian context, teacher development and classroom management. The presentations were well-received and got positive feedback.

Workshops managed by international experts, discussed important issues in English Language education that are often missing from teachers' training in Palestine. For example: the role of technology, creative grammar teaching, multiple intelligences and assessments. Workshops and papers presented by Palestinian professionals, described initiatives and continuous efforts taken by educators and individual teachers to improve the quality of English Language education in Palestine.

The conference connected the teachers with experts in language teaching and allowed them to reflect on their practices, to learn, to share their classroom stories and to discuss their challenges.

Conclusion and recommendations

Textbooks are often the main teaching resource in the classroom: they determine the content, the methodology and the learning process. Teachers and students tend to rely heavily on textbooks as the centre of instruction. For many novice teachers, the textbook can be an invaluable tool which provides security,

increases confidence and provides a framework for scaffolding students' learning. At the same time, a single textbook cannot possibly respond to the differing needs of a large group of learners. When exploring the usefulness of any textbook, it is important to keep in mind that what is more important than textbooks is what teachers did with them (Ansary & Babaii, 2002). In the case of English language teaching in Palestine, the *English for Palestine* textbooks are often the only learning material teachers have access to.

In this article we have given an overview of the grade three textbook and have discussed areas of possible development and improvement. It is our opinion that, despite the text's limitations, qualified teachers are able to adapt the content and activities of the text to create an interactive and stimulating classroom environment. It is important to reiterate here that not one of the Palestinian English teachers we worked with, or spoke to in our focus groups, has ever received any *English for Palestine*-specific training. Such a lack of training points to a serious need for teacher empowerment initiatives.

This work did not address the conditions and inequities prevalent in Palestinian schools in the area of English teaching which reflect socioeconomic inequalities. Such issues are complex by nature and needs dedicated research. Mastering the English language provides unprecedented social and economic mobility and allows access to an increasingly global world. Curriculum developers, policy makers, teachers and parents would like Palestinian children to learn English from early stages since the English Language is the language of science and technology, a fundamental tool for pursuing higher education, and a means for communicating with a wider community.

Palestinian schools, are divided into three sectors in terms of ownership: public schools that belong directly to the Ministry of Education and Higher Education MOEHE (70 percent of all students); UNRWA schools that belong to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (24 percent of all students); and private schools that belong to various charities, religious organizations, or Christian churches (6 percent of all students). The latter are located predominantly in the big cities of Jerusalem, Ramallah, and Bethlehem[5]. Private schools teach all subject areas in early grades based on the same Palestinian curriculum of the public and UNRWA schools, However, private schools starts English language education as early as the kindergarten level, and their students receive two or three times more English sessions. Some private schools hire native speaker English teachers, they use well-known and tried textbooks, the medium of instruction is English. Thus, private schools prepare their students to communicate fluently in English and students become to believe that they are better and other students are understandably inferior.

According to Crystal (2003), 'language is a major means (some would say the chief means) of showing where we belong, and of distinguishing one social group from another' (p.22). Even teachers may be negatively influenced by the type of school in which they work. Teachers should not 'feel or to proceed as if they were inferior to dominant-class learners in the private schools who arrogantly mistreat and belittle middleclass teachers.' At the same time they should not feel superior 'to the learners from the slums, to the lower class children, to the children with no comforts, who do not eat well, who do not 'dress nicely', who do not 'speak correctly', who speak with their own syntax, semantics, and accent' (Freire 1998, 71-72). This paper did not discuss English Language teaching or the textbooks in their relation to broader issues of social diversity and inequity in the Palestinian community. It is recommended therefore that future research focus on issues of poverty, social injustice, class and regional disparities prevalent in Palestinian society, and their relation to English language teaching. In addition, future studies should address the contribution of English language textbooks and the role of English language teaching in engaging students and teachers with issues of justice, diversity and equity in Palestinian society. Teacher training programs should sensitize teachers to the unique needs and schooling contexts of their particular students. Work with teachers should allow them to realize that achievement gaps among their students mirror vast socioeconomic inequalities in the Palestinian community. Lots need to be done to enhance English Language teaching in Palestine. It is our hope that this work is just a starting point on a long, but successful journey towards teacher empowerment.

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Notes

1. In Palestine education is compulsory for 10 years, followed by two non-compulsory years of secondary education culminating in the Tawjihi general examination. The Tawjihi focuses on recall and memorization, and it is the sole criterion for graduation. Schooling, especially in the upper grades (grades 10–12), aims to prepare students for passing the Tawjihi test.
2. The Palestinian Curriculum Development Center (PCDC) needs to be seen as part of the Palestinian national endeavor to upgrade the Palestinian educational system. Its goal is to develop a new curriculum that meets the future needs, new circumstances, and social and moral values of the Palestinian people. The implementation of the Curricula Plan, ratified by the Palestinian Cabinet and the Legislative Council in 1998, is the mission the Curriculum Center set out to accomplish. A high level ministerial committee, headed by the Minister of Education and Higher Education, supervises the implementation of the Curricula Plan. For more information see: http://www.pcdc.edu.ps/establishment.htm
3. In 2003 we held five workshops with teachers, then two focus groups with supervisors and officials from Curriculum Department and Ministry of education. We had 7-10 participants in each focus group. Questions were asked in an interactive manners and participants were free to talk with other group members. The aim of the focus groups was: [a] To develop a better understanding of teacher evaluation of the different component of English for Palestine course book (PB), workbook (WB), teacher's book (TB), cassettes, posters and flashcards; [b] To elicit supervisor evaluation of *English for Palestine* with regards to their reports of the difficulties faced by teachers using *English for Palestine* inside their English language classrooms, and [c] To gauge if *English for Palestine* helps students develop the capacity to think critically and communicate effectively through a mastery of the language.
4. Palestinians from Gaza and the West Bank are forbidden to enter Jerusalem or Israel because of the policy of closure or 'sealing off the territories'. Palestinians must obtain permits from the Israeli military government to work in or to visit Jerusalem. In order to apply for a permit, applicants must take a form filled out in Hebrew to the nearest Military Governor's office. There, they have to queue outside, waiting for their turn to be admitted, which can take hours or even the whole day.
5. See http://r0.unctad.org/palestine/economy2.htm.

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THE NORTH AFRICAN EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGE: FROM COLONISATION TO THE CURRENT ALLEDGED ISLAMIST THREAT

PIERRE VERMEREN

Abstract – *This paper focuses on the reproductive role of education in colonial and post-colonial North Africa, especially in the three main French-speaking countries, namely Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. The training of a bicultural élite was one of the main consequences of French colonisation. It will be argued that after independence, the framework of the 'colonial' educational system actually remained in place. It even became a 'national' system which, by the end of the twentieth century, produced, in each country, a very narrow national élite, which for decades kept State power and economic governance in its hands. After the 1980s, this situation led to deep political and social crises.*

Introduction

This article presents a summary of my thesis in contemporary history*, Des Nationalistes aux Islamistes: La Formation des Élites Tunisiennes et Marocaines de 1920 à 2000*, which has been published in France and in Morocco, but has not been translated into English (Vermeren, 2002). The thesis argues that, in order to understand how the governments of the region's post-colonial nations reached the situation they are presently in, and the challenges they have to face today, one must first focus on the ideological and historical context of the building of colonial élite's education system. We will therefore show how, after independence, nationalism failed to build a new, democratic high school system. We will also try to understand the main challenges facing North Africa today, related to overcoming the profound educational crises, and to addressing the social consequences of the regional élite's reproductive system.

The ideological and historical context of the creation of the colonial élite's education system

Education was not a major preoccupation of early French colonisation. In the 1830s, when the conquest of Algeria began, and for some decades after that, the policy regarding 'indigenous' people centred on matters of control, diplomacy and

war. Over this long period, amounting to almost 30 years, education was only a concern for the families of the French military and civil servants.

As the French began to control the tribes through a policy of indirect rule, 'indigenous affairs' officers were primarily interested in being able to communicate clearly with Berber and Arab leaders. Officers learnt indigenous languages, and gave a few 'Muslims' some basic training to enable them to understand what was expected of them, and to be facilitate obedience from the locals.

Colonising settlers soon dominated the political scene. They supported the Second Republic in 1848, and obtained the creation of three '*départements*'—i.e. French metropolitan administrative districts—in Africa. Algeria formally became a part of the French Republic, which meant that French laws also applied in Algeria's civil territories. During the Second Empire (1851-1870), some officers and counsellors convinced Napoleon III to set up a specific policy for indigenous populations. The first indigenous schools, with French curricula and modern teaching methods, emerged in North Africa, though there were also some Christian schools. In 1865, indigenous people, who had been French by law since 1848, were granted the possibility to obtain French citizenship if they accepted to renounce their personal (i.e. religious) laws. Only a few of them did do so over a period of one hundred years.

With the final reinstatement of the Republic in France, in the 1870s, the settlers obtained the permission to extend so-called 'pro-indigenous' policies. In the 1880s, complete 'assimilation' with the French population and administration was granted, rights which were not shared by the *'indigène'*—the locals. For example, the education laws promulgated by the Jules Ferry, which imposed '*une école laïque, gratuite et obligatoire*' (a secular, free and compulsory education for all), were also adopted in Algeria. However, these laws only applied to French citizens. The 'indigenous' schools that existed subsisted as if by chance.

One has to wait for the '*Recteur*' Jeanmaire in Algiers, who, at the end of the century, promoted a new educational policy for 'Muslims' in Algeria. He set up 'indigenous schools', created four '*medersas*' for the instruction of both Muslim and Republican civil servants in Islamic affairs, and a University was created in Algiers after 1895. But the latter, while in principle open to all, was in fact reserved for European students. By 1914, fewer than 2 % of Algerian children were attending school, even if this lack of access was in complete contradiction with assimilationist policies.

Consequently, at the turn of the century, there was no intellectual élite conversant in the ways of the metropole and of the colonizer among native Algerians. If a lot of Algerian people did speak French in urban business, in the army, or on the farms with settlers, they were far from able to compete on an equal footing with the French colonial élite, whether educated in France or locally.

The situation in Tunisia was quite different. Here colonization took place at the time of Ferry's laws (1881-1883), and consequently, the colonial system was heavily influenced by these developments. A small, indigenous graduate élite emerged before 1914. It was easier for 'Tunisians' than for Algerians, because Tunisia was not France, and the Protectorate treaty was supposed to pave the way for the self-government of Tunisia by its élite. Tunisia had moreover introduced some school and administrative reforms in the mid-19th century, initiated by the Ottoman régime. In the beginning of the Protectorate, several young, brilliant subjects of the Bey went to Paris to study. They returned to Tunisia, where they worked to develop the local administration and education (e.g. the Khaldounia Association). But it is only after 1918 that a second wave of student migration to France took place, beginning with the future President, H. Bourguiba.

Algeria's colonial history shows that, as we can read in the classical French historiography about this period (Turin, 1983), there was no global approach to education. Academic education was reserved for the European pupils and students, and there was no public conception of education of and for the locals. We can thus observe three different points of view concerning the objectives and systems of colonial education in French North Africa.

The first group interested in the education of the locals was made up of army officers. The way the educational project was conceived is similar, whether we refer to the first decades of colonial Algeria, or to the cherifian Empire (Morocco), when the French Resident General Lyautey embarked on the task of setting up the Protectorate's administration. For General Lyautey, as for General Bugeaud— who had created the '*Bureaux des Affaires Indigènes*' (Bureaus of Indigenous Affairs) in Algeria eighty years before, the main questions were: how to use the traditional élite to control society, and how to recognize an honorific role to this élite in order to keep it peaceful and respectful of the new authorities (Azan, 1948).

The second group that articulated a view on the education of the locals is symbolized by the settlers, representing the views holding sway in Europe at that time. In their view, the indigenous population had to be controlled. Given that the function of the locals was to constitute a working class providing manual labour, the settlers considered that education was not necessary for them. Indeed, schooling could even be dangerous if it taught the democratic principles of freedom and equality, or promoted mastery of French language, rhetoric and history. In the view of the settlers, therefore, the locals—and mostly males—had only to be educated to respect some rules, to understand a few French words, to comply with sanitary laws, and to learn some technical skills (agriculture for men, and dress-making for women).

The European settlers, who were a minority among the indigenous population, had always been afraid of the 'Arab threat'. They were physically afraid of being

submerged, and politically threatened by the principle of democracy. If the Muslims claimed their right to equality, the settlers would lose their leadership. It was therefore necessary to exclude the locals not only from French citizenship, but also from state schools. The best the locals could hope for was vocational schooling.

A third view on the question of the education of the locals was promoted by Republican and Socialist school teachers – or '*moniteurs*', as they were then known. For some of these, there was no contradiction between their mission of state school teaching and the colonial principle of assimilation. As civil servants, they were often sent to Algeria for some years by their Ministry – as was the case, for instance, with the young Fernand Braudel, and then Pierre Bourdieu. At the end of the century, an increasing number of local teachers were trained in the '*Ecole Normale de la Bouzareah*' in Algiers. Among them were an increasing number of Muslim teachers who, during the 1920s, created a magazine called '*La Voix des Humbles*' ('The Voice of the Poor'). Several contributors to this magazine tried to reconcile French republican values with their own origins, personal history, and bicultural identity.

This evolution took place in a faster and more vigorous manner in Tunisia than in Algeria. In the former country, some schools for Muslim pupils were set up as 'franco-arab' institutions as from the very first years of the Protectorate. Like European people in their own schools, after passing the primary certificate, these young Tunisians were able to enrol in '*Sadiki College*', a former Ottoman school which became a French Arabic '*collège*', or high school. By the First World War, Tunisian professors and teachers had succeeded in securing a beneficial educational policy for the indigenous local population, building on it right up to the time of decolonization.

Nevertheless, the French colonial system tried to maintain the indigenous upper class – i.e. the former élite – under its domination, a fate that upper classes rarely submit to willingly. This may be the reason why this project failed at the end of the colonial period. In fact, the main result of the French colonial legacy in North Africa is probably the constitution of a small native élite base which was essentially Francophile. The colonized forgot their own aristocratic and pre-modern model, and instead looked up to the settler élite of French Army officers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, and journalists. At the end of the day, what they seemed to be interested in doing was copying them.

The public service was out of bounds for indigenous people, in Algeria because only French citizens could be employed in it, and in the Protectorates because these were foreign countries. The young élite was trained in 'Sadiki College' in Tunisia, in the *medersa* in Algeria, in the two 'Muslim Colleges' in Morocco. But these institutions only led to such subaltern employment as translators, clerks,

junior officers, and so on. So, step by step, the 'independent professions' became considered as the only way to social promotion and autonomy. But these careers were reserved for a very few of the locals, which explains why a lot of parents and families thought that independence would promote a new order, since the school would be open to their sons.

To recapitulate, therefore: France built in North Africa three different educational systems, each one bearing the mark of its colonial model and its local actors. The first model is the Algerian one. Here two separate systems subsisted after several experiments. On the one hand, some children of Muslim high society, of Muslim soldiers lost in action, or of Muslim civil servants were incorporated with French pupils and students in French schools. Before WWI, only a very few of them obtained the *Baccalauréat*, and went on to the University in Algiers or in Paris (Pervillé, 1999). On the other hand, some other Muslim children were admitted in bilingual schools, and after the obtaining the *Certificat* at the end of lower secondary schooling, they became civil servants or students in the *medersas*. Here, therefore, we have a double model of schooling, even if very few of the Muslim children actually went to school – less than 8% around WWII.

The second model is the one we find in Tunisia, where two sections cohabited. The first was the Arabic section. The best graduates were accepted in Sadiki College (Sraïeb, 1994). Until WWI, this *Collège* was an important place for the reproduction of élites. But since this period, an increasing number of students came from the '*Sahel*' (South of the capital), allowing some promotion for the 'Sahelian' and Tunisian small bourgeoisie. At the same time, Tunis's aristocracy sent its sons to the French '*Lycée Carnot*', a state High School where the European and the Jewish élite prepared for the *Baccalauréat* to study in Paris or Marseille.

The third model is Morocco, where General Lyautey tried, as much as possible, to separate the European and the Muslim ways (Rivet, 1988). He created some '*fils de notables*' schools for locals in the main cities. After obtaining the primary school certificate, students could go to the '*Collège Musulman*' in Fes or Rabat (Merrouni, 1983). After six years, they could get a Certificate in Islamic Studiespass an Islamic Studies certificate, on the basis of which General Lyautey tried to allocate some honorific positions. However, if families were ambitious and realistic, they understood that the only way to gain access to University was by obtaining the '*Baccalauréat*'. Some rich and powerful families therefore enrolled their sons in the '*Lycée Gouraud*' in Rabat, the French High School in Morocco.

After some years, the Protectorate created a special education section for the sons of tribal and Berber leaders and chiefs. This was the Berber College of Azrou in the Middle Atlas (Benhlal, 2005), which prepared a few students for the Military Officer's School of *Dar El Baïda* in Meknes. This case was unique in the

French colonial Empire, preparing a real competition between the Arabic and nationalist élite in the cities, and the Berber officers at the head of the colonial (then national) forces.

Why did nationalism fail to build a democratic educational system?

When nationalist movements took to the street to fight against the colonial power, in Algeria as elsewhere, a key aspiration was to gain not only independence, but also the right for young people to gain access to school and to the university, thus facilitating social mobility. National independence was equated with the promise of mobility, and 'hope' was the key slogan that drove the movement towards independence.

When independence was secured, the new national élite that filled the top positions vacated by the colonizers considered that the French educational model was the one to be preserved. While they had promised citizens and militants a return to Islamic and Arabic education, they had themselves been completely transformed by their own Francophile education, and by their experience of study in Paris or some other city in France. For the new political class, therefore, the French system of education, from which locals had been excluded during the colonial period, had to become the new national model. Most of the new leaders entertained strong feelings of identification with – and gratitude for – their former colonial school teachers. Both Habib Bourguiba (Lacouture, 1961), the Tunisian President, and Hassan II, the King of Morocco (Ganiage, 1994), for instance, expressed such feelings about their own school teachers.

For twenty years after decolonization, the educational policies led by 'nationalist' governments produced the largest francophone generation North Africa had ever seen. Under colonization, French or Arab-French education had only concerned a minority. When, in 1955, France left Morocco and Tunisia, and Algeria's War of Independence started in earnest, only 12% of Moroccan children were enrolled at school, with the corresponding figures for Algeria being 21%, and 33 % for Tunisia (Ganiage, 1994). These averages reflect the three different points of view concerning the objectives and systems of colonial education in French North Africa that we considered earlier, and which, like a complex alchemy, had an impact on each country and on the whole Maghreb region. Tunisia was more affected by the school teachers' point of view, Algeria by that of the settlers (Ageron, 1968), and Morocco by the military.

A turning point in colonial educational policies took place after the Second World War. For ten years, an effort was made to develop schooling quickly in the three countries. Independent régimes in Morocco and Tunisia pursued with

such voluntarist plans, attempting implementation at an even faster rate. After fifteen years, towards 1970, the average of those attending schools came near to 50%, and was even higher in Tunisia thanks to the efforts of Mahmoud Messaadi, who served as Education Minister for a whole decade (Sraïeb, 1974).

It was quite different in Algeria, where the eight-year-long war between the French army and the 'FLN' (National Liberation Front) changed the deal. In an effort to convince the Algerian people to keep their French nationality, the army developed education as it had never done before. In a few years, two million Algerian children and young people learned the French language, in civilian as well as in military schools (Branche, 2005). For a long time, Algeria became the most important francophone country in North Africa, all the more so since Arabic culture was very weak after 130 years of French colonization.

After some hesitations by nationalist governments, colonial educational policies were extended, this time towards 'all' children. Nationalist governments in Morocco and Algeria could not implement alternative policies because in both countries had very few Arabic teachers and graduates. To avoid being in contradiction with their ideology, first Morocco, then Algeria, imported hundreds of Arabic teachers and imams from the Middle East—with General G. Nasser exploiting this opportunity to send members of the Society of Muslim Brothers to the Maghreb. Despite this, however, the number of such Arabic teachers could never compare with the thousands of French teachers who had been sent to secondary schools during the 1960s and 1970s.

At this time, educational policy regarding élites was very similar to the model prevailing in France. In two decades, new national Universities and some selective 'Grandes Écoles' were created in North Africa. Their professors were mostly French, and, with the exception of Islamic departments, the curriculum and teaching methods and models were French. Some Schools, such as the French '*Ponts et Chaussées*' for civil engineers, were completely integrated with small sister schools, such as the 'Hassania School of *Ponts et Chaussées*' in Rabat. In other cases, the French administration received a lot of students from the newly independent countries, offering them short-, mid- or long-term specialist training.

Consequently, for a long time after independence, the new administrators and leaders in science, industry, university, research, trade, administration, security and so on, worked according to French standards and usually spoke French at work. In France, this new political model became known under the name of 'cooperation', which followed on from 'colonization'.

For many political and social reasons, the turning point of cultural decolonization took place after the mid-1970s. In a few years, educational

policies changed completely, and this had a long-term impact on the training system of the élite.

Three years (1976-1979) marked the end of educational 'cooperation'. Lesser qualified Islamic graduates replaced foreign francophone teachers everywhere, particularly in Mathematics and the Sciences. At the same time, the Arabic language became the language of instruction in all subjects except the natural sciences and some postgraduate courses (Grandguillaume, 1983). However, the changes are not reducible to just language. During the 1970s, the new nationalist and Islamic conservative approach is supported, or symbolized, by Mohamed Mzali in Tunisia, Taleb Ibrahimi in Algeria, and Azeddine Laraki in Morocco. Islamic culture generally replaced philosophy, sociology and French literature in high schools as well as in Universities.

At this time, the Islamic traditional approach was considered by governments and leaders – such as King Hassan II, President H. Bourguiba, and President H. Boumediene – as the best way to eradicate the revolutionary threat. After a deep crisis caused by Socialist contestation and demonstrations, the pacific and traditional role of Islamic religion appeared as the best way to eradicate the modern, revolutionary and political roots of youth movements. Arabization was the cultural face of this religious movement. And last but not least, the old Islamic school methods of memorization – what the 2008 World Bank Report refers to as 'outdated methods of teaching' – became the dominant pedagogic paradigm. The French '*esprit critique*' had become a synonym for subversion in North Africa. It had to be eradicated by all means, even it meant destroying the élitist model left by the French. Mass university education also signalled the end of such a model.

The effects of this academic revolution slowly gained ground with the new generation. By the mid-1980s, the worldview of young students and graduates had changed quite radically. While this is not the place to discuss the language question in North Africa – a central issue in relation to both education and society more generally – it is nevertheless important to highlight the fact that Arabization, in this region, is not only a question of words and symbols, but a fundamental question concerning the very conception of the world (Krichen, 1986), the place of religion, and political behaviour (Grandguillaume, 1983).

Mass higher education and Arabization are, however, not the only ways by means of which society is reformed. Everywhere, and specifically in science, the élite has maintained small and selective ways aimed at reproducing the existing model. This is the case with medicine, engineering, business administration, and international law, for instance. In each country, francophone high schools became the best way to succeed in these professional careers.

All the prestigious and selective schools or sections still use the French language – and occasionally English or Spanish – in contrast with the rest of the educational institutions, which use Arabic. As human science researchers have consistently observed for a long time, linguistic competence is a social, economic and intellectual privilege. This is a reality everywhere, but perhaps especially so in North Africa, given that here linguistic discrimination is very strong (Anonymous, 1989). It is necessary to speak three or four languages at least, if one wants to succeed in your higher education and your professional life (Benrabah, 1999).

In North Africa, a student speaks his or her mother tongue, which is frequently the North African vernacular version of Arabic. Both French and standard Arabic are used as languages in teaching. Then, students typically learn English or Spanish as foreign languages. As for the Berbers, who are a strong minority in Algeria and Morocco, there is one additional linguistic hurdle. In conditions such as these, it is quite impossible for most students in Morocco or in Algeria to be truly fluent in French and in Arabic if they attend ordinary state schools. For such students, there is practically no possibility to succeed at University, since all the scientific disciplines and medicine are exclusively taught in French. And yet, despite this situation, Medicine and Engineering faculties have been, as in the Middle East, the main areas where the Islamist opposition started and grew during the 1970s and 1980s.

Each country has its own élite schools. In Algeria, the most prestigious field is oil engineering (National school of Petroleum Engineers), followed by the military Academy (Kadri, 1992). However, new Business and Management schools have recently appeared. In Tunisia, the main schools are Engineering Schools (such as the National school of Engineers of Tunis – ENIT). However, Medicine and Management also rank highly. Since the Ben Ali régime, the '*Ecole Nationale d'Administration*' (ENA) has seen its role and importance increase.

In Morocco, engineering is still the most important way to attain high positions in administration and corporate management, in the government, and in state agencies. King Mohammed VI is even more deeply interested than his father was in a technocratic vision that gives price of place to engineering and technology. The '*Makhzen*' – i.e. the head of state, composed of families and counselors around the King – seems to consider that, because they have graduated in Law, these technocrats are far from politics. In addition, they generally know how the *Makhzen* functions, and they understand that their career strictly depends on their fidelity to the Throne.

What is certain is that, in Tunisia as in Morocco, the most prestigious and powerful engineers are graduates from the French 'Grandes Écoles', and sometimes from North American universities (Benhaddou, 1997).

Which way out of the deep educational crises and the social consequences of the reproduction élite?

During the 1990s, the political and cultural make-up of the new generations changed radically. After the Islamist 'avant-garde' of the 1970s, the new generations were more homogenous in their Islamic conformism. Furthermore, young people were competent in new computer technologies, which are now part of daily life in North African cities. This contradiction resulted from the impact of international dynamics, though it was also a result of local and specific educational trends.

The fact remains that a separate élite was part of this generation, or more exactly, lived next to it. Only a small tranche of a generation – probably less than one per cent of an age group (Wagner, 1998) – was able to reach notable corporate and state positions, or to work outside Morocco. With only around 20% of a generation obtaining the '*baccalauréat*', the majority of young people were disqualified from further opportunities due to inadequate studies. The situation was worse than in the 1980s and, with the exception of Tunisia, resembled that which had prevailed in Western Europe during the 19th century.

During the 1960s and the 1970s, independence provided a great opportunity for urban youth to enrol in high schools and universities. At this time, the social reproduction of the former pre-colonial and colonial élites was able to constitute the new state class. After independence, as in all the new independent states in the developing world, there was a significant dearth of military and civil servants, engineers, doctors and executives. As the pre-colonial élite was very small, and as the colonial power structure tried for a long time to reserve key positions to its own élite, the children of these groups were far from constituting the majority of the emerging state class. Indeed, these first decades constituted a big opportunity for young, urban, literate men (Ben Salem, 1968). They were the 'independence generation'. In modern North African History, there had never been such a favourable period for social mobility.

At this time a mixed élite emerged, incorporating '*héritiers*' (inheritors) from the former pre-colonial élite (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970), some from the colonial élite, and some new elements. The former pre-colonial élite was more important in Morocco than in Tunisia, where the colonial élite had replaced the pre-colonial one. In the Kingdom of Morocco, for instance, the new state administration had, in one decade, grown from a few thousands to 200,000 civil servants, while the number of corporate executives rose from a few hundreds to several thousands. This fact helps explain why revolutions failed during this period in North Africa.

From the mid-1970s onwards, the effects of this massive recruiting, together with the economic crises, led to a halt in state employment policy. At the same time the social effects of the new school policies started to be felt.

After 1978-1980, the new configuration was an explosive one: state administration was reaching saturation point, and a whole bevy of reforms had transformed the élitist school system into a mass institutional one. The turning point for graduate unemployment in Morocco was 1979. But social conditions were deteriorating in the whole region: in Tunisia and Morocco since 1978, and in Algeria after 1986, due to the collapse of the price of gas. In a few years, the social situation led to a political change in Tunisia (1987), to a revolution and a civil war in Algeria (1988 and 1992), and to riots (1981-1984-1990) and then to a political liberalization in Morocco during the 1990s (since 1991).

North Africa is now confronted with a divided society, with on the one hand one group looking to the Middle East and its fundamentalist ideologies, and on the other hand, a small élite addicted to a Western way-of-life and culture. It may not be too far-fetched to talk about an intellectual and social rift segregating the majority of young people on the one hand, and a globalised élite minority on the other.

Is there any alternative to this situation for governments? If they want to safeguard their societies from subversion and violence, they are obliged to use violence themselves. In this way, they will perhaps preserve the present system, which works in favour of their own children. However, if they want to uphold their societies in the long term, they have to rebuild educational systems, or at least, they have to provoke debates about educational reform. Up to 2008, Tunisia really tried to rebuild its school system. Morocco and Algeria, however, seemed to baulk in front of this Herculean undertaking.

Educational reform was tested at the beginning of the 1990s by Ben Ali's government, at a time when he was still supported by the Francophile and open-minded élite. Between 1989 and 1994, the Minister of Education was Law Professor Mohammed Charfi (1936-2008), a Francophile intellectual. Charfi's reform tried to fund a new educational pact. He supported a reform in philosophy, in literature, and in the approach to policies regarding language and culture. His clear intention was the eradication of the roots of cultural Islamism. Even before this reform, which strengthened bilingualism, Tunisia had a diversified school system which formed its own élites. In Morocco, however, élites are formed outside the system—especially in French schools – while Algerian élites are formed outside the country.

Since 1999, with the ascent to the throne of King Mohammed VI, educational reforms seemed to be the order of the day in Morocco. However, despite that, as in Algeria, the government understands the necessity of such reforms, there is a fear of the political consequences of such change. The governing élite refuses to

appear as if they were supporters of the West or of the French, because the general expectation is that they uphold the nationalist and Arabic programme. They are moreover afraid of the reactions of the conservative élite, whose influence largely exceeds that of the Islamists.

The civil war in Algeria did not provide a promising context for such educational reforms. Since the end of the war in 2001, the government and its institutions have remained under the ideological pressure of the Islamists. Algerian society has increasingly adopted conservative and religious behaviours. On the political scene, the Francophile camp ('*hizb's frança*' for its enemies) has been weakened.

Benjamin Stora (2001), a French historian of contemporary Algeria, underlines the fact that the civil war began by attacks against French high school pupils. During the war, francophone and French schools were closed, and a lot of young students from the 'best' families were enrolled in selective schools in France, Switzerland, England and elsewhere. During this period, state schools in Algeria were an open field for Islamist propaganda.

Since the end of the conflict, a lot of francophone private schools have reopened in different cities. As in Morocco, and then in Tunisia, the main target of this free school movement has been to offer a French alternative, as a response to the policy of Arabization. Just by way of example, in the year 2000, there were more than 1,000 private schools in Casablanca alone. But such private education alternatives were not as easy to establish in Algeria, where nationalism consists is refusing French culture and its symbols. Following his re-election, President Bouteflika decided in 2004 to close all the Francophone private high schools. This, of course, does not prevent some rich young people from pursuing the studies they want in the country of their choice. Nor does it stop thousands of young pupils from learning French at home, as their mother tongue, which is the best way to prepare for their economic future. In such a context, however, there is no chance of voting for deep reforms.

Since the mid-1990s, Morocco has become the new frontier of high school and University reform in North Africa. In 1995, a World Bank report underlined the catastrophic situation in Moroccan education: the illiteracy rate approached 60% of the adult population, and only 1% of the youth were university graduates. Furthermore, the new UNDP international rating, i.e. the Indicator of Human Development, which incorporates the educational level attained by different countries, ranked Morocco last in North Africa.

Similar indictments of Morocco's educational system have been made by internal reports, such as the one commissioned by the Royal Cabinet. Engineer Abdelaziz Meziane Belfqih, counsellor of King Hassan II, headed the Orientation Commission for Teaching and Research (COSEF) and, working with a large panel of experts, drew up a report on education in the Kingdom, delivering the outcome of its deliberations

some days before the death of King Hassan II. The Commission concluded that education was the main weakness in Morocco. A 'National Council for Education' was established in order to propose concrete reforms, and to enforce them.

The period between 1999 and 2002 saw the failure of the 'alternation government', which was in charge of the proposed educational reforms until 2002. Changes were restricted to small or symbolic reforms, such as the introduction of the Berber language in the initial years of the primary school, or the reinstatement of Philosophy at high school and university levels. The claim was that such reforms had helped Moroccan children obtain improved scores at school, though it seems that there was little evidence and substance behind such claims, which served a political purpose in the main.

The next government, led by Prime Minister Driss Jettou (2002-2007), was more interested in economic and investment affairs. The main objective in the educational camp was to adapt the Moroccan University to the new European model, thus triggering an important reform in 2007. This reform, however, was more technical than intellectual in nature, and while representing new challenges for the special counsellor, engineer A. M. Belfqih, the central problems in education persist. More than a reform of the higher education system, the *makhzen*'s main concern seems to be to adapt it to the economy – a fact that is reflected M. Belfqih's reform programme, titled '10, 000 Engineers for Morocco'.

That the reform will not have a deep impact on Morocco's higher education system has been confirmed again recently. A private 'Governance High School of Rabat' was created in 2008, after an agreement with 'Sciences PO Paris'. This was in response to strong local demands for higher business administration courses, which were much in demand among the small upper class. However, it proved to be easier to create new and external institutions than to reform the system from the inside.

Again in the winter of 2008, the World Bank provoked a strong reaction from government when a new and controversial report on Arab education titled *The Road not Travelled: Education Reform in the Middle East and North Africa*, drew attention to the fact that the Moroccan economy was still suffering due to a weak education system, and that reforms were urgently needed. Like thirteen years before, special counsellor M. A. Belfqih was once again called to the rescue.

Conclusion

During the colonial period, the French colonial power relegated the former North African élite to the position of middle-men between the colonial authorities and the indigenous population. With this purpose in mind, they set up a new education and training system – including such institutions as the Islamic

colleges—to develop a subaltern élite. The new young urban and educated élite ('*les évolués*', as the French said) and the '*héritiers*', however, refused this relegation. On the one hand, they tried, and obtained, the right to access the French University, and on the other hand, they built a long-term political movement, nationalism, to re-appropriate State power.

In Paris, the 'AEMNAF' (Muslim North African Students' Organisation in France) combined both approaches, from 1932 until the granting of independence. When this new, narrow, composite élite came to power in 1956 and in 1962, it had to recruit a lot of civil servants and Army officers to build the new State administrative apparatus. As the French had implanted a new selection process for the élite, schools, high schools and the University had become the keys to land a leadership position in administration, in government, or in a corporation. During this first period immediately after independence, i.e. during the 1960s and 1970s, social mobility became a reality in the region for those who were capable to take up this challenge.

However, after two decades, and due to the saturation of posts within the State apparatus, as well as thanks to the global economic crises, this period of opportunities was over. A new period began, marked by educational reforms, the process of Arabization, mass Higher Education, and graduate unemployment. The crises marking this period are cultural, social, and educational. The meritocratic school model was eclipsed, with the system being transformed into a dualist and closed one. In the 1990s, a large part of the graduates, especially those in the best Universities and aiming for the most prestigious careers, hoped to reproduce the fortunes of their parents, who had graduated and taken up key posts in different sectors in the 1970s. For the post-1990 graduates, however, the era of meritocracy was over.

Who really wants a democratic reform of élite education and class formation in North Africa today? And how can one reunify the higher education system, which, right now, looks like a caricature of the French one, but with more danger if we consider the political risks at stake? For three decades, the new educational policy has completely transformed the young generations. The cultural contexts they are living in, together with their intellectual and linguistic make-up, have provoked a complete change in mentalities, in worldviews, and in qualifications.

Today, North African graduates, up to the age of 45, while less francophone than their elders, and less fluent in any language, are nevertheless more connected with the rest of the world through the new technologies. Despite this, they experience feelings of fear and helplessness in front the world, a situation which tempts them to retreat into their Islamic culture. The only exception to this is a small, internationalized élite who have left the region: more than 2,000 former Moroccan students from the '*Grandes Écoles*' live in Paris, while thousands of Tunisian graduates live in the Western world.

In these persistent conditions, the challenge is crucial for North African élites and their Northern partners. Either they are capable of changing the ideological and practical substance of the educational policies, or they have to face a radical change in their societies, a permanent risk of Islamist subversion and an increasing gap with European societies.

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JORDANIAN EARLY PRIMARY STAGE TEACHERS' SELF-REPORTED PRACTICES TO DEVELOP THEIR PUPILS' READING IN ARABIC

RUBA FAHMI BATAINEH
ALI AHMAD AL-BARAKAT

Abstract – *This study examines teachers' practices for developing early primary stage (6-9 year-old) pupils' reading in Arabic in the northern region of Jordan using a 25-item self-assessment checklist and a semi-structured interview. The subjects reported that their practices stem more from extrinsic motivation (e.g. responding to calls for enabling children to take part in literary competitions) than from intrinsic motivation (e.g. a personal interest in reading). The findings showed that 22 items of the Checklist scored moderate to little degrees of practice, which was further confirmed by the results of the interview. Besides, although there were no statistically significant differences among the subjects' reports of their practices which may be attributed to the effect of gender and academic qualification, statistically significant differences were found due to teaching experience, having studied literacy-related coursework in pre-service preparation, and having a personal interest in reading. The study concludes with relevant implications for reading instruction and teacher education.*

Introduction and background

*N*ot only does the ability to read and write provide the foundation of education and the basis for all academic disciplines, it is paramount for success throughout life, from kindergarten to future employment of adults (Cassell, 2004; Jordan, Snow & Porsche, 2000). Parents, caregivers, and early childhood educators play an important role in children's literacy development (McGee & Richgels, 1996) and thus it is imperative that these make a concerted effort to ensure that children are exposed to literacy-rich environments to support their development.

Reading and writing are believed to develop in synchrony as young children engage in activities that promote verbal and written language (Burgess, Lundgren & Pianta, 2001; Sulzby & Teale, 1991). Teacher expertise is believed to be a catalyst and a major contributor to children's literacy success (Block, Oakar & Hurt, 2002; Duffy, 2001; Knipper, 2003; Willis & Harris, 2000). Children's literacy learning is believed to benefit considerably from teachers who make literacy an integral part of their daily classroom routines through modeling reading

and writing behaviors, engaging their pupils in responsive dialogues, and fostering their interest in learning to read and write (NAEYC, 1998; Slegers, 1996; Teale & Yokota, 2000).

There is evidence (Bissex, 1980; Cavazos-Kottke, 2006; Clay, 1979) that the sound development of children's literacy skills is partially dependent on teacher practices. In this context, Bissex (1980) and Clay (1979) confirm the value of teacher dictations of children's stories for developing word awareness, spelling, and the conventions of writing. Along the same lines, Cavazos-Kottke (2006) suggests that teacher practices within the regular curriculum improve their pupils' literacy skills, which can be achieved by allowing these pupils opportunities to choose what they want to read from available reading materials.

Syntheses of the literature on effective literacy instruction (Medwell, Wray, Poulson & Fox, 1998; Wray & Medwell, 1999; Wray, Medwell, Fox & Poulson, 1999) suggest that effective teachers often use pedagogical practices that seem to positively affect pupils' progress in reading and writing. Among these practices are: creating 'literate' classroom environments and encouraging pupils to use them to support their own practice of literacy skills; modeling reading in a variety of ways and providing pupils with a range of examples of effective use of reading and writing; embedding reading instruction into a wider context using whole texts for teaching vocabulary, word attack and recognition; providing pupils with age- and ability-appropriate tasks with engaging academic content and monitoring pupils' progress and using assessment to inform teaching and report on progress.

Problem, purpose, and significance of the study

The Jordanian government has shown unprecedented commitment to educational reform embodied in a series of initiatives which aim to transform the education system at the early childhood, basic, and secondary levels to produce graduates with the skills needed for knowledge economy. Educational indicators have improved consistently over the past two decades, with an illiteracy rate of 8.9%, the third lowest in the Arab world, and a 98% gross enrolment ratio at the primary level.

Most noted among these initiatives is a two-phase program called Education Reform for the Knowledge Economy Program (ERfKE). ERfKE I (2003-2009) aimed at aligning educational policies and programs with the needs of a knowledge-based economy, improving the physical learning environment in most schools, and promoting early childhood education. Similarly, ERfKE II (2009-2015) aims to institutionalize the reforms introduced under ERfKE I, with a particular focus on school level implementation and teacher quality, not to

mention fine tuning the curriculum and student assessment to ensure alignment with a knowledge-based economy.

However, even though the development of literacy skills in the primary stage tops the Jordanian Ministry of Education's agenda of priorities, the authors have been disheartened by the little attention it receives in practice. What the authors have observed in their regular school visits has been documented by Ihmeideh (2009), who reported that Jordanian primary grade children hardly ever receive any teacher encouragement to develop their literacy skills.

This mismatch between set goals and actual practice could be attributed to a host of factors, most important amongst which may be teachers' lack of ability or inclination to promote literacy as a paramount ingredient of the learning/teaching process. This study, therefore, set out to identify teacher self-reported practices for developing their pupils' reading. More specifically, it attempts to provide answers to the following questions:

1. Which practices do primary grade teachers perceive as instrumental in developing young children's reading
2. To what extent, if any, do such variables as gender, qualification, teaching experience, exposure to child-literacy courses during pre-service training, and personal interest in reading affect teacher reported practices to develop young children's reading.

The potential significance of this study lies in its scope. It explores an area that is, to the best of these researchers' knowledge, has largely been ignored in the Jordanian context, namely, primary grade teachers' practices for developing young children's reading. It is also hoped that the present findings have implications for teacher training and curriculum design by exploring pedagogical approaches and teaching and assessment practices that prepare young children for contemporary literacy practice.

Method, sample, instruments, and data collection and analysis

Two samples were drawn to achieve the purpose of the study: one randomly selected to respond to the self-assessment checklist and another to respond to the interview[1]. The former consisted of 433 and the latter of 53 class teachers of the first three grades in the public schools of the northern region of Jordan which spans eight directorates of education (viz., Irbid first, second, and third directorates, Al-Ramtha, Al-Koura, Alaghwar, Bani-Kananah, and Jarash). Class teachers major in Elementary Education rather any one subject matter and, thus, teach all school subjects except English.

The authors used a combination of quantitative (self-assessment checklist) and qualitative (interview) approaches. These are dubbed 'mixed methods' by Tashakkori & Teddlie (2003), and are seen not as mutually exclusive but rather as approaches which have the potential to complement each other and present a more comprehensive view of the problem at hand.

Even though the study is reported in English, both instruments were written and administered in Arabic, the respondents' mother tongue, to avoid inconveniencing them or affecting their ability to respond fully and freely. However, both instruments, as well as the responses to them, were translated into English to facilitate reporting the findings of the research. A fellow professor of linguistics checked samples of the translations against the original scripts and attested to their validity.

Prior to the design of the instruments, the authors conducted an exhaustive review of the literature and an initial survey of a sample of 23 teachers who were queried about whether or not they have any particular practices to develop their pupils' reading skills inside and outside the school. Initially, a 5-Likert scale, 29-item self-assessment checklist was designed and checked for validity by a jury of six Jordanian professors of elementary education, teaching English to speakers of other languages, as well as courses in measurement and evaluation. In addition to minor changes to the wording and sequencing of the items, the Checklist was reduced to 25 items. For example, the two items *the teacher selects stories which relate to the science curriculum* and *the teacher selects stories to support reading lessons* were collapsed into the item *the teacher selects reading materials which relate to the school curriculum* to achieve economy and avoid redundancy.

Cronbach alpha coefficient was calculated to measure the internal consistency of the Checklist. It was established at 0.83, which was deemed appropriate for the purposes of this research.

A month before conducting the actual investigation, the Checklist was used twice on a sample of 27 teachers, who were excluded from the main sample, with two weeks in between. Pearson correlation coefficient of the test-retest of the instrument was found to be 0.88, which was considered appropriate for the purposes of this research.

The Checklist

The subjects were asked to respond to each of the twenty-five items of the Checklist on a 5-point Likert-type scale in which *1= never, 2= seldom, 3= sometimes, 4= often,* and *5= always.* To allow the respondents adequate time to respond to the Checklist, the authors took one month to personally collect the filled-in specimen from the respondents. Of the 433 copies of the Checklist

distributed, 357 (82.4%) were returned. The returned specimen only included 50 copies by male respondents (vs. 307 by female ones), which is due to a recent policy by which the Jordanian Ministry of Education has ceased training/ recruiting male teachers for the first three primary grades which are becoming increasingly co-educational and taught almost exclusively by female teachers.

The data were analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) were calculated for the items of the Checklist which were then ranked in descending order of occurrence to determine the most valued practices.

Five-Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was also used to determine whether or not there were statistically significant differences which can be attributed to the variables of the study (viz., gender, teaching experience, previous coursework, and personal interest in reading), which allowed the authors to compare the relative weightings of the self-reported practices across the teacher subgroups.

The Interview

A semi-structured interview schedule was designed by the researchers, based on their collective experience in basic and tertiary education and an extensive review of the literature. A sample of 53 class teachers was purposefully chosen for the interview, based on their willingness and cooperation, to elicit further information and, thus, gain deeper insights into their perceptions about and reported practices for promoting their pupils' reading. The content validity of the schedule was established by a jury of six Jordanian professors of elementary education, teaching English to speakers of other languages, and measurement and evaluation whose collective suggestions for rephrasing, deleting or adding items were taken into account, resulting in a seven-question schedule.

On the other hand, the reliability of the schedule was assured through conducting the interview twice, with a three-week interval, with five teachers who were excluded from the main sample of the study. The authors collectively analyzed these interviews prior to enlisting the help of a fellow professor in elementary education to analyze them on his own. The two analyses were almost identical, which was taken as evidence for the reliability of the schedule.

In conducting the interviews, the authors adhered to the procedures of qualitative research drawing on the work of Creswell (1998), Glaser and Strauss (1967), and Weiss (1994), as shown in the following:

– Explaining the problem and purpose of the study to the respondents who have agreed to take part and assuring them of the confidentiality of the

information they provide and its use exclusively for the purpose of academic research;

– Obtaining the respondents' prior consent to record the interviews;
– Setting the time and place for the interview according to the respondents' availability and preference;
– Attempting to establish a friendly rapport with the respondents prior to the interview to give it the feel of a conversation rather than a structured academic procedure;
– Identifying each respondent by a number, rather than his/her own name, to ensure anonymity and encourage respondents to divulge personal information;
– Posing the interview questions and then re-asking one or more of those in various forms as a means to give the respondents the opportunity to elaborate without having to interrupt the interview or badger them to answer the question more fully; and
– Showing each respondent the transcript of his/her recorded responses to ascertain that this is what he/she intended to say and, at same time, allowing them to add to and/or delete from its content.

Similarly, in analyzing the subjects' responses to the interview, the authors observed the procedures of qualitative analysis as outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1967), Creswell (1998), and Oliver (2000), as follows:

– After transcribing each interview on a separate sheet of paper, the authors analyzed the script line by line to identify key points.
– The key points in each sentence were marked with a series of codes.
– The data were grouped into core categories, and similar ideas were put into a number of sub-categories within them.
– The reliability of the analysis was assured by enlisting the help of a fellow professor of elementary education to redo the analysis individually. A comparison between the two analyses revealed agreement along both the main and sub-categories, which were taken as evidence on the soundness and accuracy of the analysis.
– The frequencies and percentages of the responses along the sub-categories were calculated.

Findings and discussion

This section is organized according to the research questions: *the practices perceived by primary grade teachers as instrumental in developing young*

children's reading and *the extent to which the variables of gender, qualification, teaching experience, having studied child-literacy courses during pre-service preparation, and having a personal interest in reading affect teacher practices to develop young children's reading.*

The first research question

To answer this question, means and standard deviations were computed for each of the Checklist items. These data are presented in descending order of occurrence in Table 1.

TABLE 1: Means and Standard Deviations of the sample's responses to the Self-Assessment Checklist

Rank	Item Number in Checklist	Item The teacher _____	Mean	Standard Deviation
1	2	talks with children about the importance of reading for developing an individual's personality	3.56	1.44
2	13	encourages children to participate in classroom literary competitions	3.53	1.48
3	14	encourages children to take part in regional/national literary competitions	3.51	1.48
4	18	selects reading materials which relate to the school curriculum	3.46	1.42
5	4	provides children with electronic reading materials such s CD-ROMs and DVDs	3.46	1.42
6	5	reinforces children, who show an interest in reading, with books, magazines, and other literacy artifacts	3.24	1.30

Rank	Item Number in Checklist	Item The teacher _____	Mean	Standard Deviation
7	9	allows children opportunities to talk about what they read	3.22	1.41
8	12	engages children with discussions of what they read	3.19	1.33
9	7	engages children with discussions of their literacy-related hobbies	3.18	1.41
10	1	chooses a wide range of reading materials to meet children's diverse interests	3.14	1.35
11	6	designs certain reading activities to encourage children to read	3.13	1.25
12	10	encourages children to have a home library/personal book corner	3.10	1.35
13	11	urges children to use the school library	3.08	1.30
14	16	accompanies children to the school/ local library	3.07	1.36
15	3	communicates with parents about worthwhile reading materials available in local book shops	2.48	1.37
16	19	involves parents in assessing their children's literacy	2.47	1.32

Rank	Item Number in Checklist	Item The teacher _____	Mean	Standard Deviation
17	25	designs literacy-related activities for children to do at home	2.45	1.23
18	24	communicates with parents about their children's reading needs and interests	2.39	0.98
19	17	provides children with stories, magazines and other literacy-related materials to quench their natural curiosity	2.35	1.23
20	20	communicates with parents regarding the criteria for selecting children's reading materials	2.32	0.99
21	23	communicates with parents to urge them to take their children to the local library	2.25	1.26
22	21	provides parents with models to assess their children's literacy skills	2.15	1.35
23	8	encourages children to read voluntarily	2.11	0.90
24	15	allocates a once-a-week lesson for voluntary reading	2.11	0.91
25	22	meets with parents to familiarize them with effective ways for developing their children's literacy skills	2.08	1.39

Table 1 shows that Checklist items number 2, 13, and 14 topped the list of teacher self-reported practices, with means of 3.56, 3.53, and 3.51, respectively. This suggests that teachers' classroom practices focus on *involving children in reading for self-growth* (item 2) and for *participation in literary competitions in- and outside the school* (items 13 and 14).

Similarly, the vast majority of the interviewees reported similar practices, albeit more for participation in literary competitions than for *personal growth and development*, as shown in excerpts 1-3, below:

> *I encourage all children to read and urge them to represent our school in the literary competitions held by the Ministry of Education* [1].

> *I especially encourage gifted pupils to read more to be able to take part and win in the Ministry's annual literary competitions* [2].

> *We have to encourage children to read literature so that they can take part in the educational competitions organized by the Ministry. At the beginning of each semester, all schools are formally asked to nominate candidates for participation in these competitions* [3].

Nevertheless, as important as this result is, it does not necessarily reflect a genuinely effective practice, partially because taking part in literary competitions should stem more from the pupils themselves than from the teacher or MoE regulations, not to mention that this practice is only directed at a select group of pupils (i.e. the gifted or literary-inclined) rather than the general pupil population who should be targeted with teacher literacy-related practices. Besides, although the teachers reportedly encourage their pupils' participation in literary competitions, other reported classroom practices do not reflect that these pupils are necessarily encouraged to do so.

These practices were reported in either moderate (items 18, 4, 5, 9, 12, 7, 1, 6, 10, 11, and 16) or low (items 3, 19, 25, 24, 17, 20, 23, 21, 8, 15, and 22) frequency. The discussion below is a synthesis of these practices.

Making use of supplementary materials/activities

The selection of reading topics which correlate with the topics of the school curriculum (item 18) scored a mean of 3.46, which may suggest that teachers do not necessarily pay much attention to *using reading materials to support/ supplement teaching and learning the curriculum*. More specifically, this is evident by the teachers' responses to items 1, 6, and 25, which reveal that they *choose/design reading activities for the children to carry out in school or at home* at moderate levels.

Similarly, the data show that teachers do not often *design class and home reading activities to engage children in reading* and only moderately *provide them with print and electronic reading matter to encourage them to read* and to reinforce their reading efforts (items 4 and 5) as is the case with *engaging children in discussions about their literacy-related hobbies* to determine the types of reading materials that would develop their literacy skills (items 7 and 1) with means of 3.18 and 3.14, respectively.

The teachers' self-reported practices seem to suggest a fairly moderate commitment to encouraging children to read, as shown by their responses to items 9, 12, and 1 (see Table 1) which relate to *allowing children opportunities to talk about what they read amongst themselves* or *with the teacher* and *choosing a wide range of reading materials to meet these children's diverse interests*. In the same vein, the interview indicates that *allowing children the opportunity to talk about what they read* is not an established teacher practice, for only less than one third of the interviewees reported that even when they discuss what is being read with the children, the goal is not fostering these children's literacy but rather making sure instructional objectives are achieved, as shown in excerpts 4-6 below:

> *I discuss the stories in the textbook with my pupils to assure effective instruction and attainment* [4].

> *I have some stories in my classroom book corner. I have not bought them but rather collected them from the Directorate. However, to be honest with you, I have never discussed any of these stories with the children, because I am sure these children are unable to comprehend them but just look at the pictures in them* [5].

> *I never allow my pupils to talk about their reading materials, but only because I have too many things to worry about. I do not have time to do that. I am overloaded and the children's timetable is overflowing, add to that that the regulations stipulate that I teach the whole curriculum before year-end* [6].

These excerpts seem to suggest that the focus is not on developing children's literacy but rather on teaching the school curriculum, which is not uncommon in the Jordanian educational system which seems to attribute a particular sanctity to school textbooks. The literature (Al-Barakat, 2001; Skierso, 1991; Tulley & Farr, 1990) provides evidence that if the textbook is sanctified as the main teaching/learning resource, it is bound to dominate and steer classroom practice, as it identifies what and how teachers teach and pupils learn. As teachers feel compelled to cover the entire curriculum, they are bound to teach the content only briefly and often superficially and, thus, children go over the topics in each grade rather than really mastering them before moving on.

According to NAEYC (2009, p.4), practices of concern include 'excessive lecturing to the whole group, fragmented teaching of discrete objectives, and insistence that teachers follow rigid, tightly paced schedules [...] curtailing valuable experiences such as problem solving, rich play, collaboration with peers, opportunities for emotional and social development, outdoor/physical activity, and the arts [not to mention that] children are less likely to develop a love of learning and a sense of their own competence and ability to make choices.'

These findings are further supported with data derived from the interview, which seems to suggest that teachers do not give much attention to supplementing the curriculum, probably because they believe that the textbook is adequate and because educational authorities do not require them to do so, as shown in excerpts 7-12 below:

> *I restrict all reading activities to those in the school textbook* [7].
>
> *The Ministry of Education does not require that we design reading activities to develop our pupils' literacy. I believe the textbooks include adequate reading texts to develop their literacy* [8].
>
> *I do not believe there is much point in my purchasing any reading materials. Last year alone, Irbid Directorate of Education provided forty stories. No matter what their reading interests are, the children have to read these stories—just stories, no other literature* [9].
>
> *My school does not allocate a budget to purchase books to cater for all the children's reading needs and interests* [10].
>
> *Once or twice a year, we reward bright students with some magazines and stories in appreciation for their academic achievement* [11].
>
> *To be blunt and totally honest with you, we do not give them books to quench their curiosity. We have other priorities in the budget* [12].

This seems in contrast with the teachers' self-reported efforts to encourage pupils to take part in school, regional, and national literary competitions. In addition, they seem to believe that reading materials should be given to certain children (more often than not, as a reward to avid readers or high achievers) without placing much value on these reading materials potential to quench these children's natural curiosity.

However, these findings are quite consistent with the quantitative analysis (see Table 1) which reveals that practices such as *providing children with stories, magazines, and other literacy-related materials to quench their natural curiosity* (item 17) were low among those reported by the teachers, with a mean of 2.35.

This may suggest that these teachers lack for any deliberate practices to develop their pupils' reading even though they report more progressive practices such as *providing children with electronic reading materials*, which is in line with recent evidence on the potential of ICT to increase children's interest in reading (Elkind, 2006).

This apparent contradiction may be resolved if one attributed the teachers' negative assessment of their practices for developing their pupils' reading to their misunderstanding of how interest can be developed in young children. This is inconsistent with current educational perspectives that emphasize exposing children to a plethora of literacy-related artifacts to allow them the opportunity to read according to their needs and interests.

Rajeb (1996), for example, suggests that children be exposed to literature to enable them to develop their personalities and experience, which is possible, if not inevitable, given the current technological advances and the accelerated transfer of information. Electronic literature, often with multimedia effects which enables children to interact with the textual display on the computer screen (Jong & Bus, 2004), is currently readily abundant with special attention to children's unique needs, interests, and backgrounds that impact their respective choice to engage in literacy-related activities (Swartz & Hendricks, 2000).

The respondents' religious commitment to the curriculum can be attributed, as also gleaned from their responses to the interview, to the following reasons:

–   school principals' overzealous commitment to teaching the entire textbook by the end of the year, and
–   children's inability to comprehend reading materials.

Nevertheless, this should not discourage teachers from trying to make the best out of a bad situation. They can still encourage their pupils to read and develop a love for reading through allowing them opportunities to practice ready-made or self-designed electronic and print materials in- and outside the classroom. They can also be inventive in allocating some time, no matter how little, to having their pupils talk about their reading experiences, for depriving them from doing so will negatively affect not only their literacy but also their cognitive (Palinscar, 1998), emotional, and social development (Williams & Lawson, 2005).

Making use of the library and independent literacy-related activities

Teacher practices relating to developing positive attitudes towards the library, as an environment for developing a vested interest in reading, scored relatively moderate means, as shown in items 10, 11, and 16 relating to *encouraging children*

to have a personal library at home, to visit local/public libraries, and *to accompany these children to libraries*, with means of 3.10, 3.08, and 3.07, respectively.

Only a couple of respondents reported that they would give attention to the library as a source for developing children's reading, as shown in excerpt 13 below:

> *I encourage children to visit the library to get acquainted with the latest books* [13].

However, the vast majority of the respondents expressed unwillingness to benefit from the library, for a number of reasons, as shown in excerpts 14-16 below:

> *I would like to visit the library with my pupils, but, unfortunately, our school does not have one* [14].

> *I have not taken my class to the library because some of my pupils still have difficulties in reading and comprehension* [15].

> *There is no point in taking my pupils to the library; instead, I give them books, stories and magazines* [16].

The authors are taken aback by these responses. Frequenting the library is an effective practice for determining pupils' real reading interests which could be capitalized on to guide them to reading materials that respond to these interests (Elkind, 2006). However, excerpts 14-16 above point out the teachers' neglect of the role of the library in developing children's literacy, which may further point out these teachers' traditional tendency for absolute authority and denying children any opportunities for independent learning. These teachers apparently see themselves as the source of knowledge or the center of the teaching/learning process.

Nevertheless, having children read what they are required to read without having a say in the matter may reflect negatively on their learning. Instead, the teacher may train his/her pupils to use the library and give them the choice to visit it either with their parents or on their own. The importance of the library is established by a plethora of research findings and, thus, it is imperative for teachers to create situations in which pupils can choose and respond to reading materials, analyze their choices, and identify their reading interests which can be used as a catalyst for fostering a life-long love for reading. Wendelin & Zinck (1983), for example, claim that for pupils to be independent readers, they have to be allowed opportunities to respond and select literature by themselves.

Similarly, Ramos & Krashen (1998) report that children who are exposed to books through library visits achieve higher levels of enjoyment in – and enthusiasm for – reading.

Furthermore, a closer look at Table 1 reveals that the responses to items 25, 17, 8, and 15, which relate to *designing literacy-related activities for children to do at home, providing children with stories, magazines, and other literacy-related materials to quench their natural curiosity, encouraging children to read voluntarily,* and *allocating a once-a-week lesson for voluntary reading,* point out little practice for developing children's literacy. This was further confirmed by the interview in which most of the respondents reported that they do not give much attention to voluntary reading, as shown in excerpts 17 and 18 below:

> *We encourage children to read on their own, but, in most cases, they do not have enough time to do so* [17].

> *My pupils like to read voluntarily, but we do not have enough time to do so. They have plenty of school assignments to do, which makes it very difficult to allocate specific time for voluntary reading* [18].

Excerpts 17 and 18 demonstrate that time pressure is not necessarily the reason for not having children engage in voluntary reading. Instead, there seems to be a misconception among teachers that voluntary reading has to be done in the classroom and in conjunction with school work. These teachers seem quite unaware of the importance of increased exposure to literacy-related artifacts in- and outside the classroom for developing children's inclinations towards voluntary/independent reading, which is consistent with Ramos & Krashen (1998) and Swartz & Hendricks's (2000) claims that the more exposed children are to reading in the classroom, the more they are inclined to read at their leisure.

Table 1 also reveals that the items related to teachers' practices for involving parents in developing their children's literacy scored the lowest means, which points out that teachers do not usually take the initiative to involve parents in developing their children's literacy. More specifically, the data analysis shows that items 3, 24, 20, and 23 which relate to *communicating with parents about worthwhile reading materials available in local bookshops, their children's reading needs and interests, the criteria for selecting children's reading materials*, and *taking their children to the local library* scored low among the teachers' self-reported practices. Similarly, items 19 and 21 which relate to *involving parents in assessing their children's literacy* and *providing parents with models to assess their children's literacy* scored similar means to those relating to *communication with parents* (compare 2.48, 2.47, 2.32, and 2.25 to 2.39 and 2.15, respectively).

The findings above point out a deficiency in teacher practices for involving parents in developing their children's literacy, which is further confirmed by the analysis of the majority of the teachers' responses to the interview. However, few pointed out certain measures to involve parents in their children's literacy, as shown in excerpts 19–21 below:

> *Every year just before the school annual fair, I send parents a list of the products that would be on sale including the titles of some of the books or electronic media (e.g. CD ROMs). The parents' financial position often determines whether or not their children get enough money to buy any of these products* [19].

> I always write to parents in the school fair season that stories and magazines will be available for their children to buy, but, from past experience, seldom do these parents show any interest, possibly because they are not aware of the value of children's literature in children's learning and development [20].

> *To tell you the truth, I never try to direct parents to any bookshops, or even the library, to help them develop their children's literacy* [21].

Interview excerpts 19-21 and the teachers' responses to items 3, 19, 24, 20, 23, and 21 of the Checklist (in Table 1) seem to support the notion that teachers may hold certain misconceptions about the importance of parents' involvement in developing their children's literacy in conjunction with the teachers' efforts in the classroom. This is highlighted by item 25, *meeting with parents to familiarize them with effective ways for developing their children's literacy*, which scored the lowest mean of 2.08.

Additionally, despite a good body of research findings (cf., for example, Snow, Barnes, Chandler, Goodman & Hemphill, 1991; Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988; Teale, 1986) which suggests that how parents raise their children plays a key role in their development of a life-long interest in and love for reading, the interviewees pointed out, quite candidly, that their practices do not specifically involve increasing parents' involvement in the matter. For instance, *corresponding with parents about the books in school annual fairs* was not accompanied with efforts to *raise these parents' awareness of the value of books for developing their children's social personality and attitudes towards reading*, which may detract from these parents' inclination to support and get involved in these fairs. Parents may not think of making their homes book-rich environments because they are unaware of their role in doing so, which may, in turn, be a result of the teachers' lack of awareness of or inclination to capitalize on the parents' role in the process of building their pupils' literacy.

At the end of the day, the lack of deliberate teacher practices to involve parents may be seen to indicate that these teachers are unaware of what is involved in developing young children's literacy, especially if one kept in mind the importance of abundant exposure and access to reading materials in engaging children and building their attitudes toward literacy (cf. Krashen, 1993; Ramos & Krashen, 1998).

The second research question

To examine the potential effect of the variables of *gender, academic qualifications, teaching experience, having studied child-literacy courses during pre-service preparation,* and *having a personal interest in reading* on teachers' practices to develop young children's literacy, means and standard deviations of the participants' responses were computed, as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2: *Effect of gender, pre-service course work, having a personal interest in reading, academic qualifications, and teaching experience on teachers' self-reported practices*

Variable	Levels	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Gender	Male Female	50 307	3.25 3.03	1.001 1.050
Pre-service Courses	Yes No	203 154	3.37 2.64	0.824 1.155
Peronal Reading Interest	Yes No	281 76	3.34 1.99	0.876 0.929
Academic Qualifications	Two-Year College Diploma (after secondary school) Bachelor Degree Post graduate schooling	126 206 25	3.18 3.00 2.95	1.029 1.052 1.057
Teaching Experience	Short experience (1-5 years) Moderate experience (6-10 years) long experience (over 10 years)	158 100 99	3.23 3.15 2.69	0.839 1.178 1.119

Table 2 shows that there are differences in the respondents' means according to the variables of study. To determine whether or not these variables have any statistically significant effects on teachers' self-reported practices to develop young children's reading, a five-way analysis of variance was conducted, as shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3: Five-way analysis of variance of the participants responses according to the variables of the study

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean of Squares	Value of F	Significance
Gender	0.27	1	0.27	0.03	0.846
Academic Qualifications	2.15	2	1.07	1.49	0.227
Personal Interest in Reading	34.06	1	34.06	47.23	0.000*
Teaching Experience	1.10	2	0.55	0.76	0.003*
Pre-service Course Work	6.80	1	6.80	9.43	0.002*

* Significant at p.0.05

Table 3 shows no statistically significant effect for gender or academic qualifications on teachers' self-reported practices for developing young children's reading. This may be understandable if one kept in mind how male and female teachers are all under the supervision of the MoE which, despite its serious commitment to educational reform, does not seem to exert any special efforts to raise teachers' awareness or inform their practices with respect to their pupils' reading development (cf., for example, Bataineh & Al-Barakat, 2005). On the other hand, Table 3 reveals that having studied child-literacy courses during pre-service preparation and having a personal interest in reading have statistically significant effects on teacher practices to develop young children's reading, in favour of teachers who had studied pre-service literacy-related courses and those who have a personal interest in reading.

Moreover, Table 3 shows that teaching experience does make a statistically significant difference in the teachers' practices to develop children's reading. To identify the source of variance, Tukey's post-hoc test was conducted, as shown in Table 4 below:

TABLE 4: Tukey's Post-hoc test of the effect of teaching experience on teachers' self-reported practices to develop children's reading

Teaching experience	Means	1-5 years 3.23	6-10 years 3.15	over 11 years 2.69
1-5 years	3.23			*
6-10 years	3.15			*
over 11 years	2.69			

Table 4 shows statistically significant differences in teachers' practices to develop children's reading between teachers with short (1-5 years) and longer experience (6-10 years), in favour of those with shorter experience. In other words, longer teaching experience seems to reflect negatively on teachers' literacy-related practices.

It is imperative to interpret these findings in the context of those which pointed out little deliberate practice to develop children's reading. The authors believe that none of these findings exists in a vacuum and that a certain degree of overlap exists among the mediating factors. The interview revealed that the Jordanian MoE and teacher education programs are most influential in providing teachers with the means and know-how to develop young children's reading, as shown in excerpts 22-25 below:

> I am trying to develop my pupils' literacy out of my own interest and belief that reading is vital for the children's development and future role as good citizens of the society. However, I am alone in all this. My school administration does not encourage me one bit as evident in the principal's repeated refusal to buy books for my classroom library [22].

> I would love to make children love books and appreciate the library, who wouldn't? But the textbooks are bulky and crowded and prevent any possibility for holding voluntary reading sessions, not to mention the principal's insistence that textbook content be covered before doing anything else [23].

I find your question a bit strange. I did study a course in children's literature as an undergraduate. It was an elective and I got an excellent grade, but the problem is there was nothing in the course on how to develop children's literacy or an introduction of good practices for doing so. We read a lot and memorized a lot, but, to be brutally honest with you, nothing came out of either [24].

Personally, I believe in the value of voluntary reading, but I have no idea how children's literacy can be developed. In fact, my colleagues and I would be grateful if you could make certain specific recommendations for us and our school administration about some good practices that we could use to improve our pupils' literacy [25].

Interview excerpts 22-25 point out a near consensus amongst the respondents that educational authorities, both in- and pre-service, offer little to empower teachers to develop young children's reading, which could be attributed to two reasons:

– Schools and school administrations still prescribe to traditional views which focus on the academic domain rather than other aspects of the child's personality.
– Children literature courses, when present, are structured and taught, often building on the misconception that a student's mind is a tabula rasa, expecting him/her to memorize knowledge rather than learn by relevance or understanding.

This is consistent with previous research findings (Al-Barakat, 2003; Al-Karasneh, 2007; Jawarneh & El-Hersh, 2005) which seem to suggest that traditional teacher education programs do not always prepare Jordanian pre-service teachers, as others around the world do Goodlad, 1990; Korthagen, 2001), for the realities of the classroom. There are reports that student-teachers often feel powerless to change the *status quo* in the classroom and, thus, develop a sense of compliance and, eventually, a mindset which places theory in one compartment and practice in another. Some research (Cole & Knowles, 1993; Veenman, 1984; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981) shows that the transfer of theory to practice is often minimal or non-existent. There are claims (Zeichner & Gore, 1990; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1981) that many of the educational conceptions developed during pre-service teacher education are 'washed out' during actual teaching practice, which often creates problems for teachers as they transition from pre- into in-service practice.

That no statistically significant differences were found in teacher practices due to academic qualification may be seen as an inevitable result of the fact that Jordanian teacher education programs are similar. Many teachers had had similar pre-service training in terms of studying children's literature courses either in their undergraduate or post-graduate schooling, as was also pointed out in interview excerpt 26 below:

> *To tell you the honest truth, I do not know anything about the effective practices to encourage children to have an interest in reading. I have never studied any course about that when I was a student 14 years ago, but I think Ms. Reem, who has just graduated from Yarmouk University, would know about that because I know she has studied a course on the subject* [26].

When approached, Ms. Reem was forthright about having studied the course on which she reflects in excerpt 27 below:

> *True. I have studied a course on children literature at university, which helped me a lot in learning about effective ways to encourage children to read with enthusiasm, but, unfortunately, it is an elective and not many students have the good sense to study it. I wish it were required from all students* [27].

This teacher's response may be valuable for pointing out the importance of raising teachers' awareness of the role of literacy-related coursework in developing children's reading. Her suggestion clearly has implications for decision-makers both at the Jordanian MoE and pre-service preparation programs who need to take into consideration these courses potential to inform and improving teacher practice in developing children's life-long interest in reading.

In addition, the findings seem to suggest that longer teaching experience reflects negatively on teachers' literacy-related practices. This result may be attributed to that teachers with longer experience had not necessarily studied courses on children literature, not to mention that early childhood education is a fairly recent field of study at Jordanian universities, which means that teachers with longer experience specialize in other fields such as language, history, and social studies rather than early childhood education. Excerpt 26 above seems to corroborate this observation, especially as the respondent was keen to point out that she had not studied any literacy-related courses when she was a student 14 years earlier, unlike *Ms. Reem, who has just graduated from Yarmouk* [.. and] *studied a course on the subject*.

Conclusions and implications

The results gleaned from this study are largely congruent with the literature on teacher education. Primary grade teachers need to be well prepared in the theoretical and technical aspects of teaching children to read and write. To fully develop their children's literacy in general, and reading skills in particular, teachers must design/adapt materials to support/supplement the curriculum. In addition, children need chances to read independently both in- and outside the school. Libraries/book corners are needed to encourage children to read by themselves. A variety of reading materials, such as stories, informational books, magazines, and picture books, should be on hand with lively displays to encourage children to read and broaden their reading experiences (Neuman & Bredekam p, 2000).

Many teachers encourage children to talk about what they read based on evidence—such as that provided by NAEYC (1998), for instance—that this practice promotes children's interest in reading. Children should also be allowed opportunities to read to audiences, including teachers and peers, and to talk with one another about the books they are reading not only to motivate reading itself but also to increase reading accuracy and fluency. With peer pressure to read, because children want to read what their peers are reading, reading becomes an integral part of the classroom culture (Manning & Manning, 1984).

Furthermore, reading should be part of children's out-of-school activities, thus facilitating parental involvement in supporting children's reading habits at home. Early parental involvement in children's reading has been found to play a key role in these children's literacy and reading achievement (Darling, 2004). Research shows that the earlier this involvement, the more profound and the longer-lasting its effect (Mullis, Mullis, Cornille, Ritchson & Sullender, 2004) on children's interest in and attitudes towards reading (Rowe, 1991), language and literacy development (Wade & Moore, 2000), reading achievement and expressive language skills (Gest, Freeman, Domitrovich & Welsh, 2004) which continues into their teenage and even adult years (Desforges & Abouchaar, 2003).

To encourage voluntary independent reading, children should have access to a library/book corner inside or outside the school. They should be encouraged to read easy series books (also known as page turners) rather than the classics. Quantity is more important than quality in building up fluency (Murray, 1999).

Along the same lines, Celano & Neuman's (2001) survey of recent literature showed that libraries play a major role in fostering literacy, especially among groups such as preschool and elementary school children, who need the most assistance in developing literacy skills. Similarly, Krashen (1993) reports on

research which reveals the value of free voluntary reading in developing children's reading, writing and spelling skills. He reports on research which reveals, among other things, that children read more when they see others (e.g. teachers, peers, and parents) read and that the relationship between free voluntary reading and literacy is consistent, even when different tests, different methods of reading habits and different definitions of free reading are used.

To demonstrate literacy responsive pedagogy, primary grade teachers need to resort to a host of practices, the most important amongst which, according to Callins (2006, pp.6-7), are the following:

– communicating high expectations and having genuine respect for their children and belief in their capability;
– using active teaching methods to promote children's engagement by requiring them to play an active role in both the curriculum and learning activities;
– facilitating learning within an active teaching environment in which the teacher plays the role not only of instructor but also of guide, mediator, and knowledgeable consultant;
– including individualized and cooperative learning activities to insure low-pressure, student-controlled learning groups that can support children's literacy development;
– being aware of parents' role in children's literacy development and opening channels for their inclusion in literacy-related activities; and
– adjusting the curriculum to respond to children's needs and interests.

Despite the limited scope of this study, the findings have several implications for teacher education, the most significant of which is that teacher education programmes have a key role to play in equipping pre-service teachers with the basic knowledge and skills for developing their pupils' literacy. However, one should not assume that the programmes which provide specific literacy-related courses are necessarily graduating teachers with the know-how to develop young children's literacy.

As with other facets of teaching and learning, teachers seem predisposed to rely on traditional approaches they had been exposed to as students themselves (Graham, 2005). Crow (1987), Koster, Korthagen & Schrijnemakers (1995), and Ross (1987), who examined the effect of former teachers on the way pre-service teachers teach, claimed that these can serve both as positive and negative role models to pre-service teachers even though this effect does not necessarily take place at a conscious level (McEvoy, 1986; Zeichner, Tabachnick & Densmore, 1987).

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Note

1. For a copy of the Checklist and/or Interview Schedule, contact the corresponding author at *rubab@yu.edu.jo.*

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THE BIRTH OF 'CITIZENSHIP AND CONSTITUTION' IN ITALIAN SCHOOLS: A NEW WALL OF COMPETENCES OR TRANSITION TO INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION?

SANDRA CHISTOLINI

Abstract – *It seems to be impossible to study education and pedagogy without considering the question of competences and abilities which are the new ID for European and worldwide citizenship. Our discussion starts from an analytical point of view with the aim of examining the conditions of learning in Europe and the future of our systems of higher education. Are we able to communicate the values and traditions of our common historical and cultural heritage or are we facing ungovernable challenges? The era of competences finds fertile ground in a pragmatist mind, while the construction of European citizenship navigates in the waters of the great Mediterranean Sea, cradle of ancient civilisations. Italy could be an interesting example of how Citizenship and Constitution become part of the school curriculum, at all levels, taking the place of Civic Education and Intercultural Education in teaching-training programmes.*

Introduction: triads spanned by system competences

*I*t seems to have become almost impossible to talk about education and teaching without referring to the abilities which should constitute the new ID, with which a European citizen presents himself to the world. This study analyzes the current situation in order to outline the present and future of a Europe that is increasingly trying to communicate, better and better, values drawn from common historical and cultural roots.

Reading the news, aided by telecommunications and the transparency of online documents, often in the various languages of the countries of the European Union, necessitates an initial selection that corresponds with this article's proposed research approach.

Reading, selecting and planning are part of the educational policy we are experiencing and from which emerges clearly enough the intention of achieving ambitious objectives. They are, on the one hand, a logical consequence of the development determined by globalisation, while, on the other hand, they are the 'structures' conceived to manage a multiplicity of elements which have to be dealt with. To convey what the cultures of Europe have produced in the course of time requires not only the structural and formal command of a language, but, more

importantly, it questions our willingness to be in a world in which civilisations must meet, even if, historically, they have not always followed the same path.

To understand, in a European context, where we are going and which skills we have to develop, as teachers, students, citizens and people belonging to different traditions and cultures, means that our human and professional training should aim at combining our legacy from the past with the present, in order to enrich our common human heritage.

A Europe of knowledge is an urgency, not just a computerised slogan. It is essential to interact with this situation in order to uphold the revitalization, in European universities, and try to propel them towards a better future. Science and technology are committed to accepting the challenge launched by a culture conceived as a connective tissue, uniting peoples and traditions. If interculture involves educating people towards dialogue, citizenship means establishing the rules for living together—valuing each person's capacities—as individuals and as part of a community and a State, to deal with institutions and achieve justice in an ethically sound society.

The rings of knowledge, interculture and citizenship intertwine in the Europe we are building, starting from the universities and aiming to include the whole of society (see Figure 1). It is not a question of standardisation, but rather of making the training systems consistent and mutually compatible, thereby avoiding the fragmentation and the limits stemming from multiple approaches. This undertaking is certainly as arduous as it is interesting. Intellectual evaluations and inventions will have to come to terms with the exchange of knowledge made possible through international communications.

The European university and existing problems: origins, development, processes

Among the oldest universities are Al Karaouine, Morocco University, founded in 859; Al-Azhar, Cairo University, Egypt, founded in 988; the University of Bologna, Italy, founded in 1088; Oxford University, England, founded around 1096; and Paris University, founded in 1150. One can observe how the culture of Africa, facing the Mediterranean, was linked to European culture, hereby passing through Italy.

In the 7th century, the Aristotelian system encountered Arabian culture and the intellectual osmosis between West and East, Christianity and Islam, generated   a profitable exchange of scientific and philosophical knowledge. The Syrians, disciples of the Greeks, taught the Arabs to appreciate the classics and preserve ancient science. In the East, the Abassid Caliphs created a

FIGURE 1: The fundamental theme
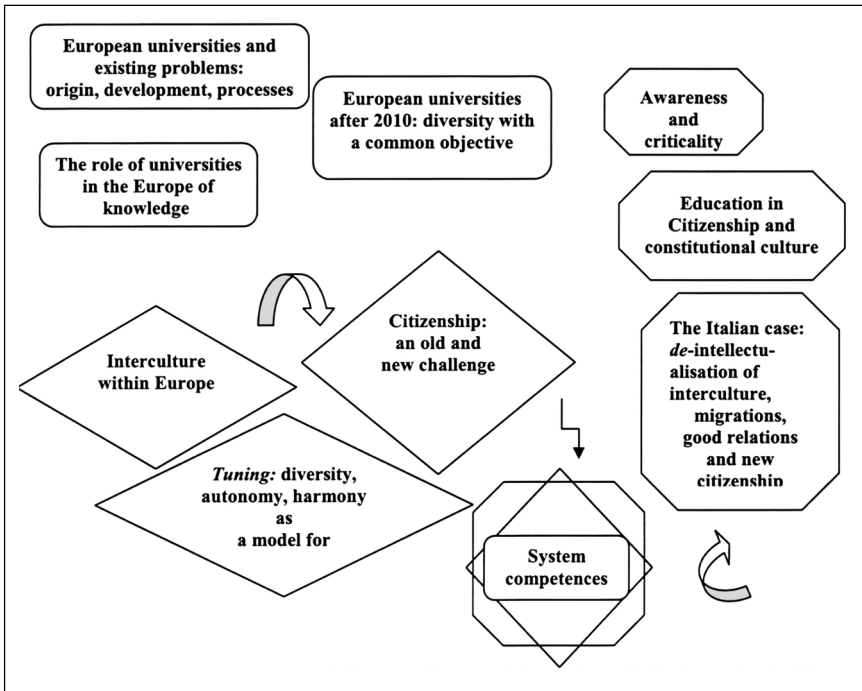
flourishing tradition with rich university libraries in Baghdad, whereas in the West the Caliphate of Cordova revised and disseminated Greek thought. From India to Egypt to Spain, the Muslim Empire combined elements of Hellenistic and Persian civilisation with Indian culture. In the 12th and 13th centuries, the Crusades and the Turkish and Mongol expansions marked the political and military decline of the great caliphates and the transfer of cultural tradition to the Latin peoples. The Arabian philosophy of Avicenna and Averroës compared Aristotle to the Koran and produced its own perceptions of the universe. Christian scholars translated the major philosophical and scientific works from Arabian into Latin and, in Toledo and Sicily, learned Arabs and Jews met at conferences.

The *universitas magistrorum et scholarium*, the association of students in Bologna and professors in Paris, is one of the most significant hallmarks of higher studies of the 11th and 12th centuries. The students, more than the professors, are the ones who gained autonomy from the Municipalities, by appealing to the Holy See for justice. The Archdeacon of Bologna quickly took on the right to award

licentia. Also at the University of Paris, officially recognised by the King of France, the exercise of jurisdiction was assigned to the Bishop's representative, the 'Chancellor'. Quite often, universities appealed to the Pope to assert their rights, sometimes privileges, with respect to local authorities.

The ups and downs that characterized 19th century Europe yielded the great models of English, German and Scottish universities, which were to be exported throughout the world. Models derived from the liberal elites: the English, more concerned with the quality of teaching and teacher-student relations, and the German, more oriented towards knowledge and science (*Wissenschaft*); the university was supposed to serve the professional needs of society and the State, an idea already present in the Universities of Padua and Bologna. But German universities confirmed this function and extended *professional needs* to the economic and industrial world and the technological society.

In 1810, Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt founded the University of Berlin as a place for studying classical culture, pursuing the ideal of the integral, humanistic and harmonious education (*Bildung*) of the inner being; teachers enjoyed teaching freedom and dedicated themselves to study and scholarship.

A different situation developed in universities of North European that were completely swallowed up by the new era. The Scottish universities opened up more to the industrial revolution, by producing engineers and scientists, concentrating on *research* and *teaching*, taking up, to a certain extent, the German meritocratic approach

In 1896, the Aberdare Report on English universities showed a change in the perception of higher education. The report stated that it was important to adapt university courses to the country's circumstances; and making them more practical meant paying adequate attention to the nation's commercial and professional life, so as to favour the careers of university graduates. Oxford and Cambridge were seen as the ivory towers of knowledge and scholarship. Knowledge, attention and interaction among people are the salient features of British universities, to which are added nobility of spirit and the formation of character. Newman further refined this model, by emphasising the value of aesthetic considerations and the education of feelings. If upholding person-to-person relations was relevant in England, in Germany and Scotland, priority was given to objectives such as the development of modern knowledge and need for the correct academic responses to the social demands of the State. A kind of dualism was clearly outlined between individual and social needs for growth. Even today, one asks what a university is and wonders if it is still an institution that educates towards intellectual leadership, if it is a centre in which independent thought and critical judgement are encouraged.

Although many universities broadly pursue these aims, interesting disparities, dependent on the general educational approach, can always be noted. During the decade, 1950-1960, strong economic growth soon turned the universities into mass institutions. The growth in enrolments led to the renewal of the university structure and system that could no longer meet the above-mentioned needs. The increased number of courses, the raised expectations and the demand for greater professionalism constituted a call, as well as a duty, for universities to close the gap between theoretical education and the workplace, and define continuous courses for the training and utilization of human resources. Around 1990, the practical idea spread that those teaching at university must conduct the courses and also do research, without which they would risk remaining at a standstill in relation to theories that had developed and opened new frontiers of knowledge.

European Universities after 2010: diversity with a common objective

European youth policies go beyond education. In March 2005, the heads of State and government adopted the *European Youth Pact*, which outlined a series of common principles concerning the creation of youth work opportunities. The basic skills that educational systems should guarantee were specified and the need for a balance between working life and family was emphasised, thereby taking into account the female population. More specifically, the European Union 'Youth' programme promotes active participation in society and the projects aiming at reinforcing the feeling of European citizenship in young people and developing in them the spirit of initiative, creativity and an entrepreneurial vision. Europe's investment in this project is about 0.9 billion Euros for the period 2007-2013.

At the end of the second millennium, European universities are in the process of realizing the proposals of the Bologna Declaration (1999), as well as attempting to open the national frontiers of academic culture.

It should be borne in mind that the Bologna Declaration represents the goal of the European movement which, in the previous decade through the mobility of Erasmus, had already started fostering a feeling of 'Europeanness' that brought the peoples of the European Community closer together. Even before this, international understanding and contacts, at the university level, were favoured, above all, by the Foreign Ministries, which also permitted free movement even in non-Community countries through agreements between the individual States. For example, Hungary, Poland and Romania entered into the agenda of European Community students and university professors, through the procedures agreed to between the Ministries and the universities.

Between 1970 and 1980, these exchanges (conducted in a third language, often English or French) had already included the study of the local language, participation in university lectures, sharing leisure time, visits to places of particular cultural significance in the host country, and the creation of friendships between European youth, without East or West European divisions.

Agreements set up by the central governments' education systems made the principle of rapprochement of the peoples operative, starting from youth education, in accordance with peace policies, the defence of freedom and democracy and the awareness, among the young, of sharing a common destiny. After the Second World War, with the signing of the Rome Treaties of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957 and the European Atomic Energy Community, Euratom, the signatories, inspired by the same ideal, decided on common action to ensure economic and social progress, by eliminating barriers and divisions.

The cultural effect of the economic agreements of the 1950s did not take hold until the Bologna Declaration (1999), recognizes the diversities of culture, language and higher education systems in the various countries as a fundamental value, a general reference framework that the creation of a common space must necessarily take into account in the attempt to define new education curricula.

Universities carry out a central role in the Europe of knowledge through research and teaching, together with the equally important and significant task of innovation (European Councils of Stockholm 2001, and Barcelona 2002). The democratic principles that guide the strategy are those of proportionality and subsidiarity, while the basic factor of the Lisbon method for extending European research is the comparative evaluation, benchmarking, of research policies (European Commission, 2002).

The role of universities in the Europe of knowledge

European documents reflect on the historical and cultural reasons that made European universities exemplary places of education for the entire world. For over eight hundred years, European universities have encouraged scientific research, worked towards the emergence of a tolerant civil society, far from dogmatism and totalitarianism, prepared the young to take up their social roles for the economic and political improvement of peoples and States. This applied to the past. As for the present and the future, the challenges posed by the twenty-first century are perhaps more arduous and include the issues of climatic change, the energy crisis, population decrease and aging, and the speed of technical revolutions.

To explain the great upheavals in terms of economic interdependence and social inequality is not, however, enough to guarantee social cohesion. Identifying a problem does not in itself mean knowing, understanding and communicating it. Understanding presupposes experience and precedes communication. Those who focus on a problem pose a question of rationality and, in some cases, ethics. They call other people to collaborate in order to present the solutions, so that others may participate in their experiences, which can become a common cognitive heritage.

With regard to the hermeneutics of understanding, Habermas, in *Knowledge and Human Interests* (published in Italian in 1970), expressed the important concept of the emergence of life and its fundamental significance in the study of the structure of the human sciences. To be involved in life and have an influence over it is the problem of scholars, scientists and politicians. Inevitably, every judgement will be conditioned by a person's individual characteristics, culture and historical context. Awareness of this conditioning helps one to understand the contents of the evaluation and does not eliminate the need for universal validity. W. Dilthey (1883) and C. S. Peirce (1933) had dealt extensively with the contrast between vital relations and scientific objectivity, in order to remain in the context of Habermas's statements, without, nevertheless, leaving aside the objectivism of hermeneutic knowledge. Objectification is part of a symbolic, inter-subjective connection, both binding and unavoidable, and for understanding to occur it is necessary, in a given situation, for two parties to communicate in a language which, in the end, is shared and becomes indivisible (cf. Habermas, 1973, pp.179-180).

The concept of European Space for Higher Education refers to the knowledge society and the creation of opportunities in science, development, technology and innovation. If we talk about the knowledge society, we cannot avoid discussing the theory of knowledge and, if this is reduced to a theory of science, we would be going back to the old positivism which, according to Habermas, was brilliantly contradicted by Peirce and Dilthey. The return to self-understanding and reflection means taking up again the principle which harmonizes language, action and experience, according to the distinction between the instrumental action, of the natural sciences, and the communicative action, of the human sciences. People are interested in regulating their relationships through language that connects symbols, actions and expressions; so that they can determine concepts of the world and give rise to human interactions, in which the protagonists are the socialised persons who communicate their lives.

The problem for science is not so much proclaiming its neutrality as searching for conditions that make research possible and, thus, a priori conditions of knowledge.

The two-fold objective of economic success and social stability in Europe cannot disregard the relationship between the sciences, only partially dealt with by encouraging interdisciplinary research.

If we consider science, economy and society as three specific units, we realise that they are only the columns and sentinels of world development. These three factors define the level of competition among groups have the power of information. Could all knowledge possibly have the same level of significance? No, this does not happen. Instead, there is supremacy of one kind of knowledge over another; this supremacy, called par excellence, is defined by science, put into circulation by economy and solidified into society. Institutions and persons reach this excellence when they are within the same set path, shared at the highest levels of social and political consensus. These paths are often selected based on economic assets. Cultural quality and financial quantity do not always agree.

Despite the high quality of scientific publications, the evaluation of the scarcely competitive state of European universities, compared to those of their major world partners, constantly poses questions of a methodological nature about how to:

– reach sustainable financial levels in, and ensure efficient spending of funds by, the universities;
– guarantee autonomy and professionalism in the academic and managerial worlds;
– concentrate sufficient resources and create the necessary conditions so that universities can attain and develop excellence;
– improve the contribution of universities, with respect to their needs and local and regional strategies;
– establish closer cooperation between universities and businesses for a better dissemination and utilization of new knowledge in the economic market and society as a whole;
– make the European space of higher education, coherent, compatible and competitive, according to the Bologna Declaration, like the creation of a new European space for research.

The Europe of knowledge, based on the economy and society, combines four interdependent factors: production, transmission, dissemination, innovation. These factors influence each other in the sense that production is always in search of vaster markets and markets require new products to feed consumerism.

The new patterns of production, transmission and application propose the enlargement of the international context. The Bologna Declaration generated a process that should not lead to the uniformity or standardisation of the national

educational systems, but should respect their autonomy and diversity. That is why one speaks of convergence, to be fostered through: the creation of a framework of excellence; the availability of efficient structures for management and practices; and the development of interdisciplinary skills.

The framework of excellence concerns each subject and is measured on a European, not national, level. As regards the structures, decisional processes should be rendered effective through the remuneration of services, accreditation and going beyond the pure academic tradition. As for interdisciplinary skills and *faculty-wide objectives,* universities must leave behind the logic of single-discipline research and open up to advanced research, necessitated by the complexity of the problems; individual disciplines can offer their specific contributions without omitting the academic comparison between the sciences.

During the annual meeting in London, in July 2007, to review the progress made in relation to the Bologna Declaration, in the *Stocktaking Report,* there was a call for flexible higher education courses, accompanied by procedures for recognising the learning carried out in non-university contexts. As a result of this, we can see that, for some years now in Italy, efforts are being made to accept the principle of flexibility of training careers. Recognition of skills accrued through non-traditional studies are gradually being recognised.

Since 2005, Italy has started simplifying the transition from the first to the second cycle of university studies; increasing internationalisation; strengthening university-industry contacts; and activating new PhD institutes. The challenges still facing the Italian system: unfocused studies; attainment of a degree within the prescribed times; improving employment levels for those who have 3-year degrees; internationalising the university system (Rauhvargers *et al*., 2007).

Interculture within Europe

The European Council, meeting in Strasburg in 1981 to discuss *L'Éducation des Enfants des Travailleurs Migrants en Europe: l'Interculturalisme et la Formation des Enseignants,* introduced the general character of intercultural education, which was defined as education for all, democratic education, quality education and teaching children to be open-minded towards others.

The reference to children of migrant workers as a field of action for intercultural education was quite customary at that time and is still a constant in pedagogical studies directed at asserting the principle of equal educational opportunities, to be achieved in multiple forms. There are discussions about the teaching strategies to assess how the principle was pursued, achieved and, possibly, disregarded.

From 1944 to date, four wide-ranging themes have been at the heart of the international scientific debate, which aimed at heightening teachers' awareness of:

–   the values of peace, democracy and justice, equal opportunities (around 1960);
–   students with specific needs (around 1970);
–   multicultural education (around 1990);
–   education towards citizenship, starting from about 2000 (Chistolini, 2007).

From a theoretical point of view, the studies of comparative and intercultural teaching mark the rise of a neo-criticism concerned with examining educational systems that define themselves as democratic, although presenting a low level of cultural pluralism. These systems are so monocultural and mono-confessional as to have crossed over into totalitarianism and State ideology, in the most glaring cases in the history of education over the last fifty years.

Subjects such as cultural anthropology, ethnology, and human geography are not sufficient to develop an understanding of other peoples and make knowledge an instrument for overcoming racial prejudices and cultural stereotypes. The comparativist Holmes spoke of eliminating error in the context of comparing educational policies. The critical view of interculture leads to the denunciation of the social injustice produced by the educational systems imprisoned in the selection of excellence, the guiding principle of new educational policies. This is one of the contradictions arising from the comparison of the model produced by the Bologna Declaration and the intercultural dimension of Europe in the preceding decade. From quality education we have sunk to competitive education, from cosmopolitan Europe, we have passed to Europe as the beacon of the world, so we should not be surprised at seeing the ancient ghosts of intolerance and exclusion reappear, just as the globalisation of information and knowledge is being proclaimed.

Citizenship, an old and new challenge

From cross-cultural studies, the analysis of migratory movements and phenomena and the identification of the interdependence of culture, society and personality emerges the material which provides the acid test for teaching's basic premises.

Breaking with traditional interpretative models is the most interesting challenge facing contemporary education. The children of migrant workers are no longer to be treated interculturally, but rather recognised as citizens of the State; an immigrant and his family do not live in the suburbs and are no longer products

of the metropolitan ghetto, they attain social consensus and cultural inclusion; a person does not just belong to the restricted group that favours, or hinders, his/her growth, but is instead part of a world community, without borders; the village is not moving towards the world, it is the world which is becoming a global village; the flow that led from economic poverty to wealth and social success has been overturned; wealth buys shops and services, thereby distorting the identity of continuously changing European cities; recognising oneself is more difficult than knowing oneself, in a context in which the rules are no longer to be presumed, but rather to be totally established.

In 1964, N. M. Gordon published an important book about assimilation in America, revealing the problems of citizenship of new immigrants, who were asked to adhere fully to the United States cultural model, often ignoring the nostalgia for a far-away land and family members, they might never see again. Foreigners had already become citizens of overseas countries, in which the period of interculture had passed rapidly (Taft, 1976). This reference to the United States is interesting as a historical and political antecedent that marks the passage from the season of interculture to that of citizenship. From 'guests' to citizens, one might say.

Today, Europe finds itself discussing a citizenship dealing with civic values, democracy, freedom and human rights. Teaching and educating about citizenship do not refer to uniform concepts in the various EU countries. Diversity is an important opportunity to create a pedagogic debate among teachers and educators to produce practical results. The concept of citizenship has become central and crucial following the expansion of the European Union. The European Council of 2004 laid down as the priority objective of the social agenda the development of responsible citizenship, within the regulatory framework of the democratic society for which European youth should be educated.

One should also remember that globalisation makes it necessary to talk to and educate the world citizen. An interconnected, interdependent world interprets citizenship as the 'harmonious coexistence of different communities in local, regional, national and international contexts' (Dooly, Foster & Misiejuk, 2006): this concept expresses the commonly accepted idea of living together in peace and harmony.

The impact of globalisation and the opening of borders does not weaken the feeling of nationality, deemed a distinctive feature of citizenship. The notion of nationality is prevalent in many countries and permits cultural, historical and geographic identification, as well as belonging to chosen groups. The nation state shapes the organisation of contemporary social life and describes the thinking and proposing of education in each country. In this regard, we are confronted by the freedom of the economic market on the one hand and, at the same time, less and less freedom in education, particularly in those States in which the national curriculum has a very strong bearing on educational programmes.

Recent research in British schools highlighted the reluctance to listen to children and students and allow them to express themselves on issues of daily life, how schools are run and the assessment of human relations. Teachers and educators do not appear to support active participation, considered the essence of citizenship education. This state of affairs encourages attempts to remove the obstacles that prevent young scholars from becoming active citizens (Holmes, 2006).

There is a clear contradiction. On one hand, the individual States are trying to face many internal problems in schools. Both students and teachers complain about the lack of attention to human relations. On the other hand, these same States must seriously take into consideration the standards set forth by European declarations. Attachment to one's own country and positive response to Europe: this is the contradiction to be overcome. Devotion to one's own educational system has to come to terms with what was called for in Bologna and Lisbon.

The new university system is diversifying and interpreting the transition from an elite organization to one catering for the masses as the coexistence of cultural missions and the strengths deriving from the plurality of study outlines and programmes. The Europe that attracts talent is building citizenship, thereby granting its citizens the skills to take up opportunities in a society in which it is necessary to educate students to be aware of shared values and their belonging to a common social and cultural space.

Tuning: diversity, autonomy and agreement as a citizenship model

Europe supplies two tools, among others, to identify interculture and citizenship correctly. The first is the *Thesaurus for Education Systems in Europe* (TESE), the latest version being that of 2006, and the second is the so-called *Tuning* methodology.

The glossary contains European terms, while *Tuning* contains the skills that lead to agreement in Europe and which should foster the process of building citizenship.

The glossary states that, instead of *multicultural education,* the term *intercultural education* is used and *citizenship education* becomes *civics* with the variations noted below.

- Citizen: population; marital status.
- Citizen participation: *civil society,* democracy
- *Citizenship education* USE civics
- *Citizenship learning* USE civics
- *Citizenship training* USE civics
- *Civic education* USE civics
- Civic values: democracy; freedom; human rights

Civics: *citizenship education*; *citizenship learning*; *citizenship training*; *civic education*; *education for citizenship*; social sciences; community studies; education for peace; law studies.

The term 'civic values' is useful: it refers to the specific skills indicated by the *Tuning process* (see Figure 2) designed to harmonize educational structures and programmes based on diversity and autonomy and coordinated by the Universities of Deusto, Bilbao, Spain, (www.relint.deusto.es/TuningProject/index.htm) and the University of Groningen, Holland (www.let.rug.nl/TuningProject/index.htm).

The term *Tuning* was chosen to convey the idea that universities must not blend together or merge or offer prescribed, final curricula, but should be able to communicate, converge and move towards a common understanding. Respect for educational diversity, independence of subject-matter, and local and national authority are assured.

FIGURE 2: The 'tuning' dynamic quality enhancement circle
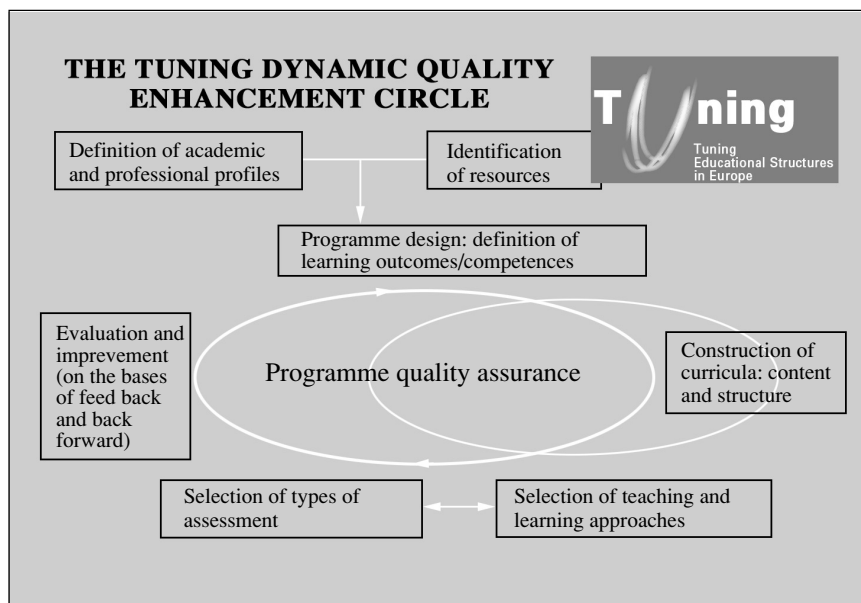
Source: González J. and R.Wagenaar (Joint project co-ordinators) *Tuning Educational Structures in Europe. A pilot project by and for higher education institutions supported by the European Commission in the framework of the Socrates programme*, Bilbao and Groningen, December 2003.

'Tuning' was set up to include the curricula and make them comparable. This approach provides for five lines of discussion and study in the academic disciplines:

– general skills;
– specific skills;
– the role of credits and the system of accumulating them;
– approaches to learning, teaching and assessment;
– increasing the quality of the educational process.

In the list of the 30 general academic skills (for all the subjects) which students should acquire, the ones indicated under nos. 20 (ability to work in an interdisciplinary team), 21 (ability to communicate with non-experts in the field), 22 (appreciation of diversity and multiculturalism), 23 (ability to work in an international context), 24 (understanding of the cultures and customs of other countries) are the closest to interculture, multiculture and citizenship (http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/Tuning.html).

However, as regards the specific skills in Teaching, European Studies, and History, the following are indicated:

Education

03. Ability to reflect on one's own value system
15. Ability to adjust the curriculum to a specific educational context

European Studies

07. Ability to work in a multicultural team
19. Awareness of the debate about European citizenship and European identity

History

39. Awareness of, and respect for, points of view derived from other nations or cultural backgrounds

Pedagogy, translated as *Education,* does not use the words interculture, multiculture or citizenship, but refers to the individual's system of values and a context-adjusted curriculum.

Surveys show that multiculture and citizenship are deemed a privileged field of European Studies, while History deals with national identity.

The Italian case: the de-intellectualisation of interculture, migrations, civil coexistence and new citizenship

In 1992, the drive towards intercultural studies, in their final form, reached the Chairs of General Pedagogy in Italy (Chistolini, 1992). The Ministry of Education actively entered the academic debate with a declaration on intercultural education in schools, signed by Corradini, which then became a ministerial circular (Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 1992).

By reconstructing the intercultural situation in training teachers in Italy, we note how interculture as a subject for teacher training, although not unfamiliar in Europe, was unexpected at the Faculty of Education, responsible for training all teachers, regardless of school type or level.

The greatest impact of interculture in European universities was on educationalists with international interests, while schools, bound to the centralised nature of education and sheltered from the as yet calm wind of autonomy, were less concerned with the change. Apart from some rare exceptions, the theoretical and practical experience of interculture could not be said to be a universal, permanent feature of all Italian teacher training.

The initial approach to interculture in Italian universities was not identical with the ministerial and scholastic one. In the universities, one started from the theory of comparative teaching, bearing in mind the numerous international studies which, starting from the 1800s, had concerned themselves with comparing educational systems in order to improve teacher training, from a developmental perspective, which was neither ethnocentric, nor exclusively European. The issue of international comparisons acted as an impetus for changing educational systems, aiming at a better understanding among peoples, nations and cultures. For the comparison to occur and achieve understanding, even in different languages, it was necessary to meet and discuss teaching concepts and experiences related to the development of education.

The ministerial approach to interculture was striving to augment the planning skills and autonomy of the schools which, on the one hand, looked to the central regulatory-institutional framework and, on the other hand, considered the problem of intercultural teaching, especially with regard to foreign children, who were increasing year by year. The migratory phenomenon tended to reinforce the intercultural approach. The twin themes of cross-cultural studies about migration and interculture were favoured by ministerial and scholastic culture.

The two approaches, the academic pedagogic-comparatist and the socio-cultural one of the central and peripheral school policies, influenced each other over subsequent years and produced a comparatist-type teaching literature, in which the socio-cultural factor was considered a dependent variable within the

context of historic-systemic analysis. The impact of any one single perspective of study could not be significant considering the wealth of relevant material available.

It was one thing to formulate the theoretical discourse on education, starting with the critical analysis of historical-social processes, such as colonisation, assimilation and integration, and promote interculture as a reaction to isolation, discrimination and unequal opportunity; but it was another thing to start from a comparative theory, as a working hypothesis, and demonstrate the formal, substantial contradictions of educational systems that declare themselves democratic, while falling short of their own objectives by reproducing the selection and neglect which afflicted the deprived categories of the population.

As one can well understand, the two approaches were destined to destroy each other, or feed off each other, not so much because of an obvious ascendancy of one over the other, but rather for reasons of vital space, opportunity to exist and educational realism. By reasons of vital space, we mean the persistence in linking interculture almost exclusively to migration; since 1998, the Ministry has been producing annual reports, referring to 'pupils of non-Italian citizenship' and offering a statistical fact which turns to teaching interpretation for an ample, detailed assessment of the subject. By reasons of opportunity to exist, we mean the need to keep alive the interest in international comparative studies that help us understand what we have left behind and where we are going. If interculture was a source of comparison for Van Daele (1993), for Vico (1992) it was a theoretical challenge to the fundamentals of general and social teaching, just to give some indicative, but not exhaustive, examples.

Finally, by reasons of educational realism, we mean the commitment to consider the value of the two approaches which are a sign of the intellectual fertility of teaching over the last twenty years and, as such, without cancelling each other out, they have the responsibility to stay alive to enrich the debate and favour the opportune linking of pedagogical theory and practice (Chistolini, 2004). Particularly the third group of reasons, those of educational realism, give rise to the eclipse of interculture, to the advantage of the emerging civil coexistence (Corradini, 2003). Cultural comparisons, accepting immigrant children, the culture of dialogue and tolerance, the resource of ethnic diversity and the discovery of the multiplicity of religions lead back to issues of individual and collective freedom, the correct view of rights and duties, relations with institutions balanced between legitimacy and legality, laboriously intent on having to concur with what the citizen deems is right and what regulations sanction, knowing full well that, in many situations, there is an unbridgeable gap between the individual's sense of personal justice and the application of the law.

As it evolves, intercultural education merges with educating towards civil coexistence and citizenship. In any case, it is necessary to avoid insisting upon identifying interculture with citizenship by means of, sometimes sterile, intellectual twists and turns. The de-intellectualisation of interculture requires that the state of schools should be assessed, in practical terms, and, when the stage of development allows it, the transition can be made from intercultural education to citizenship education, from dialogue to agreement, from acceptance to participation and from rights to duties.

Citizenship education and constitutional culture

In the current state of university training of teachers in Italy, interculture, multiculture and citizenship are not always included as independent subjects; they may fall within the teaching of General Pedagogy. They are indispensable transversalities, necessary recommendations that society imposes and the individual takes on..

In the new phase, which we have gradually reached through school reform (Law no. 53 of 28 March 2003) and the *Personalised plans*, which provide for pre-school activities and primary school curricula (Legislative Decree no. 59 of 19 February 2004), interculture and multiculture are cited in educating towards civil coexistence that includes citizenship, road and environmental education, as well as health, nutrition and affectivity.

In the fundamental idea of educating everyone, both those who are legally recognised as citizens and those who are not, to accept coexistence, we find the desire to overcome the limits of definitions and affirm the common principles of living together. Teachers' educational responsibility is to foster political awareness, fertile terrain to encourage understanding between different people and lead everyone towards an education which will be a means of freeing the individual.

History, geography, mathematics and art supply the intellectual and technical tools for putting into effect civil coexistence, as well as for demonstrating how the social and natural sciences help a person to live better in the community. To go beyond national borders and bring the moral core of civil coexistence to the fore requires understanding fully all that the term coexistence means and defining educational objectives ever-more clearly.

In 2007, pedagogical concerns turned once again to the issue of citizenship as described in Directive no.58 of 8 February 1996. The debate in Italy is particularly lively at the moment and tends to interpret citizenship as the political status of citizens, who know how to balance their rights and duties in their relations with

institutions, whether in terms of a social culture learnt at school and in the community they belong to, or a knowledge of the constitution, as well as active participation in local, national, European and worldwide levels. The phrase *citizenship education and constitutional culture* is the subject of national discussions among sectorial experts (Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 2007, pp.133-135).

This is a lengthy text that examines citizenship from a broader point of view; it considers the person as having fundamental rights, including the right of citizenship: belonging to a State, a political and social community, in which one learns and shares common values. The decision to belong to the community of a State involves widespread social and political participation, which does not end with voting, but also includes an appreciation of each person's unique value and his/her right to be free from the snares of any kind of discrimination, which would hinder equality and democracy. Let us talk about citizenship as:

- a right and duty of a teacher's professional development;
- the opening of borders and the choice of an intercontinental approach in training working teachers;
- an epistemological transition from interculture to worldwide citizenship;
- a human-spiritual dimension of the educational system;
- civil coexistence;
- a comparison of teaching methods;
- autonomy in Italian schools.

But we are interested in creating the conditions of citizenship as:

- *belonging* to the community of men and women, living together in society;
- *formulating* spiritual values;
- *producing* economic well-being for everyone;
- *participation* in the common good;
- *sharing* rights and duties, based on ethical and institutional considerations;
- *accepting* others;
- *legitimizing* a person's right to be seen as a human being in society.

This citizenship does not turn to invisible classifications to alienate the new poor and it does not hide personal views about teachers' training, behind implausible scientificities, under the pretext of generalising them. It deals with the construction of a solid democracy as a common, shared reference point.

In his book *On Democracy* (2002), R. A. Dahl considers the following as the minimum requirements of a democracy:

1. elected administrators;
2. free, fair, frequent voting;
3. freedom of expression;
4. access to alternative sources of information;
5. associative autonomy;
6. extended citizenship.

For Dahl, a higher basic level of civic education at school would enable adult citizens to make political choices. However, we must also talk about public discussions and controversies, salient elements of a free society. If institutions are ineffective in forming competent citizens, it is necessary to start from the beginning, according to Dahl, with intrinsic equality: we must consider the good of each human being as intrinsically equal to that of anyone else (Dahl, 2002).

The pedagogical viewpoint is perhaps less instrumental than the political one and, therefore, broader, riskier and irreplaceable in educating the person to be part of an open society.

Awareness and criticality

Some overall considerations emerge from the topics dealt with so far. Europe has put forward a rather ambitious regulatory framework, which is putting the various countries to the test, in their efforts to reach targets of excellence, competition and appeal. As could be expected, in a pressing, progressive reform like the one fostered by the Bologna Declaration, not everyone is proceeding at the same pace and with the same degree of interest. What is certain is that the process has started and cannot be stopped, while a lot can be done to steer it in the most appropriate direction.

In the assessments of the progress being made, prior to 2010, there are also some elements, known to everyone, which are not always transparent. Students and teachers are evaluated on what they show they have learned and not on what they have actually experienced during their training.

The system of credits also permits this, namely, only to evaluate skills corresponding with some prerequisites and not with others. The correctness of the answer will thus depend more upon the capacity to move technically through the maze of knowledge than on reasoning. Doubt would, by definition, appear to be banished and certainty, so highly criticised by the scientific thinking of the 1900s, re-emerges with the risk of slipping towards new intellectual, if not actually political, dogmatisms
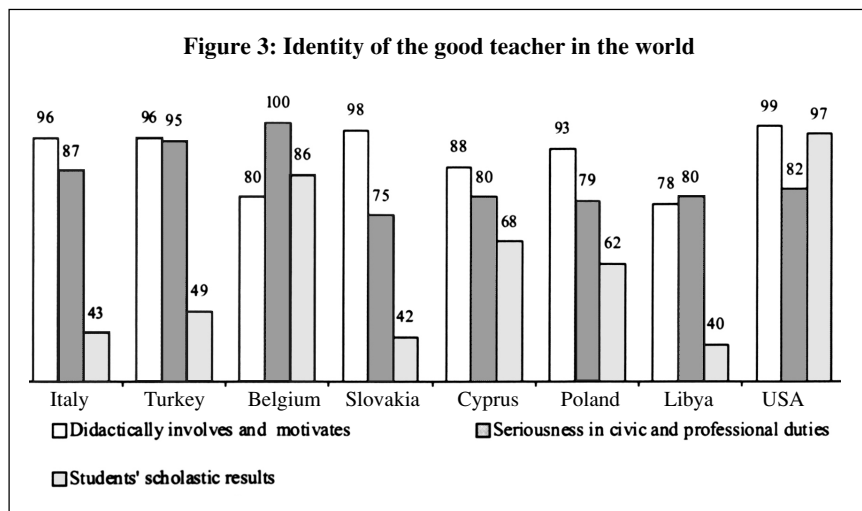
The comparative research on teachers in Italy and other European and non-European countries points to at least two trends that describe the teacher of the new millennium (Chistolini & Verkest, 2006).

For the first trend, a teacher's worth depends upon what he/she teaches; the building up of knowledge and activation of educational processes are derived from the human concepts and the sense of presence of the individual in the universal project of rationalisation and humanisation of the person. All this harks back to the systems of thought, such as Idealism, Neoidealism, Personalism, Existentialism, Spiritualism and Criticism, that described the feelings of a period and foreshadowed the future in which the individual, at the centre of knowledge, was the maker of the object in which he/she was mirrored.

The second trend is that of the teacher whose value depends totally, or almost, upon the pupils' success; this model, mainly American, based primarily on the philosophy of Pragmatism and learning by doing, values the student's answer more highly if it is part of a clearly defined project.

In some schools, the first model triumphs over the second and Idealism prevails over Pragmatism; in other schools, the opposite occurs.

Figure 3, concerning the *Identity of the good teacher in the world*, compares eight groups of teachers belonging to various cultural areas.

Figure 3: Identity of the good teacher in the world

□ Didactically involves and motivates   ■ Seriousness in civic and professional duties

□ Students' scholastic results

As may be seen, the didactic concern is common to all the countries, except for Belgium and Libya, where the teachers interviewed stated that a good teacher is above all serious about his/her civic and professional duties. Bearing in mind that we are talking about a strongly Catholic sample (Belgium) and a strongly

socialist one (Libya), we must conclude that religion and politics exercise a decisive influence over the evaluation of teachers, while in the other countries the essential criterion is teaching ability. As regards the third item, the students' scholastic results, the distribution of the U.S. sample offers objective confirmation of the pragmatist vision of education, described here as the second trend.

Figure 4, concerning the *Definition of the teacher in the world*, indicates the general consensus on considering the teacher an educator. Only in three countries, Turkey, Cyprus and Libya, is the teacher considered more a citizen than an intellectual. It would appear that, once again, the relationship of religion, society and politics results in the teacher's civil function being highly valued. Under conditions of low religious, social and political pluralism, the teacher-citizen carries out the educational task assigned by the centralised State.

Figure 4: Definition of the teacher in the world
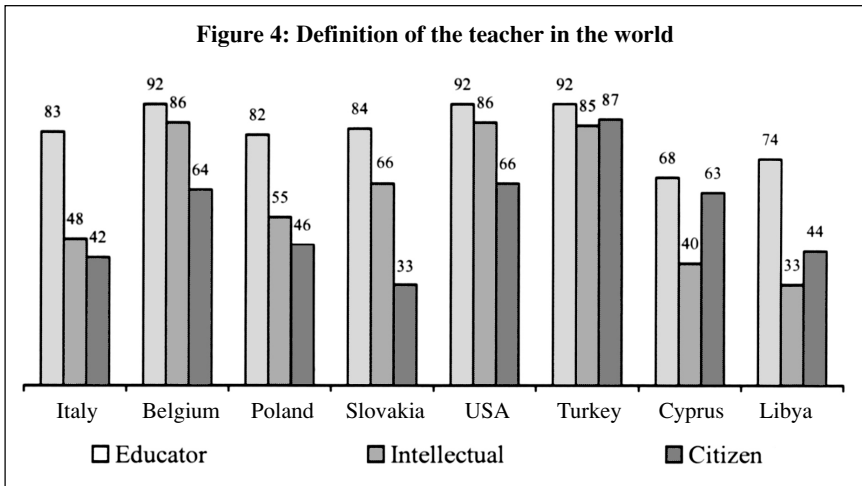
The Europe that speaks the language of competences is perhaps better understood by countries that consider students' success praiseworthy, while the Europe that speaks the language of citizenship is presumably better understood by teachers in countries with a centralised educational system. In other words, the era of competences finds fertile ground in a pragmatist mentality, while the construction of European citizenship circulates in the great Mediterranean Sea, the cradle of ancient civilisations.

Although we are aware of treating partial data that might be disproved by other worldwide surveys, we believe the arguments outlined here represent minimum hypotheses that can become material for discussion and in-depth research in the twin fields of study and teaching.

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GREEK-CYPRIOT PUPILS' REPRESENTATIONS OF NATIONAL OTHERS: A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF 'EUROPE' IN A PRIMARY SCHOOL CURRICULAR INTERVENTION

PHILIPPOU STAVROULA

Abstract – *Over the last three decades the term 'European dimension in education' has been used by the European Union and the Council of Europe to denote some of their educational initiatives to prepare young people for an increasingly integrated Europe. Cyprus, a country at the margins of Europe and characterised by ethnic conflict and division, has had to respond to such demands as a condition of EU membership. The 'European dimension' was conceptualised as a subtle approach for a curricular intervention, to alleviate the ethnocentrism of primary curricula and to shift Greek-Cypriot pupils' extreme views. This study showed that there were some interesting shifts which point to the potential of curricula in providing children with a wider range of 'tools' with which to represent national others.*

Introduction

*O*ver the last thirty years the concept of a 'European dimension in education' has been increasingly used by the European Union (EU) and the Council of Europe to denote their concern and influence on their member-states' education. At this political level, the European dimension has been assigned the role of developing a sense of European identity and citizenship. These concepts have been highly contested in academic writing, since the manner in which a regional identity is introduced to national educational systems, which historically have had a 'nation-building' role, is not without problems (see for example, Philippou *at al*., 2009).

Cyprus, a country at the margins of Europe and characterised by extreme nationalism that has long divided its society, must now respond to these issues as a condition of its EU membership in 2004. The European dimension has been defined in various ways. Shennan (1991) defined it as a process of making Europe a focal point of normal school experience in preparation of European citizens concerned with knowledge *about* Europe and the EU, skills of living and working *in* Europe and attitudes *for* Europe. Furthermore, encountering, tolerating, accepting and respecting 'others' and diversity are included in many definitions,

as both the EU and the Council of Europe have been trying increasingly to address Europe's diversity in their policies, taking into consideration intercultural dialogue and education as well as a European citizenship (see Keating et al, 2009 for historical overview). At the same time, there has been academic critique of the elitist, exclusionary, neo-liberal and Eurocentric constructions of 'Europe' contained in these policies (e.g. by Hansen, 1998; Sultana, 1995; Novoa & Lawn, 2002). However, there has been relatively little research into how 'Europe' could be applied in existing national curricula or what its impact could be amongst pupils' European and national identities in general and their views of national outgroups in particular.

This paper explores the possibilities of shifting nationalistic bias in pupils' representations of national outgroups using post-colonial and post-modern understandings of 'Europe' as a curricular tool. The aim is to present some of the findings of a broader study, which involved a curricular intervention with a European dimension for the subjects of History and Geography, amongst ten-year-old Greek-Cypriot pupils. In this paper, I focus on pupils' social representations of certain national outgroups, investigating whether or how pupils drew on the curricular intervention's discourse to alter, shift and revisit these representations, thus exploring the potential of the European dimension to challenge potential nationalist or racist constructions of national outgroups. The paper is comprised of four parts. The first part locates the study within the socio-political context of Cyprus and within the literature on children's social representations of others. The second part describes the research design and instruments employed to evaluate the impact of the curricular intervention. The third part describes the findings, presented through comparisons between and within the experimental and control groups. The significance of the findings and their curricular implications for Cyprus and other countries conclude the paper.

Cyprus, politics and curriculum

Cyprus is located at the margins of (traditional geographical definitions of) Europe in the eastern Mediterranean. After its application in 1990, the Republic of Cyprus became a full EU member in May 2004. The resulting questions of European identity and citizenship have further added to an already highly sensitive area. Ethnonational identities have been an issue of huge debate in the context of the Cyprus problem, as the island's two larger communities, Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, have engaged in conflict to respectively claim either '*Enosis*' (Union with Greece) or '*Taksim*' (partition of Cyprus between Greece and Turkey). Cyprus gained independence from the British as 'The Republic of Cyprus' in 1960

with a new Constitution which proved unable to balance the two communities' nationalisms. Thus, the post-independence period was characterised by ethno-nationalism, inter-, and intra-communal conflict, and eventually civil war.

A coup, organised by the dictatorial government of Greece, against the government of Cyprus to achieve *Enosis* led (or was used as a pretext by an already expansionist Turkey), so the Greek-Cypriot official narrative argues, to the tragic Turkish invasion in 1974. This resulted in a divided Cyprus and in people losing their homes and loved ones. The Turkish-Cypriot official narrative maintains that the 1974 military intervention was a peace-keeping operation undertaken to protect Turkish-Cypriots from Greek-Cypriot nationalism, the painful results of which, they had experienced during the 1960s, such as displacement and killings.

After independence and until 1963, responsibility for education was assigned to the Greek and Turkish communal chambers, thus continuing the colonial legacy of segregated education for the two communities. Each educational system was entirely influenced by Greece or Turkey, as the two communities ensured their ethnonational orientation through education. After the inter-communal conflicts in 1963-64 and the withdrawal of the Turkish-Cypriots from the government in an act of protest, the Greek-Cypriots unilaterally established a Ministry of Education in 1965, to cater for their needs. The study presented in this paper is located within the Greek-Cypriot educational system. As the country remains divided today, the Republic of Cyprus, the applicant and only recognised state on the island in the south, entered the EU in May 2004. This fact exerts further pressure to resolve the Cyprus problem, as the *acquis communautaire* is under suspension in the northern areas of the island not controlled by the Republic of Cyprus.

Education and curricula have reflected these historical conflicts, divisions and debates. Two opposing official historical narratives of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities have been present, for example, in the Cyprus history textbooks of both communities and mirror each other in the ways in which they construct blame, silence the pain of others, and de-legitimise the historical existence of others (Papadakis 2008). Ultimately the national 'Self' is constructed as a helpless victim, in the hands of a more powerful 'Other' who is systematically demonised as a victimiser, an 'Enemy'. Within these narratives, the British and the Americans are understood as the 'foreign powers' for the interests of whom a small and weak Cyprus was 'sacrificed'.

Since 1974 Greek-Cypriot education has become an area of conflict between three ideologies or discourses of identity: *Hellenocentrism*, which emphasises the Greekness of Greek-Cypriots and has been mainly supported by the political right; *Cypriocentrism*, which emphasises the Cypriot identity which the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities share and has been mainly supported by the

political left (Spyrou 2001); and Hellenocypriocentrism, which represents Cyprus as a monocultural state inhabited by citizens of Greek origin and of Greek-Orthodox religion; those who identify with this discourse perceive themselves as descendants of the first Greeks and, though they have no political agenda for 'Union' with Greece, their representation of Cyprus excludes Turks and Turkish-Cypriots as 'Others-Enemy' and includes only the south part of Cyprus that is under the control of the Republic of Cyprus (Pachoulides, 2007).

Within this context, although 'Europe' provides a framework from which policy documents increasingly draw upon to introduce curricular innovation, the nationalistic (Hellenocentric and Hellenocypriocentric) discourses of citizenship 'appropriate' 'Europe' in ways which legitimise both ethno- and Euro-centrism and moreover fail to alleviate existing tensions between communities in Cyprus (Philippou, 2009). This approach leaves the traditional ethnocentrism of the curriculum untouched. It also leaves unexploited the potential of the European dimension in education, as a way of shifting existing nationalistic tensions and the exclusion of 'Others', (communities, immigrants, minorities etc.). Which brings us to the focus of this paper: how did a curricular intervention with a European dimension influence pupils' social representations of national outgroups? Before this question is addressed directly with the findings of the study, I present the theoretical framework through which these social representations were explored before and after the intervention.

Children's representations of national others

Drawing on social and developmental psychological theories and studies to design instruments and interpret findings, pupils' representations of national outgroups were explored with Moscovici's (1973) Social Representations theory, which stresses the importance of the constructions that people use to understand the world and so act. Social representations theory encompasses a view of communication and everyday thinking in today's world and an analysis of the anonymous facts that are their counterparts. Its central idea is that 'people come to understand their social world by way of images or social representations which are shared by the members of a social group', (Potter, 1996, p. 121) and that common sense is actually sediment of past theorising on psychology and the self.

Social representations are defined as the products or features of social groups and form organised systems of values, ideas and practices; through shared access to them, individuals are able to understand the structure of social life and to communicate with others. Representations are social, not only because of individual and group contribution to them, but primarily because they are shaped

through interaction and communication processes; the individual and the social are thus bridged. Representations are also social because they can be used to define a group as made up of people who share social representations on various aspects of the world. Representations are of a changing nature, always 'in the making, in the context of interpretations and actions that were themselves always in the making' (Moscovici, 1988, p. 219).

For example, the ideology of nationalism, of which the curricular manifestations were the focus of this study, creates a system of social representations, which understands the world as multi-national, in which national social identity becomes another 'natural' category. Various features of the social representations of nationality and ethnicity are diffused into common-sense understanding; education plays a significant role in constructing-imposing nation-states and shared national myths. Despite globalisation and massive immigration, the nation-state continues to be a significant reference point in international politics and for individuals. In fact nationalism's potency is indicated by its invisibility, its taken-for-granted-ness, what Billig (1995) has called 'banal' nationalism, a form of routine, everyday nationalism which is not extreme nor exotic, but nonetheless dangerous. Different theoretical perspectives focus on different components of national identity, but on the whole these include both a substantial system of knowledge and beliefs about, as well as an extensive system of feelings, emotions and evaluations of, the national ingroup and various national outgroups (Barrett, 2005).

What do we learn from these theoretical understandings about the ways in which children construct their national identities? Or about their representations of national outgroups i.e. national groups other than the one to which they self-categorise themselves as members? Such research seems to accept a positive relation between knowledge about, and affective attitudes towards, foreign and own peoples (Johnson, Middleton & Tajfel, 1970; Middleton, Tajfel & Johnson, 1970). According to Lambert & Klineberg (1967) as well as Johnson *et al.* (1970), children in their studies seemed to know more about people they regarded positively, but were not as informed about people they disliked. As far as the affective aspects of national identity are concerned, children express preferences for different nations despite their lack of knowledge; they actually agree more about which countries they like and dislike than about information or facts concerning those countries (Bennett *et al.* 1998). Relevant studies also showed children as negatively prejudiced towards other peoples of various degrees, at different ages, in various social contexts (Barrett, 2005). English children liked, for example, French and Spanish most, Italians next and Germans last, whom children associated with war/weapons/army and aggression (Barrett & Short, 1992; Bennett *et al.* 1998).

This finding seems to confirm the 'enemy' effect identified amongst Greek, Turkish and English children by Buchanan-Barrow *et al*. (1999): children displayed greater negativity towards the outgroup traditionally represented as 'the enemy' by their own ingroup. Adopting a social constructivist point of view, such research attributes these findings to the existing representations of national outgroups, of the social contexts in which children grow. However, the development of these representations is not seen as a mere transmission of knowledge but an active process, on the part of the children, since they constantly negotiate knowledge through social interactions. In the case of representations of the nation, for example, 'through a variety of sources, such as communicative interchanges with others, media presentations, and formal pedagogical contexts, young children make informally guided discoveries of their group's representation of itself and, to a lesser extent perhaps, its view of out-groups' (Bennett, *et al.,* 1998, p. 903). In contexts of prolonged and intractable conflicts, such as Israel or N. Ireland, these representations tend to be rather extreme or polarised, as they include well-defined 'enemies' (cf. Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Cairns, 1996); this also seems to be validated by research amongst Greek-Cypriot children, to which I turn below.

Greek-Cypriot children's identities

Research into Greek-Cypriot children's identities needs to be located within the political problem and the narratives of identity that have prevailed during the last century in Cyprus. Psychological, sociological and anthropological studies have indicated the impact of the Cyprus problem amongst its Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities and have identified the degree, depth and content of the largely prejudiced, stereotypical and hostile ways in which the two (adult) communities construct each other (see, for example, Papadakis, 1995; Kizilyürek & Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis 1997; Constantinou & Papadakis 2001). However, there is a scarcity of research amongst children and adolescents. The few studies available amongst children have shown that Greek-Cypriot children construct the Turks as 'Others=Enemies' (Spyrou, 2002; Ioannidou, 2004) and that they variably draw from both *Hellenocentrism* and *Cypriocentrism* as discourses of identity to talk about their national identities (Spyrou, 2001). Education, mass media, the family and the community as socialising factors seem to encourage such constructions. For example, in his ethnographic study in two Greek-Cypriot schools, Spyrou (2002) found that in the classroom and at school the discourse appears to be a nationalist-Hellenocentric one. This essentialises identity through an emphasis on shared attributes like the Greek language, religion, and history,

and erects a firm symbolic boundary which keeps 'us' (the Greeks) separate from 'them' (the Turks). One of Spyrou's (2002) conclusions was that the primary 'other' against whom Greek-Cypriot children construct their national identities are the Turks, for whom they have well-constructed images.

Another study amongst Greek-Cypriot 10-12-year-old children indicated that the Turks were the least preferred out of 13 national outgroups, systematically at the bottom of the ethnic hierarchy. Children's explanations for their choices associated the Turks with the political problem of Cyprus, however they held negative views for other national outgroups as well (Koutselini *et al.*, 2002). In my study, the curricular intervention could create a certain degree of 'heteroglossia', of a variety of voices (concerning the Turks and other national groups). Impact of the European dimension intervention programme could mean greater contradiction and ambiguity, if these are viewed 'as the very thing of identity, not its pathological problems' (Spyrou, 2002, p. 268). The ways in which pupils' representations of national others were operationalised in the research instruments used in the study are described in the second part of this paper, including a brief description of the curricular intervention.

Research design

The research design combined curriculum development, action research, quasi-experimental and multiple case study strategies. The centrepiece of the research design was a curricular intervention in History and Geography, which was comprised of 40 worksheets, and was implemented for four months during the school year 2000-2001. Each subject is allocated two 40-minute teaching periods per week and this timetable was not disrupted during the intervention. Sampling was opportunistic since it involved four teacher-volunteers (two taught History, one Geography and one taught both History and Geography) who were interested in participating in the study. The classes and schools where these teachers worked constituted the experimental group of the study; after this group was established, control classes and schools, comparable to the experimental ones in terms of size and location, were sought.

Eventually, 140 10-year-old pupils from six 5th Grade classes and their teachers participated in the study. The intervention programme was taught to three of those classes (experimental, named in this paper as Grades 5A, 5B and 5C), whereas the other three (control, Grades 5D, 5E, 5F) followed the standard Greek-Cypriot National syllabi and textbooks for the two subjects. The pupils came from four schools; two of the schools were located in semi-urban and two in rural areas. In each location schools had similar socio-economic profiles, with parents'

professions being of lower socio-economic status. Greek-Cypriot public schools are all mixed-sex schools and largely homogeneous in terms of the religion (Christian Orthodox) and the ethnicity (Greek-Cypriot) of the pupils.

To develop the intervention the standard textbooks taught in Greek-Cypriot schools (which prescribed the study of the Byzantine period in History and European geography for Geography for 5th grade) were analysed. Furthermore, teachers' and pupils' views were collected and nine European dimension principles, derived from the literature in the field, were applied to the existing subject-matter (the analysis of the official materials and those of the intervention are described in detail in Philippou, 2007; for the theoretical underpinnings of the intervention see Philippou, 2005a). In brief, a critical and constructivist approach to 'Europe' was adopted. The European dimension was defined to include a critical pedagogy, which would encourage pupils to critically reflect on Europe, Byzantium and their own identities. The programme was not 'closed', but attempted to show how Europe can be a rich resource rather than a 'fortress' and how it can be introduced in existing subjects, rather than as a political, 'pro-Brussels' education or as a European studies subject. In Geography, geomorphology, frontiers, ecology, economy, culture, colonisation, stereotypes were concepts used to illustrate the constructed and changing nature of Europe, its interdependency with the rest of the world, its multiculturalism and diversity.

In History, nationalistic constructions of 'heroes' and the Byzantine Empire were challenged through the use of multiple historical sources-interpretations and the examination of the multicultural nature of the Empire. Additionally, its imperialism, changing frontiers, intercultural exchanges and conflicts with neighbouring nations, its positioning in a world context, social and cultural resources were also studied. The programme construed Europe and the EU as multiple and diverse. Furthermore it promoted an awareness of their multicultural past- and present societies, and questioned stereotypes, identities and views that represented societies to be static, singular or pure. In both subjects, the emphasis shifted from conveying knowledge and information to the critical study of multiple sources and maps, and the construction of concepts and collaborative work. The selection of History and Geography is due to their historical nation-building role, as well as the high profile they have held in local debates across the divide in Cyprus over their role in relation to national identities.

Data amongst pupils was collected with tests and interviews, the aim being to compare any shifts or changes between pre- and post-evaluation of pupils' historical and geographical understandings and their national and European identities. The data set reported in this paper includes 280 questionnaires (140 pre and post), 12 focus-group and 12 individual pupil interviews and focus on those items which addressed pupils' representations of national others. Questionnaires

were administered to all 140 pupils. Two items from the questionnaires investigated pupils' general attitude towards 6 national groups, as well as within a proximity context (sharing their desk in class) with 13 peers of different nationalities. These thirteen national groups (Greeks, English, French, Americans, Russians, Israelis, Japanese, Swiss, Germans, Bulgarians, Gypsies, Arabs and Turks) were selected both because they were the groups the pupils would encounter in the study of geography and history during that period, but also because they were the groups for whom there were frequent references in the media or public debates at the time. Pupils could circle one of five degrees of liking from 'not at all' (0) to 'very much' (4) on the questionnaire.

These two items were repeated in the interviews in the form of tasks to offer pupils an opportunity to establish a discussion and to discursively develop their representations of national groups. Individual and focus group (of mixed ability and gender) semi-structured interviews were conducted with six pupils from each of the six classes. Pupils were asked to evaluate and hierarchise the national outgroups. In this paper the findings from these two items in the questionnaire and interviews are presented. The methodological decision to use semi-structured interviews drew again from social representations theory, for which attitudes and social representations are closely knit: 'the former have the latter as their precondition. We can become favourable or unfavourable towards something, only after we have perceived and evaluated it in a different way' (p. 226-7). Moscovici (1988) replies in this way to distinguish the two terms in contrast to those who equate them, arguing that we cannot use the former without the latter. In other words, there is no direct relationship between attitudes and reality or people, but the former are mediated via social representations towards images of the latter. A significant consequence of this view is that attitudes towards other groups of peoples cannot exist without some sort of knowledge, of a social representation underpinning it. The act of acquiring knowledge does not take place in a vacuum, but 'exists and can be recognised only by its outcome, in what is directed towards others and preserved. Mental states that are shared do not remain mental states, they are communicated, take shape, tend to materialize, to become objects' (p. 230). In this study, while talking about national outgroups to articulate and justify their attitudes during interviews, children 'revealed' how they represented them, their stereotypes, beliefs, views, emotions, knowledge etc. Thus, pupils' representations of national others were explored as indicators of the potential global impact of the programme on their identities.

All interviews were fully transcribed and analysed with the use of the ATLAS.ti software package. A descriptive content analysis approach was followed using inductive coding techniques. Pupils' participation in the interviews is indicated with pseudonyms. My participation is denoted with the letters 'Res'

for 'Researcher'. Statistical analyses of the quantitative data was carried out with SPSS.10 and focused on paired samples t-tests so as to indicate any significant changes from pre- to post-evaluation. For the purposes of the statistical analysis of the test's ordinal data, I initially conducted non-parametric tests in order to compare pupils' responses to the pre- and the post-test (since such comparisons were the focus of the study).

To investigate the commonplace treatment of ordinal data in statistical analyses within education and the social sciences as interval, I also conducted their parametric analogues. This exercise showed that the results of the two analyses were almost identical. More specifically, only 3 out of 180 test statements (1.7%) produced different results from the ones produced by paired-samples (parametric) t-tests and Wilcoxon (non-parametric) tests. Given this congruence, it was decided to report the, more powerful, parametric tests. Finally, factor analysis was conducted to investigate whether national outgroups were 'grouped' within pupils' representations in various ways. Findings are presented below through comparisons between and within the experimental and control classes, before and after the intervention drawing upon both qualitative and quantitative data.

Pupils' representations of national others

Pupil discourse contained views, beliefs, understandings, stereotypes and attitudes which revealed emergent representations of the national outgroups in question. To gain an overview of pupils' views, I first explored how they evaluated national outgroups in the test. The test data were useful in providing an overview of pupils' representations of national outgroups, in terms of how pupils evaluated each national outgroup individually. In comparing pupils' general liking of peoples, there were statistically significant shifts (indicated on the post-test column of the tables; a single asterisk indicates significance below 0.05 and a double asterisk indicates significance below 0.01) within the experimental group, but not within the control group, as Table 1 illustrates (Table 1). Effect sizes were computed as Cohen's d where a positive effect size represents improvement   and a negative effect size represents a worsening of views towards the national group in question.

The mean score of the experimental pupils showed a higher positive rating (statistically significant) in relation to the French, German and Swiss than in the pre-test, but a lower rating (not significant) by the control group. In fact, there was no statistically significant change in the control pupils' responses towards any of the peoples included in this item. Also, and as indicated by the means, the only groups who received a higher positive score from the control pupils in the post-test, compared to pre-test responses, were the Greeks and the Turks. For the

TABLE 1: Pupils' evaluation of national groups

| | Experimental | | | | | Control | | | | |
| Statement | Pre | | Post | | | | Pre | | Post | | |
	M	SD	M	SD	Cohen's d	M	SD	M	SD	Cohen's d
Greeks	3.85	0.43	3.79	0.54	-0.12	3.70	0.85	3.76	0.55	0.08
French	2.21	1.39	2.77**	1.13	0.44	1.80	1.24	1.81	1.22	0.00
Swiss	1.47	1.25	2.19**	1.15	0.59	1.33	1.16	1.18	1.04	-0.13
Germans	1.41	1.24	2.11**	1.21	0.57	1.17	1.01	1.09	1.14	-0.07
Bulgarians	1.19	1.02	1.43	0.96	0.24	1.03	1.01	0.90	0.97	-0.13
Turks	0.33	0.92	0.24	0.66	-0.11	0.11	0.51	0.19	0.58	0.14

experimental pupils, they were the only two groups who received a lower score. This is a rather contradictory result, but with no statistical significance. All three groups (French, Swiss and Germans) for whom experimental pupils stated more positive attitudes are Western European nationalities and were studied in both the official and the intervention curriculum. The calculated effect sizes (Cohen's d) were 0.44, 0.59 and 0.57 respectively, medium values. It is also noted that the 'order' of liking of the six nationalities, as indicated by the descending order of means for each national outgroup, was the same for both groups and did not change in the post-test. Approximately the same order for these six peoples occurred in the following item, which elicited the degree to which pupils would be prepared to share their desk in class with a person of a particular nationality.

As in Table 1, experimental pupils stated, to a statistically significant level in the post-test, that they would consider sharing their desk with an English, French, American, Swiss and a German pupil. The effect sizes were 0.32, 0.34, 0.30, 0.84 and 0.54 respectively, ranging from medium to large effect sizes. The control pupils were more sympathetic towards an English, French and Turkish pupil. The effect sizes were 0.32, 0.24 and 0.39 ranging from small to medium effect sizes. The last finding could perhaps be attributed to the extreme negativity the control group exhibited in the pre-test (X=0,03). Overall, experimental pupils seemed more positive towards more peoples in the two items in comparison to their pre-test, than their control counterparts. However, the Greeks and Turks were systematically positioned first and last respectively, forming a 'bipolar' which remained 'intact' for both groups and between which all other groups were located. This finding is further discussed later in the paper.

TABLE 2: Pupils' acceptance to share their desk with a(n)

| Statement | Experimental | | | | | Control | | | | |
| | Pre | | Post | | | Pre | | Post | | |
	M	SD	M	SD	Cohen's d	M	SD	M	SD	Cohen's d
Greek	3.74	0.77	3.75	0.69	0.01	3.50	1.13	3.61	0.74	0.11
English	2.24	1.47	2.70*	1.32	0.32	1.59	1.34	2.03*	1.36	0.32
French	2.09	1.38	2.56*	1.33	0.34	1.36	1.16	1.68*	1.39	0.24
American	1.90	1.52	2.33*	1.34	0.30	1.46	1.39	1.65	1.42	0.13
Swiss	1.22	1.18	2.21**	1.15	0.84	1.17	1.14	1.09	1.06	-0.07
German	1.35	1.19	2.01**	1.28	0.53	0.98	1.06	0.94	1.08	-0.03
Russian	1.39	1.24	1.78	1.42	0.29	1.37	1.35	1.39	1.35	0.01
Japanese	1.27	1.21	1.54	1.25	0.21	1.17	1.24	1.05	1.20	-0.09
Israeli	1.26	1.20	1.33	1.14	0.05	1.16	1.19	0.98	1.15	-0.15
Bulgarian	0.96	1.12	1.20	1.04	0.22	0.84	0.93	0.88	0.94	0.04
Arab	0.60	0.96	0.85	0.82	0.28	0.36	0.65	0.60	1.03	0.27
Gypsy	0.73	1.14	0.70	1.03	-0.02	0.28	0.74	0.39	0.76	0.14
Turk	0.15	0.57	0.25	0.57	0.17	0.03	0.19	0.26*	0.80	0.39

Geopolitical groupings of national outgroups

To further understand pupils' attitudes towards national groups, as well as whether pupils 'grouped' specific national groups together, a factor analysis was conducted of the two items. For the extraction of the factors, the rotated varimax analysis was used. Additionally, a mean score for each factor was calculated in order to understand the ways pupils hierarchised any potential groups of peoples. The rotated varimax factor analysis extracted five factors, explaining 64.71% of the variance. Table 3 presents the constitution of the five factors and the loadings received by each people. It also presents the variance explained by each factor, the mean scores for each factor, and the respective Cronbach A reliability measure.

The table indicates that the factor which received the highest mean was 'Greek', followed by positive attitudes towards 'Anglo-Saxons' and 'Western Europeans'. Peoples from Eastern Europe, Middle East and Asia were grouped in a separate factor. The Turks also formed a separate factor, with the lowest means,

TABLE 3: Pre-test groupings of national groups by all pupils

Factor structure coefficients / Statement	Western European	Eastern European/ Middle East/Asian	Anglo-Saxon	Greek	Turk
Like Germans	.808	.203	.060	.007	.113
Share desk German	.799	.232	.245	.051	.012
Like French	.758	.147	.194	.081	.084
Share desk French	.696	.101	.504	.032	-.025
Like Swiss	.693	.407	.017	.205	.110
Share desk Swiss	.618	.416	.122	.065	.020
Share desk Israeli	.147	.743	.124	-.049	.008
Share desk Bulgarian	.069	.715	.364	-.025	.052
Share desk Japanese	.185	.686	.164	.056	-.078
Like Bulgarians	.294	.660	.050	.032	.076
Share desk Arab	.209	.588	.034	.108	.263
Share desk Russian	.277	.554	.091	.126	-.003
Share desk Gypsy	.116	.509	-.061	-.165	.389
Share desk English	.233	.218	.786	.113	.138
Share desk American	.308	.227	.784	.081	.009
Like Greeks	.102	-.042	.025	.913	.008
Share desk Greek	.097	.114	.131	.876	.058
Like Turks	-.013	-.038	.197	.045	.796
Share desk Turk	.137	.157	-.062	.047	.780
Mean	1.46	0.97	1.77	3.69	0.15
Standard Deviation	0.95	0.73	1.31	0.77	.49
Reliability Alpha	.88	.79	.76	.78	.59
% of variance	34.50	9.67	7.87	6.81	5.85

which again indicated pupils' animosity towards them. It is interesting that national outgroups were grouped by pupils, without differentiation in their responses for the two items, even though the second item asked whether they would consider sharing a desk with a peer and thus provided some 'space' for pupils to consider variability within each national outgroup.

Factor analysis on the two items was repeated with the post-test data, and separately for the control and experimental groups. Apparently the 'neat' geopolitical categories of national outgroups which appeared in the pre-test, were disrupted in the post-test, since different factors occurred for each, in which the categorisation of the national groups was more 'mixed'. Inspection of the resulting factor structure for the experimental and control groups indicated that four factors were formed each time. These factors contained all statements of the two items and accounted for 68.03% and for 68.93% of the total variance for the experimental and control group respectively. Tables 4 and 5 show the constitution of the four factors and the loadings received by each people for the experimental and control groups respectively. They also present the variance explained by each factor, the mean scores for each factor, and the respective Cronbach A reliability measure.

In the pre-evaluation pupils seemed to 'group' national outgroups into categories which followed conventional geographic-cultural criteria, as shown in Table 3. Interesting shifts occurred, however, during post-evaluation. The experimental group 'mingled' the Greek category (the favourite) with the Bulgarian national group, which was included in the History intervention. This finding is also reflected in the pupils' more positive evaluations of the Bulgarians in the post-test (see Tables 1 and 2), even though the change was not statistically significant. However, the factor with the highest means for the control group was the one which included the Greeks only. For the experimental group the 'Western Europeans' factor (second in preference) now included the Bulgarians, whereas Anglo-Saxon and Eastern peoples (including traditionally disliked people like the Arabs) were positioned in the same category. However, Gypsies seemed to be disliked to the same degree as the Turks. Apparently, the 'clear' geopolitical criteria of groupings in the pre-test, had shifted and the categories of peoples became more 'mixed' and transcended traditional dislikes. For the control group the least liked 'Turkish' category included even more groups (Arab, Israeli, Gypsy). The control group's views of the Bulgarians positioned this national group third in preference factor. Anglo-Saxons formed the second factor and were more liked than the Germans and Swiss (even though the latter two nationals were included in the pupils' study of the standard textbook). The intervention programme seemed to have begun to 'blur' or 'confuse' the categorisation of national groups for the experimental group.

TABLE 4: Post-test groupings of national groups by experimental group

Factor structure coefficients Statement	1	2	3	4
Like Germans	.881	.091	.074	-.131
Share desk Swiss	.870	.219	-.095	.086
Like Swiss	.787	.209	-.040	.054
Like French	.777	.213	.190	-.161
Share desk German	.713	.470	.080	-.028
Share desk French	.708	.447	.121	-.065
Like Bulgarians	.501	-.053	.469	.406
Share desk Japanese	.122	.829	.165	.125
Share desk American	.321	.769	-.036	-.167
Share desk English	.261	.601	-.045	-.103
Share desk Arab	.101	.588	.442	.204
Share desk Russian	.485	.576	.265	.253
Share desk Israeli	.308	.508	.361	.146
Like Turks	-.002	.026	.920	-.183
Share desk Turk	.006	.136	.876	-.113
Share desk Gypsy	.090	.417	.505	.026
Like Greeks	-.069	.083	-.131	.835
Share desk Greek	-.138	-.062	-.100	.786
Share desk Bulgarian	.307	.480	.208	.503
Mean	2.18	1.76	0.40	2.91
Standard Deviation	0.56	0.90	0.62	0.56
Reliability Alpha	0.90	0.83	0.70	0.52
% of variance	37.39	12.49	11.00	7.13

TABLE 5: Post-test groupings of national groups by control group

Factor structure coefficients / Statement	1	2	3	4
Share desk French	.823	.297	.068	.010
Share desk English	.809	.052	.261	.012
Share desk American	.802	.133	.203	.106
Share desk German	.722	.364	.210	.175
Share desk Japanese	.698	.163	.430	.042
Like French	.696	.434	.050	.027
Share desk Russian	.474	.307	.253	.181
Like Bulgarians	.124	.847	.272	-.099
Share desk Bulgarian	.167	.765	.259	-.111
Like Swiss	.380	.675	.249	.148
Like Germans	.501	.626	.120	-.010
Share desk Swiss	.454	.582	.223	.268
Share desk Gypsy	.071	.334	.763	-.127
Share desk Israeli	.354	.207	.661	-.011
Like Turks	.161	.511	.611	.150
Share desk Arab	.326	.525	.598	-.096
Share desk Turk	.459	.071	.595	.213
Like Greeks	.086	.053	-.075	.862
Share desk Greek	.088	-.077	.070	.838
Mean	1.52	1.02	0.49	3.69
Standard Deviation	1.01	0.83	0.66	0.57
Reliability Alpha	0.90	0.86	0.81	0.68
% of variance	45.86	10.52	6.99	5.54

Why did such evaluations and groupings occur during pre-evaluation, and then shift, during post-evaluation? Were there any criteria pupils used and how did they represent each group? Could any of the representational elements pupils used be linked to the findings presented above? Finally, did children draw from the curricular intervention to represent national outgroups during post-evaluation? The analysis of the qualitative data provides some insights to these questions.

Understanding pupils' representations of national groups

In one of the earliest, developmental and cross-national studies of pupils' perceptions of foreign nationals, Lambert & Klineberg (1967) found that those perceptions included diverse descriptive characteristics such as physical features, clothing, language, habits, personality traits, political and religious beliefs and materials possessions. In the interviews conducted for this study, pupils were encouraged to express their views and justify their choices, while repeating the test items in a group-task format i.e. while evaluating and hierarchising the national outgroups. These discussions clearly indicated some of the contents of pupils' representations of other nationals, which included stereotypes, prejudice, bias or enthusiasm. The sources from which pupils drew their opinions, mentioned either in the flow of our conversations or when directly asked how they knew some of the information they referred to, included trips (their own or of people they knew), tourism in Cyprus, television, their parents, friends or relatives, the subject of History or (rarely) some teachers and the school.

In some cases, pupils' views were *ambiguous-conflictual*, which means that they included conflicting views about the same national group, while in other cases they were *homogeneous*: there being no disagreements between pupils. The distinction of pupils' views of national outgroups in these two categories derived from Moscovici's distinction (1988) between 'hegemonic' and 'polemical' representations (Breakwell, 2001; Jost & Ignatow, 2001). 'Polemical' describes representations which have been 'generated in the course of social conflict', are not shared by society but are determined by 'antagonistic relations between its members'. 'Hegemonic' are the representations which are shared 'by all members of a highly structured group' and are uniform and coercive (Breakwell, 2001, pp. 274-6).

As a preliminary analysis, I tried to summarise the representational elements about each people. Though this may seem mainly a descriptive task (an argument charged against early stereotype research in the 1920s and 30s), it is a necessary introduction to my later discussion of the 'rules' pupils were applying in representing other nationals and the changes which occurred during post-

evaluation. Moreover, it is also necessary since no qualitative studies of Greek-Cypriot pupils' perceptions of national outgroups have been found. Therefore, this discussion draws a baseline from which we may begin to understand those perceptions held by 10-year-old pupils at the time and to compare them with the perceptions held by the same pupils after the curricular intervention, as well as with pupils' perceptions in other countries.

Representations of the English, Japanese, Russian, Bulgarian and American national groups were *ambiguous*, since pupils referred to conflicting representational elements. Disagreement over views of these peoples resulted from the different role each people presently has in comparison to the past. Pupils were particularly enthusiastic about the English, because of their 'good culture' and referred to the large numbers of Cypriot migrants there (some referring to their own relatives), as well as the importance of English tourists to the Cyprus economy. However, at some point almost all groups would refer to the colonial past of Cyprus: 'they made war against Cyprus, we were occupied by them and they kept us in prisons in [19]59'. They also referred to instances of perceived betrayal by the British during the Second World War: 'they told us to fight Italy together [with them] and [they would] set us free and when we threw Italy into the sea, they lied to us and enslaved us'. However in spite of these negative views, the English were one of the most liked peoples both in the test and in the interviews.

In the case of the Japanese, pupils were not able to provide as much information and referred to them as 'clever' and 'scientists' with important 'inventions', from which we all benefit. For example, 'most cars come from their country'. Japan was perceived as having 'a lot of good things', and the Japanese were viewed as friendly, but some of their customs as 'bad', and pupils disliked their appearance (eyes) and language, mimicking its sounds 'tsi tsio tsi'. Some pupils also compared them to the Turks, as being a very strong country; there was no specific reference to the Second World War.

Conflicting views were also put forward for Russians: some pupils considered them to have a 'good upbringing', whereas others referred to Russian tourists in Cyprus as people who, 'go to the clubs and [are a] bad example to the Cypriots' or 'when they go out, they all do crazy things'. Furthermore, some pupils compared Russians to the Greeks because 'they help us…as if they are our compatriots…', 'like Greece'. Others thought that they 'are not so friendly to us' and some associated them with wars and killings (which were in the news at the time).

Bulgarians caused confusion; some positive experiences of relatives who went to Bulgaria for medical treatment or tourism, opposed those experiences of others who were 'victims' of theft or swearing or bad behaviour while there. For example, 'there is a market [in Bulgaria] and you must keep your hands like this

[close to your body] so that they don't cut them off, if they see you wearing jewellery they will cut your arm off'. Also, some pupils were convinced that 'they are not all barefoot or…not all Bulgarians are the same […] say one might be good, but another one bad', whereas others remarked that 'they are not good', 'they are like gypsies' or 'magicians'.

Discussions about the Americans also resulted in diverse information about them. There were references to their culture and people as 'good', with 'nice habits', food and the same language as the English ('but they pronounce it differently' some pupils noted). Americans were viewed as entertainers: 'They have a lot of fun' or 'they are funny, they have fun, they make others have fun, make them laugh in the films that we see'. The image of the Americans included their being rich and living in a big country, even though for some pupils these were reasons for disliking them: 'Because it is the biggest country, it does whatever it wants to the other countries' or 'it may take advantage of us'. Pupils also referred to them as having 'the most weapons': 'They think they can talk with power and they've got a lot of military stuff' and 'they are not good, they keep making wars'. Pupils perceived them as partly responsible for the Cyprus problem, too: 'It's they that made EOKA II which made the coup […], and with the Polytechnio, it's the Americans who encouraged the Greeks to do that'. Some pupils expressed in this way, a widespread leftist view in Cyprus, such that the USA, in the context of the Cold War, supported the dictatorial regime in Greece (1967-1974). The Greek Junta violently stopped a student uprising in 1973 (Polytechnio) and organised the coup in Cyprus in 1974. Other characterisations against the Americans included 'proud', 'stubborn', 'wiseguys', 'selfish' and that 'they have gone beyond the limits', in the way they used power and weapons.

For the English, Japanese, Russian, Bulgarian and American people, pupils did not hold homogeneous views, whereas for the rest of the peoples they did, even though for some these views were positive and for others negative. For the French the representational elements were *homogeneous* and positive, since pupils only mentioned positive information about and dispositions towards them. Pupils' only ' reservation' with the French, was that 'their language is a bit difficult' and 'mixed'. Other than that, pupils referred to tourism from France to Cyprus, as well as the perceived good food, numerous sights, hospitality and politeness of the French to justify their positive evaluations. Even though references to the Swiss were positive, pupils' representations of them were poor: 'We don't know a lot about their lifestyle, about them. We haven't learnt'. They referred to it only as, a 'nice' country with 'a lot of tourists'. Surprisingly, pupils' views of the Israelis were unanimously positive, largely because pupils thought that, 'they believe in the same religion as us'. This perception resulted from the knowledge that Christ had lived there and from some pupils' visits to the Holy Lands. Pupils also had

positive experiences of relatives who had been to Israel for medical treatment.

Finally, pupils constructed *homogeneous* representations of the Germans, Gypsies and Arabs (and of the Turks who are discussed separately, later in the paper), since they were unanimous in their negative views against these four national groups. Germans 'are in the bad people [group]', pupils said. This because of what they did during the Second World War, which included making war 'against Greece and Cyprus', and who 'take pride' because of their strength, 'like the Americans'. Similarly, pupils expressed only negative information about the Gypsies; they were actually one of the peoples they spoke most about. Pupils perceived Gypsies as being 'black', 'poor', 'stupid' and leading unhygienic lives: their feet are 'black because they play barefoot in the streets all day', they smell because 'they don't have baths', 'they come with ugly clothes, not nice [clothes] like us', 'stay in tents which have many diseases, they haven't got homes' and generally, 'they are not clean, they sleep wherever they find, they eat scrap food from garbage bins' pupils explained. Gypsies' behaviour was also commented upon; pupils explained that they steal, take drugs, their women smoke and that, 'they have learnt to behave towards others in a bad way'. Similarly, Arabs were also viewed as 'black' and 'dirty'.

Pupils' talk about other peoples, as some examples have shown, ranged from verbal abuse to 'naïve' and generalised estimations of 'goodness' or 'niceness'. However, the relationship between positive or negative representations was not analogous to the rank given to each national outgroup. For example, even though representations of the English and the Americans included some negative information, their rank amongst the rest of the nationalities indicated that they were more liked than the Swiss or the Israelis for whom pupils had only positive things to say. This seemingly apparent discrepancy between cognition and affect, could also indicate that in representations the two are interlinked. In line with this finding, the qualitative analysis indicated some 'rules' that pupils' employed to represent national outgroups and which perhaps point towards more nuanced interpretations of their representations.

Using rules to represent national outgroups, friends and enemies

One of the most interesting findings from the interviews before the curricular intervention was that, during our discussions about national outgroups, pupils were quite eloquent as to *why* they liked or disliked them. Thus, they revealed some of the rules they employed to represent others and to reach their decisions when evaluating or ranking them. I conceptualised 'rules' or 'criteria' by which pupils made decisions in the form of continua between bipolar opposites:

a. *familiarity-unfamiliarity:* Pupils would link their attitudes towards a particular people, with how much they thought they knew or didn't know about them, leading to positive or negative attitudes accordingly. This rule did not apply for the Turks.

b. *similarity-dissimilarity:* With the second rule, pupils were systematically disposed more positively towards the people they perceived more similar and more negatively to those perceived dissimilar to their ingroup.

c. *threat and danger/benefits and advantages:* The third rule was linked to whether national groups were perceived as threatening and dangerous or beneficial and advantageous to the pupils personally, to their national ingroup (both Cyprus and Greece) or to other national groups, in the past or in the present. This rule showed pupils' 'utilitarian' or 'instrumental 'thinking' in the sense that, pupils regarded positively peoples whom they thought they could or had gained something from, and negatively those peoples who could be or had been a threat. In either case, pupils 'measured' liking of the various peoples according to perceived personal or national gains.

d. *negative-positive characteristics:* The fourth rule referred to positive or negative characteristics ascribed to a particular group to justify pupils' positive and negative attitudes respectively. Though in this case the pupils did not comment on how this particular characteristic benefited or threatened them as they did with the previous rule. With the positive-negative characteristics rule, the source was stereotypical knowledge about national groups, who were judged according to, and only because of, how they 'are'.

These rules were thus activated by pupils in their efforts to represent national outgroups and perhaps they support the argument, that pupils did not have complete representations about many of the national outgroups included in the instruments. Thus, in their effort to respond to the task, and faced with a lack of information, the use of the rules could be viewed as cognitive strategies of simplification of the information available, and of the facilitation of pupils' thinking so helping them to process the available information and reach a 'decision' about each nationality. For example, both schema research and social representations emphasise the use of 'cognitive shortcuts', or 'heuristics' in the processing of social information (*c.f.* Augoustinos & Walker, 1995).

The use of these four rules became particularly clear when Greeks and Turks were discussed. The findings suggest a bipolarity between the national groups of the Greeks (ingroup) and the Turks (enemy). Given the way other nationalities were positioned along a continuum between the two poles of Greek and Turk

(see Tables 1 and 2), it could be argued that the social representation of national identity by Greek-Cypriot pupils could have a bipolar opposite as its *figurative nucleus*. This is understood as 'an image structure that reproduces a conceptual structure in a visible manner' (Moscovici, 1981 as cited in Lloyd & Duveen, 1992, p. 22). Lloyd & Duveen (1992) confirm this in their study of social representations of gender in pre-school settings, where the image of gender is represented as a bipolar opposition, a binary that may serve as a mechanism of clarity and simplicity of the social world, consistent with children's capacity for cognitive elaboration (Lloyd & Duveen, 1992). Similarly, pupils in this study may use the Greek-Turk bipolar as a tool to construct and structure the representation of national identity, drawing upon the historical context discussed in the first part of this paper.

The pre-test data showed that when pupils evaluated national groups, the Turks were the least preferred, whereas the Greeks were the most favoured. In the interviews, pupils repeated this process; the Greeks and the Turks were actually the first groups the pupils knew how to evaluate or hierarchise. It seemed helpful for them to position the Greeks first, the Turks last, and from there onwards continued to engage with the task of positioning the remaining national groups between the two poles. It was also particularly interesting to find out that the Turkish people were often used as a measure of comparison for other peoples and a standpoint from which attitudes towards other peoples, positive or negative, could be adopted:

Res:	Let's go to the Russians, which [degree of liking] for them?
Gea:	'A lot'…[…]
Sofia:	Because they are not as bad as the Turks.
Gea:	They have got good upbringing […] (Grade 5B)

Soula:	[…] because they [the French] are…they haven't done anything to us, they haven't beaten us nor enslaved us like the Turks. (Grade 5E)

Gea:	[Germans] They are a bit like the Turks.
Res:	How do you mean?
Gea:	In how they brought so much hatred amongst countries, they killed (Grade 5B)

The Turkish national group was thus a tool pupils used to represent other national groups too. The representation of the Turks was actually one of the richest in content. Both groups of pupils expressed views against the Turks, which

stemmed from the historical narrative the Greek-Cypriots have constructed over the years against the Ottomans and particularly after 1974. From the four 'rules' distinguished above, the only ones used by pupils to justify their views of the Turks were the 'negative characteristics' and 'possible disadvantages'. The 10-year-olds, for example, referred to the Turks being 'dirty', 'uncivilised', 'naughty', 'wiseguys', or described action which 'proved' them to be strong-minded, stubborn, conceited, war-friendly, troublemakers, oppressors and a very strong enemy. Their 'character' was also often implied in references to what they had done to Cyprus in the past, during and after 1974.

Thus, the reference to 'disadvantages' was also a rule abundantly used: pupils justified their views with reference to the Turkish invasion in 1974 and the subsequent problems of the occupation of half of the island, the refugees, the dead and missing persons, the destruction of property and cultural/religious monuments, the restriction of movement to the occupied areas, the enclaved Greek-Cypriots in the occupied areas, the influx of Turkish settlers and army to the occupied areas and the recent (at the time) arrest of some Greek-Cypriots who crossed the Buffer Zone. These negative experiences were 'extrapolated' into the future, as pupils thought that these could be repeated and were attributed singularly to the enemy's 'violent character'; there was no reference to Greeks' or Greek-Cypriots' responsibilities in the Cyprus problem. The reaction of the group from Grade 5E is quite indicative of this rhetoric:

Res: OK, what about the Turks?
All: 'Not at all'!!!
Res: Why [did you choose this degree of liking?]?
Petro: Because they occupied half of our Cyprus, they still have it
Soula: They've got our missing persons, we don't know what happened, maybe they tortured them, may be they married them with Turkish girls, they won't let us see them, and this is unfair, we tell them what happened with some Turks that we caught, they steal our houses, our fortunes, our cultural heritage…
Oli: They put their stables in our churches, they broke some of the ancient statues and some others they altered and they said they were theirs.
Soula: Our crosses, they threw them away […]
Petro: And because they took half of Cyprus, they took the crosses from our churches and they pulled the eyes out from the icons
Oli: They changed the names of the streets and they put fake street names, so that we are not able to tell if they are them.
Mara: 'Not at all', because they took our land, and they could blackmail

us, ask 'Where is your house?' and then hurt us, throw stones at us, on the windows.

Soula: Like the Turks did not come with peaceful but with war aims, instead of white doves and with love, they came with hatred and war, with fires. (Grade 5E)

There were also instances of verbal abuse to the degree of hatred:

Joe: I hate them…they are such wiseguys […]
Tim: Isn't there anything worse than 'not at all' to choose for the Turks? (laughter by rest) We've got so much hatred for them!!! (Grade 5F)

The 'enemy effect' was anticipated to reveal a *homogeneous* representation of Turks that all pupils would share; however there were a few occasions when more positive attitudes were expressed (i.e. liking them 'a little' instead of 'not at all' was chosen) or where some 'differentiation' within the Turkish nation was accepted. This occurred when it was considered that sharing their desk with a Turkish child was not so horrible, since it was a child. The following example indicates the 'struggle' in the particular group's discussions caused by the fact that they were asked about a child and that the child was Turkish:

Sofia &
Aris: 'Not at all', 'not at all'!
Gea: 'Medium'…since children are not very…[…] are not very…
Aris: 'Not at all'!
Sofia: Because it's not children who harmed us, it's Denktash [Turkish-Cypriot leader at the time]…[…]
Gea: Children are more sensitive, because their mind is not on war, on evil things.
Leo: Pupils are like friends, because they don't know that we don't want them because the Turks did so may bad things to us!
Res: Aha…what were you saying Ari?
Aris: I think that when they grow up they…
Sofia: They'll understand…
Leo: They'll do the same…
Aris: They'll do the same, too.
Res: The same what?
Aris: With the Turks.
Sofia: With the grownups. […]

Gea: They won't be sitting next to us, we won't want to share our desk with them when they grow older [..]

Aris: Because they can become the same too […] If they are not able to conquer Cyprus, they may make war and [the kid will] be against you…(Grade 5B)

Pupils' peer-group identity momentarily challenged the *homogeneous* representation of the Turks, as Turkish pupils were viewed as harmless. Most of the groups however concluded that as grownups, Turkish pupils would not behave any differently from Turkish adults.

At the other end of the bipolar were the Greeks. Pupils' perceived similarity and familiarity with the people in question were put forward to justify why they liked Greeks 'very much'. Thus, this discussion also revealed what these 10-year-olds perceived as 'the substance' of their own national identity, an identity they shared with the Greeks. The examples below are similar to the discussions with all groups:

Res: OK, Let's go to the Greeks, which card [of degree of liking] would you like to use for them?

All: 'Very much'!!!

Res: Why?

Sofia & Gea: We are the same!

Sofia: We've got the same blood as them…

Gea: …and we have got the same language, too.

Leo: It's like we are living together…

Gea: The same culture, habits, customs…(Grade 5B)

Joe: 'Very much' to the Greeks.

Res: Why?

Joe: Because they are like us.

Res: Meaning?

Joe: They believe in the same religion, but their language is a bit different?

Res: Yeah, a little bit different.

Vera: But we can still understand each other

Tim: We almost agree…our religion….

Joe: The things we do…

Tim: We agree in almost everything! (Grade 5F)

Explanations of the pupils' attitudes towards Greeks also revealed their thinking on several aspects of their own national identity: common kinship and descent, common bonds of blood, religion, language, culture, habits and customs (see also Philippou, 2005b). These components indicated the *Hellenocentrism* which permeated pupils' talk of their national identity, when the latter was associated with the Greeks. Pupils would refer to them as another people ('they'=outgroup), but also as part of their own national identity, as an ingroup. Justifying their Greek identity thus, also revealed pupils' attitudes towards the Greeks, or this identity itself became a reason for viewing the Greeks with positive terms.

The qualitative findings presented so far concerned pupils' representations of national outgroups *prior* to the curricular intervention. The analysis of pupils' responses to the interviews and pre-test revealed that they generally held stereotypical views about national outgroups. Pupils' representations for some groups were homogeneous and for others ambiguous. Pupils used some 'rules' to decide whether they 'liked' groups or not and the extreme views they held against some of these groups. The Turks in particular were systematically the least preferred group by the Greek-Cypriot, 10-year-old pupils of the study, who despite their young age, spoke of the Turks with a language of hatred. At the other end of the bipolar were the Greeks, about whom pupils talked with enthusiasm. 'Greekness' was construed in essentialised, primordial and a-historical terms of kinship and blood bonds, as well as ethno-cultural, religious and historical commonalities. These findings are very interesting in and of themselves and indeed provide a wide forum of potential future research. However, in this study national outgroup representations were explored before the intervention programme so as to allow an evaluation of potential changes afterwards amongst the experimental group; therefore it is to these changes that I now turn.

Shifts in pupils' representations of national groups

During post-evaluation, it was found that the representational elements these 10-year-old pupils used about national outgroups remained to a large extent the same; what changed was the quantity and quality of information pupils would provide, a rather anticipated finding as some of the information they had learnt in the meantime surfaced in the post-interviews. A number of studies show that the growth of geographical knowledge in middle childhood is accompanied by the acquisition and elaboration of stereotypes of the people who live in other countries e.g. between 6-10 years of age, there is an increase in the knowledge about groups of foreign people, an increase accompanied by a decline in negative affect towards them (Barrett, 2005).

More particular, and with regards to the national groups in the focus of this study, pupils' views of the English remained *ambiguous-conflictual*, with no particular new information, apart from reference to the British Bases in Cyprus that the pupils opposed and to their culture as 'very developed'. Representational elements of the Germans were also ambiguous, but remained dominated by references to the Second World War and how Germany was a strong and threatening country then. However, the experimental group referred to them as a people with a very developed culture, and stereotypically considered 'most of them […] disciplined'. The control group talked in more detail about Adolph Hitler and resented the German role in the War and against the Jews. Even though they were more verbally abusive against them than the experimental group (using terms like 'spiteful', 'arrogant' to describe them), the control group also mentioned that 'now Germany is a bit developed' and 'Germans are good now', which probably also derived from their Geography lessons.

Pupils also continued to have conflicting views about the Americans: sometimes viewing them as entertainers and at other times as powerful oppressors, an image which had become more salient in the media at the time because of the war in Yugoslavia. Both groups considered them as a warlike people and a country where a lot of crime occurs. As far as the Israelis were concerned, the experimental group viewed them as 'faithful to God', but explained that they were not Christians and that they 'make various wars, they are a fanatic people'. The control group were more detailed in their views: they stated that Israelis 'make war against the Palestinians' and 'stone pupils'; 'I think Israelis are bad, they don't know what a child or human being means, they think that weapons are important for their lives, tanks, war…'; 'They teach pupils from a young age to wear helmets, guns, and be at war'; ' when something happens and I quarrel with a friend, they are like somebody who would come and mingle in the fight…that's why [we don't like them]'.

Representations of the Japanese also remained *ambiguous* during post-evaluation, since both control and experimental groups referred to them again as warriors and inventors. The experimental group specifically referred to how 'they did various bad things to other countries in the Second World War' and the control group described them as entertainers. The latter also laughed at their religion: thinking they were 'Muslims'. They thought it was absurd that 'they believe in statues and cows'. For the Russians, again the experimental group thought that they had a developed culture and did not mention any negative information. Conversely, the control group was very negative against them, and apart from a Eurovision song, which they liked, they portrayed the Russians as a cause of killings and damage to Greece, as well as a powerful country which abuses its power against others. For this reason they paralleled them to the Turks.

The representational elements identified for the rest of the people indicated somewhat more *homogeneous* representations; these were negative for the Arabs, Bulgarians and Gypsies and positive towards the French and the Swiss. As in the pre-interviews, references to the Arabs remained homogeneous and negative; despite their being taught about their religion and culture in History, both experimental and control groups asked whether they were Muslims, and when I responded that they were, they reacted with statements like 'we don't like them then'. References to their cultural achievements were not made, but they did draw from the History lessons to 'confirm' their negative views about them explaining that 'in the ancient times they almost conquered Europe, they threatened them and if it weren't for the Byzantines and French, they would have taken Europe'. They also repeated their beliefs that Arabs were 'black' and 'dirty'.

In the case of the Bulgarians, pupils rarely referred to what they had learnt about them in History and repeated what they mentioned in the pre-interviews; the information they added was mainly negative. The experimental group referred to some crimes they had seen on the news and generalised from them, saying that Bulgarians have no manners or 'much culture' since 'most of the times when we see on the TV that somebody killed someone, it's a Bulgarian that did it…stuff like that'. The control group justified their negative views with local incidents of home violence or marriage break up, which they attributed to the employment of Bulgarian women as housemaids. The control group was the only one to refer to Byzantium: 'They may have caused wars against us in the Byzantine times, but now we go there for tourism'. It is important to note that there were no positive references to them, in contrast to the pre-interviews; the representations indicated this time a homogenous and negative representation of the Bulgarians.

Gypsies were also negatively evaluated; the experimental group again referred to their 'non-developed' cultures but there was also some protest that their decision should really depend on the particular person who was to sit with them. They felt that their knowledge that they wear jewellery and old clothes was insufficient on which to base a decision. Finally, Rea mentioned their being poor as a pejorative characteristic while smiling in embarrassment. The control group's tone was aggressive toward the Gypsies, accusing them of being 'liars', 'thieves', 'beggars', 'frauds'. Their lifestyle (tents, food, fortunetelling, sitting cross-legged, smoking, wearing flip-flops) was found despicable, rendering them 'black' and 'ugly'. Some pupils were talking from personal experience, which made them talk with intensity.

Both groups held positive views about the French. The experimental group referred to their 'very developed culture', that they liked their language and the fact that they were good at football in the 1998 World Cup. Both groups referred to them as 'civilised' and 'hospitable', but the control group also had the opinion

that France was 'one of the most beautiful countries in the world' as it has many sights which, unlike the pre-interview, they could now name: 'the Eiffel Tower, the Louvre, many museums'. Neither group could mention a lot of information about the Swiss, but what they did mention was positive. The experimental group was anxious because they did not know much about them, and were restricted to mentioning their 'developed culture' and 'nice sights'. The control group referred to them as hospitable.

Overall, the experimental group kept referring to 'developed culture' to evaluate other peoples positively. Their perceived lack of knowledge was also very important to them in making decisions and raised some interesting questions: were pupils more reluctant because they knew less about these peoples? Or by being aware that they were using stereotypes this made them feel too uncomfortable to contribute to the discussion? Also, pupils' refusal to follow the original task (which I discuss later in the paper) made this task very brief with the experimental group and did not allow for many stereotypes to surface. This cannot mean, however, that their stereotypes ceased to exist, as indicated by the fact that stereotypes appeared in their discussion on other occasions.

Pupils (particularly from the control group) seemed to have more sophisticated information. However, they 'filtered' this information to support the attitude they held initially towards the various groups. The more 'positive' information of the programme about the Bulgarians or the Arabs, for example, was not used by the experimental group. The information about European groups in both the official curriculum and curricular intervention was reconstructed in ways (positive or negative) which would better accommodate them in their existing representations. In social representations theory terms, the new information acquired by pupils was *anchored* in their existing representations, without challenging the latter. New information seemed peripheral to pupils' existing views of each nationality.

Shifts in the use of rules to represent national groups

The enhanced sophistication of the representational elements produced by the control group and the experimental group's hesitation in responding to this task was more systematically highlighted by the examination of how the 'rules' were used in the post-interviews. These four rules continued to guide pupils' views of national outgroups. However there were some disruptions, which indicated the impact of the programme.

a. familiarity-unfamiliarity: This rule remained intact for the control group in the post-interviews. The experimental groups however were more hesitant than

the controls in selecting and expressing an attitude towards a national group, if they did not know something specific about them. When they did make a choice, this was more positive than the control group's:

Gea: Then both should be in the same category, either both in 'a lot' or both in 'medium'.
Res: Who?
Gea: The Japanese and the Turks.
Res: Why both together?
Gea: Well, because we don't know many things about their culture, to be able to say if we don't like them 'at all' or whatever, and, well, …that's it! […]
Res: Aha, the Germans?
Leo: 'A lot'.
Gea: 'A lot', and the Japanese 'a lot' I think […]
Res: So, why these people [showing the cards] under 'a lot' and these to 'very much'? How are they different?...I mean, why Greeks, French, English, Americans and Russians under 'very much' and Turks, Germans, Japanese, Bulgarians, Swiss, Israelis and Gypsies to 'a lot'…Gea…what do you say?
Gea: Well, the Greeks French, English, Americans and Russians have got a very developed culture, a known culture to the whole world.

Sofia: (in protest) But Switzerland and Bulgaria and Germany have got a developed culture, why not put them to 'very much' as well?
Gea: But we don't know many things about their cultures…
Sofia: We don't know them very well…we are not sure[…]
Gea: Miss, the Germans and the Swiss have got a very developed culture, too, like these countries…
Res: …but they got into 'a lot'…
Leo: We don't know them very well like the Greeks, the French… (Grade 5B)

Even though Gea uses her lack of knowledge to justify the relatively low ranking of the Germans and the Swiss in the task, in comparison with the Greeks and the French, the group was still more positive than in the pre-interview. Their difficulty to reach a decision was exactly as a result of their awareness of their lack of familiarity with the national groups. In consequence, unfamiliarity was not accepted as an adequate criterion to adopt a particular attitude. For example, when this particular group was asked to put the nationalities in order of preference, their

first reaction was to choose the Greeks first, calling on their better knowledge of them. There was however some protest:

All:	Greeks
Sofia:	Well yes, but we can put a foreign country first too, because the Greeks, we put them first all the time.
Gea:	Yes, but it's them we want to put first, because we know them more.
Sofia:	Well yes, but why shouldn't we want some foreigners as well, why don't we know them, so we should learn about them too!
Leo:	Yes, but if we don't put the Greeks first, then where are we going to put them?
Gea:	Yes, since…we were supposed to want to become an island of Greece very much.
Leo:	And we are supposed to have the English too…
Sofia:	OK (hesitantly), put them there…

In the above incident, the other pupils had to call on the *Hellenocentric* identity narrative to persuade Sofia to put the Greeks first in preference. Her disagreement is important in that it revealed her questioning of the group being positive towards the Greeks all the time and of the fact that they need to learn more about other national groups as well, since not knowing them meant liking them less than the Greeks. When, during the same task, Gypsies were put last in preference by this group, soon followed by Turks and Israelis as last, the rule of 'familiarity-unfamiliarity' was again mobilised:

Sofia:	Well, because we know nothing, we haven't learnt anything about them […]
Gea:	Because we think their cultures are not civilised, we don't know them well like the others.
Sofia:	(in protest) It's got nothing to do with culture, it's related to the person you are going to sit with, say for the Gypsies, we know nothing about them, I don't know them very well, I know them very little, I know nothing about them, say we know that they wear some clothes…
Aris:	…which are worn out…
Sofia:	Yeah, jewellery, loads on their body, Israelis, we know very few people, that they are faithful to God, like…but not Christians, and the Turks, they believe in mosques, they haven't believed in the real God yet.

In this 'outburst', Sofia reveals some stereotypical knowledge about the nationalities in question, but is also critical of this information and considers it inadequate to determine a choice of attitude. This indicates a lack of 'trust' of her 'knowledge'. Later:

Res: For what reasons?...Leo…?
Leo: Well, for the Germans and the Swiss we know almost the same things, and before that we put them all together, the Turks with the Bulgarians, they are almost in the same category…we know the same stuff.
Res: If you learnt more about these peoples, the Germans, the Swiss etc, would their position change?
Sofia: Yes, for sure!
Aris: May be.
Sofia: It would surely change, because we don't know very much about them yet, we haven't studied Germany yet [at school] so that we [could] know many things, if we were a German child….
Leo: We know fewer things…
Sofia: ….we wouldn't say these things, we may put Greeks last. (Grade 5B)

Res: What did you think…why did you say 'not at all'? [to Pete]
Lia: He [Pete] might have thought that if we shared our desk with him, he might do something to us…because he doesn't know us very well and…
Akis: But when we get to know him, it will be all right. (Grade 5C)

Sofia's hypothesis, apart from the potential of improving attitudes after learning more about the people in question, also revealed an ability to think from the point of view of other peoples. There was a realisation that if they were of different nationality, their attitudes towards others, particularly the Greeks, would be different. Pupils considered changing their attitude to the positive, if they learnt more things about a particular nationality, but were also more positive when they did not know a lot about them. It is noted that this rule was the dominant (i.e. the most frequent out of the four) 'rule' which the experimental group used.

b. *similarity-dissimilarity:* It is interesting that the two experimental groups, from Grades 5A and 5B, did not utilise the similarity-dissimilarity type of rule in the post interviews to justify their answers. However, this rule remained the most

frequently used rule by the control groups, particularly in their talk about the Greeks.

c. threat and danger/benefits and advantages: Pupils would again consider some relations or contact with some 'conditions' of advantages: economic relations, political-military support, opportunity of travel, experience and learning, i.e. circumstances which entailed some kind of benefit for them personally or their ingroup. Thus, this rule was used in the same way as in the pre-interview, but was now supported by the most sophisticated information pupils had acquired in the meantime about each national outgroup. The experimental group reduced the use of this utilitarian rule in their post-interviews, whereas the control group used it more. It is also interesting to note the distinction made by some pupils in the examples above between 'past' and 'present' behaviour of, for example, the Bulgarians or the English: their 'better' behaviour today was used to justify more positive attitudes that their 'past' behaviour would not justify.

d. negative-positive characteristics: Pupils continued to refer to positive and negative characteristics to justify their views. These characteristics were drawn from more sophisticated (in comparison with the pre-interviews), and at times more 'extreme', stereotypical knowledge about them. An interesting comparison between experimental and control groups, is that the former decreased their references to negative characteristics, whereas such talk was more salient by the control group. However, when they used this rule, both groups seemed to talk less about positive characteristics and referred to the negative characteristics they thought each national group had.

Becoming aware of stereotypical thinking

The discussion of pupils' beliefs about the national outgroups in question and the ways in which they used the rules in the post-interviews indicated some slight changes or disruptions from what had occurred in the pre-evaluation. A more striking finding, however, occurred when the experimental groups showed they were conscious of the fact that this task 'made' them use stereotypes they had about these peoples. This realisation took two forms.

First, the experimental group would at times object to the process of hierarchising peoples. They would sometimes express difficulty in doing so and would ask to 'interact' with the task and put groups of peoples in order, instead of all the individual national groups. For example, Grade 5A took the initiative of

using the 5 cards with the degree of liking ('not at all', 'a little' etc.) as categories under which they placed the peoples in question. The criterion of responding to this task thus became which category was more 'suitable' for 'groups' of nationalities, rather than evaluating each national group individually. Grade 5B followed the same procedure when evaluating groups and also 'interfered' with their hierarchisation: after they had completed the ranking starting with the Greeks and finishing with Gypsies (with considerable protest by Sofia for leaving the Turks third before last), Gea had some doubts:

> *Gea:*   No, miss, I think these are almost in the same order…[putting Gypsies and the Israelis on the same level of hierarchy with the Turks]
>
> *Res:*   Like that?
>
> *All:*   Yes.
>
> *Res:*   So, you want the Turks, Israelis and Gypsies in the same order?
>
> *All:*   Yes. (Grade 5B)

They repeated this process in the other relevant item and put 'Swiss and German together…and Turks and Bulgarians together', because, as Leo explained 'for the Germans and the Swiss we know almost the same things and before when we put them all together again, the Turks and the Bulgarians are almost in the same category…we know the same things'. Grade 5C also put Americans and Japanese together and the Russian and English together. It is interesting to note that in these 'triads' or 'pairs' of national outgroups, pupils mixed cards showing nationalities towards which they were sympathetic as well as those they did not like (as also shown by factor analysis earlier in this paper; see Table 4). These pupils were thus somewhat reflective and questioning of the hierarchisation of national outgroups. Such incidents did not occur in the control group interviews.

Stereotypical knowledge was still drawn upon to justify expressed attitudes towards each people. However, a second sign of the experimental groups becoming aware of the use of stereotypes in their talk was the frequent instances of 'guilty realisation' of the use of such stereotypes, an awareness of generalising some attributes to a whole national group. For example, Rea interrupted the task to say:

> *Rea:*   But miss, these are all stereotypes that we are saying now, aren't they? Because we put the Americans here with the group because the Americans, we hear about crimes for the group, but they are not all…and the little kids, but we put them there because most of the times the States is the country with most crimes, that's why […]

Pambo:	Yeah, we've got stereotypes
Res:	We've got…what…meaning?
Pambo:	Well we've got them.
Res:	So what do we do, what does it mean?
Pambo:	Say, like Rea said for the Americans, it's not all of them that make wars say… (Grade 5A)

Pambo also referred to stereotypes as something he would remember, when asked at the end of the post-focus group interview what they would remember most from the intervention in Geography and History: 'The stereotypes against the Cypriot girl, I will remember that!' (the rest nod in agreement) (Grade 5A). Grades 5A and 5B were thus more hesitant at times to formulate such stereotypes. This led to a difficulty in answering the relevant items, stating that they didn't know a lot, or did not know as much as for other nationalities, so as to confidently select an evaluation card. This was also indicated by the fact that the 'familiarity-unfamiliarity' rule became more salient in the post-interviews for the experimental group than for the control.

To conclude, the experimental group appeared to be more positive towards certain national outgroups in the post-test. They were reluctant to evaluate some nationalities, as they were aware at times that this involved using stereotypes or because they felt they didn't know 'enough'. They at times interfered or questioned the tasks and used the 'negative characteristics' and 'similarity-dissimilarity' rules less. However, the experimental group did not make use of the curricular intervention information on the Bulgarians and the Arabs to 'enrich' their representations. Indeed both groups seemed to use new information to 'confirm' existing representations of nations. However, shifts did occur in their views of the Turks, which is perhaps one of the most important influences of the intervention and to which I turn below.

Other and self: outgroup variability for the Turks?

Pupils' discussions and ranking of national outgroups indicated that they still positioned the Turks and the Greeks at either end of a bipolar continuum. Factor analysis, however, showed that both groups put more peoples in the 'Turk' category (see Tables 4 and 5). The experimental group's 'interference' with the national outgroup evaluation and hierarchisation task during the interviews, in which Turks were ranked alongside others perhaps also points to a de-isolation of the Turks from the rest of the nationalities, since their justifications pointed to how the Turks were also 'human beings' too, and not just enemies. I further explore these issues below.

In the post-interviews, use of the 'negative characteristics' and 'disadvantages' rules, dominated both control and experimental groups' talk about the Turks, as had happened in the first interviews. The arguments referring to the attack on and occupation of half of Cyprus, the refugees, the destruction of cultural heritage were repeated by both groups. The danger the Turkish people constitute for the future of Cyprus, since they were perceived as an 'uncivilised' and strong country, were again brought to the surface:

Res:	So, what about the Turks?
All:	Not at all!!!
Res:	Everybody agrees…why?
Tim:	They invaded us and came and took half of our Cyprus and took our island, our country, and now we are going to offer them hospitality?
Joe:	And as if it's not enough that they took half, they want the other half too, lousy old dogs!!! (Grade 5F)

The group from Grade 5F seemed to be the most verbally aggressive towards other peoples, and particularly against the Turks in the post-interviews. This could be associated with the fact that their school was near a refugee settlement area. Many pupils' parents in school K were Greek-Cypriot refugees since 1974 who could hold much more negative views against the Turks than the rest of the Greek-Cypriots. Petro from Grade 5E was the exception to a rule of negative attitudes towards the Turks and of argumentation which backed up these attitudes by the control group:

Petro:	A little.
Oli:	I think a little.
Soula:	A little…
Res:	Why Petro?
Petro:	I don't know, like, 'cause they conquered us, they are kids too, if we become say friends and not care that they invaded us…become friends, play together…and talk, say if we do Religious Studies, say if the time to study the religion of our Turk desk mate, and then our desk mate must accept to hear about our own religion.
Oli:	We should put 'a little' to the Turk, because they conquered us, took our cultural heritage, put cows in our churches, turned them into stables and I don't like them very much! (laughter by the group) (Grade 5E)

The experimental group also argued against the Turks to justify negative attitudes. However, the dilemma between the fact that they would have to deal with a child, who would however be Turkish, became more salient and caused some strong disagreements by some pupils. Firstly, when the cards with the names of the peoples were spread out on the desk, Sofia commented:

Sofia: Miss…like here where it's got Turk, say what's the little Turks' fault? It's Denktash's [Turkish-Cypriot leader at the time] fault.

Res: OK, let's see the question now […]
All: (Whisper)
Sofia: The Greek [we would like to share our desk with] 'very much'

Gea: No, medium.
Sofia: Medium, medium…the Turks 'a lot', because it's not their fault, it's not them, it's Denktash that took us…[…] the Turks we are sure for 'a lot' because they are good, the little Turks, deep down, they've got a soul too, but Denktash, he doesn't have a soul.[…]a black child went to school where they were all white and nobody wanted it, because it was black…we shouldn't judge only from the outward appearance, but we should see how people are inside. (Grade 5B)

Later on during the discussion, when Sofia realises that the group has left the Turks for last in their order of preference:

Aris: Greeks… English…French…
All: Americans…Russians…
Sofia: Turks!..ehm…no
Aris: Germ…
Leo: The Swiss…
Aris: OK the Swiss, the Germans…
Sofia: The Turks!
Aris: The Japanese…
Sofia: Why, the Turks, they haven't done anything to us the little Turks!

All: (embarrassed laughters)
Aris: Last?
Gea: But we hate them a lot!
Leo: Not last.
Sofia: Not last…ehm…Bulgarians [for last]? I don't know. (Grade 5B)

Scepticism around the Turks also occurred in the other two experimental groups:

Pambo: The Turks that we put in 'not at all', we could have put them in 'medium' or even 'a lot' because…it's not all of them who came and fought us…

Rea: But we hate them!

Sam: It wasn't with their own will …

Res: It wasn't with their own will…of Turkey?

Sam: Not the simple everyday peoples', it was the government's [will]. (Grade 5A)

Akis: I don't want 'not at all', I want 'a little'

Res: You want 'a little'…why?

Akis: 'Cause the little Turks, it's not their fault what happened in Cyprus…it's the grownups' fault, so what's their fault?

Res: So you wouldn't mind having one as your desk mate?

Akis: No. (Grade 5C)

The other three members of this last group agreed with Akis and answered in a very short and neutral way as to why they had still, despite their previous answer, positioned the Turks last amongst the rest of the peoples:

Res: OK…and the Turks last…why?

Pete: (in English) There is a 'problem'!

Res: What 'problem' (in English)?

Pete: The Cyprus problem!!! (laughter from the group) (Grade 5C)

It can be seen that all three experimental groups started not to take their negative attitude against the Turks for granted so much, that there were moments in the interview when they would question or alter their answers-choices. Of course these were only instances and cannot be taken as the rule of the post-evaluation views of the Turks. Such instances, however, also occurred at other points during the interviews where peer-group identity appeared to be stronger than resentment against the Turks. The examples above show that some answers by the control, but more frequently, by the experimental groups, allowed variability within the Turkish nation (differentiating between adults and children, or between the Turkish government/soldiers and ordinary citizens). Experimental pupils' 'awareness' of the use of stereotypes (discussed earlier in the paper), also indicated that they accepted greater variability within the national outgroups in

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question than in the first interviews. These pupils' representations of the Turks thus largely remained the same in content, but became more *ambiguous-conflictual*, since some 'anomalies' in the 'enemy rhetoric' occurred during post-evaluation.

Discussion

In order to explore the impact of the curricular intervention on pupils' representations of national outgroups, this study adopted a social psychological point of view. This was required to guide the design of the research instruments and the interpretation of findings. It was also necessitated by the fact that the literature on the EU and education has largely focused on analyses of EU or national official documents and educational policies. Investigations of the possible psychological impact of curricular definitions of the European dimension in school contexts have largely been absent from the literature, thereby leaving several unanswered questions as to the value of such interventions amongst children. This is rather paradoxical, as the key aim of education, as articulated by the EU during the last 30 years, has been the development of a European identity and citizenship amongst children and adolescents (Lewicka-Grisdale & MacLaughlin, 2002). This study aimed to address this gap by developing, implementing and evaluating the impact of such a curricular intervention. Particularly in the highly sensitive areas of identity, including children's representations of national others, on which the future of multicultural societies may rest, curricular interventions in conflict societies such as that of Cyprus or others elsewhere could provide ample evidence on which future curriculum development could rely.

The analysis of the pre-evaluation data showed the prejudiced and stereotyped way in which Greek-Cypriot pupils represented a number of national outgroups. Using terminology from social representations theory as an analytical language, it is argued that the *figurative nucleus* of the social representation of national others forms a bi-polar at the positive and negative ends of which are the Greeks and the Turks respectively. Between these two extremes were positioned the remaining national outgroups included in the research instruments, hierarchised by pupils on the basis of various rules-criteria. However, representations were both *ambiguous* and *homogeneous*. Despite their young age, these pupils stated they hated the Turks and had strong (and at times shocking) views against them and other national outgroups; religion was a decisive factor to these views. The Turks were thus the least preferred peoples, always at the bottom of the hierarchy.

This finding seems to confirm the 'enemy' effect identified amongst Greek, Turkish and English pupils by Buchanan-Barrow *et al*. (1999), where pupils displayed greater negativity towards the outgroup traditionally represented as 'the enemy' by their own ingroup. Despite their limited knowledge of many peoples, pupils expressed preferences with certainty. Findings of earlier studies that pupils seemed to know more about people they liked and less about people they didn't like (for example by Lambert & Klineberg, 1967) were not verified here. On the contrary, pupils were able to provide more information about the Turks, the Germans and the Gypsies, whom they least liked than about people they were more positive towards, like the French or the English. Similarly, Johnson, Middleton & Tajfel (1970) found that the relationship between attitudes and knowledge was curvilinear: pupils knew more about the countries they liked rather than those they disliked, but least about those they felt neutral about.

Post-evaluation showed that the pupils who experienced the intervention materials were cautious in referring to stereotypes, were not as verbally abusive as the control group, showed instances of empathetic understanding, evaluated national outgroups more positively and grouped them into geographically 'mixed' categories. They occasionally accepted greater variability not only within other national outgroups, but also within the 'Other –enemy', the Turks. These shifts could indicate some 'anomalies' in the enemy rhetoric, a softening of their views, a weakening of the boundaries they constructed to differentiate 'Us' and 'Them', even when the latter referred to the Turks, which is perhaps one of the most significant influences of the intervention. As I argue elsewhere drawing upon additional instruments of pre-and post-evaluation in this study, these anomalies became more frequent when Turkey was viewed within the European context, for which the European prospect was now not 'forbidden': the experimental group drew from the programme's reference on EU membership criteria to accept as well as 'condition' Turkey's membership (Philippou, 2005c).

The curricular intervention did not aim to make pupils insecure about their national identities nor uncritically 'European'. On the contrary, national history and European geography were employed to encourage pupils' thinking about their identities, and, in the Cypriot context, to tackle even attitudes towards the Turks. There was some evidence to show that these pupils started to be more reflective and questioning of the issues in question. The European dimension, and more particularly the principles employed in this curricular intervention (*c.f.* Philippou, 2005a), could thus prove useful to those teachers, policy-makers or curriculum developers who would like to challenge nationalistic bias in school curricula or Eurocentric approaches to the European dimension and who would like to implement it cross-curricularly, contextualise it in their national context and explore its pedagogic potential, while adhering to the predominantly subject-based structure of current curricula.

In addition, what has been learnt in terms of pupils' representations in this study could arguably inform future policy and curricula content on stereotypes. For example, recognition of outgroup and ingroup variability could be enhanced by focusing on everyday people, peers and subgroups (since pupils in this study tended to differentiate such groups from the 'whole' group) rather than politicians, historical figures, war events etc. Such material would encourage constructions of 'everyday' as opposed to 'symbolical' others and of ambiguous-conflictual, rather than negative-homogeneous, representations of national others. This study also indicated pupils' ability to recognise the use of stereotypes as well as their meaning and repercussions on the ways in which others are represented. This programme was taught for only 11.42% of total school hours for a period of four months. Future research could explore the impact of similar or other curricular interventions in the field of stereotypes, prejudice and racism to encourage cultural tolerance and understanding. These issues are currently highly topical across the divide in Cyprus, as both Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot educational systems have been engaged in a long-standing debate about revising curricula and textbooks in ways contributing to a peaceful future in Cyprus, especially in social studies subjects.

The findings presented in this paper have limitations, to be sure: this was not a representative sample of pupils. The pupils who participated were those whose teachers agreed to participate as experimental or control classes in the research project. In addition, the reported shifts by no means suggest that all participating pupils progressed in the ways that they viewed national outgroups. However, these findings do provide some insights into how pupils in Cyprus think and talk about national outgroups, and provide some conceptual tools for future research and curriculum development. Indeed, my argument in this paper is not that the program was equally effective with all pupils, but that, in a conflict-ridden and divided society, it succeeded to *some* extent and among *some* pupils in shifting extreme representations of national outgroups. Social developmental research could compare the ways pupils construct social representations of national outgroups at different ages and in other countries (and across the divide in Cyprus) and how these would be similar or different to the findings elicited during pre-evaluation in this study, in order to explore how children negotiate diverse sociocultural contexts, in- and out-of-school curricula, to construct their identities. To this effect, for example, I have returned to the same school sites and collected data in the school year 2007-08, in order to compare the pre-evaluation data presented in this paper with the new set of data; the aim is to explore and account for the changing context and how this may be reflected in children's discourses in the period between the two studies, a period during which numerous social, political and cultural challenges attendant to issues of identity and diversity have become quite salient in Cyprus.

The study supports social constructivist arguments that education and curricula can play a critical role in developing democratic societies that support and respect national outgroups, within national or regional borders. The European dimension was conceptualised as a subtle approach (within a war-stricken country) to alleviate nationalistic bias in two specific subject areas and to moderate pupils' extreme views. This study has indicated the potential of the European dimension as a curricular tool against ethnocentrism. In a Greek-Cypriot context where 'Europe' tends to be a 'normativity' in the road to modernity (Argyrou, 1996) and where the 'Other=Turk=Islam' is polarised and at times demonised, the European dimension might be useful to hybridise 'European' identity so as to include the 'Others'. The shifts identified in this paper might point towards the potential of curricula, as part of the social context, in providing children with a wider range of 'tools' with which to represent others and themselves. This is significant not only in Europe, but for young people growing up in increasingly inter- and intra-connected regions of the globe.

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RESEARCH REPORT

ASPECTS OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE GREEK *HOLOIMERO* ('ALL-DAY') PRIMARY SCHOOL

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Abstract – *The 'holoimero' school is a special school type in Greece that functions until late in the evening. 'Holoimero' constitutes one of the most important components of the latest educational reform. During its operation, at the end of the morning shift, the 'holoimero' or 'all day' school seeks for the creative occupation of the students who decide to participate in its programme, which includes activities not offered in the morning shift. The present research investigates the factors of the effectiveness of 'holoimero' that, according to some of its teachers, are of great importance. The main argument of the present study is that certain variables are related to the effectiveness of the 'holoimero' school. Some of these variables are school financing and autonomy, school climate, openness to the community, flexibility, pedagogical innovation, and active involvement of those concerned with the organisation and implementation of the curriculum.*

Introduction: the Greek *holoimero* school

*H*oloimero is a special type of school in Greece. Its name derives from the Greek words 'holo' (which means 'all') and 'imera' (which means 'day'). Thus, *holoimero* stands for an 'all day' school, a recent innovation in Greece. In fact, the *Holoimero* School was established in Greece in 1998 as a part of a centrally guided reform effort of the Greek government to rehabilitate the role of the primary school sector from kindergarten to the age of 12. From 2002 onward[1], this programme has become common in Greek primary schools and presently the majority of primary schools in Greece are functioning as 'all-day' ones. The teaching programme in *holoimero* schools begins at 7am instead of 8:10am as in regular schools, and ends at 4:15pm instead of 1:30pm.

Though many educational systems include some form or other of all-day schools, the term 'all-day' is not used in precisely the same way internationally. Apart from the divergence in semantic definition, a divergence can also been

recorded in the underpinning philosophy and rationale, the way the initiative is implemented, and the very duration of the programme. Indeed, one can find variations of the same idea not only between countries, but also within them as well. Generally, however, the idea of having to stay at school for the greater part of the day refers to an alternative type of schooling that tends to take one of two main forms (Eurydice, 1997; Deckert-Peaceman, 2004). In the first type, which can be referred to as *closed* or *obligatory*, school attendance is mandatory for all students, and the syllabus, which lasts through into the afternoon, is incorporated in the traditional school programme. In this type of extended programme both the all-day school and the normal school constitute a single structure, since traditional subjects, creative activities and students' homework preparation for the next day are distributed throughout the school timetable. In Greece there are only 28 all-day schools of the closed-type, and these are still in their pilot phase. No central decision has yet been made by the Ministry of Education to increase their number.

The other type of programme can be called *open* or *flexible*. In this case attendance is optional for the students who wish to attend the all-day school syllabus after the end of the morning lessons. The syllabus in this case includes homework preparation for the next day's classes, mainly in combination with activities of a creative character. It should also be noted that in the school year 2006-2007, roughly 150,000 students studied in 6,636 open-type all-day schools. Of these, 4,271 were primary schools and 2,365 were kindergartens (Kalimeri, 2006). Greek educators insist that in these open-type all day schools, open and flexible curricula should be adopted, with a view to reinforcing the educator's autonomy and responsibility when it comes to the planning and implementation of the programmes (Hadzigeorgiou, 1998, p. 107).

The idea of the all-day school was launched by the Greek Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs through a series of Legal Acts[2], which led to a law governing the operation of the flexible *holoimero school*. According to the Legal Acts, the basic targets of the operation of the *holoimero* school are as follows:

- The reinforcement of knowledge and skills that students are taught in the morning syllabus (study, additional teaching interventions in Language and Mathematics, consolidating teaching, individualised programmes by the schoolteachers of the afternoon classes); and

- The enrichment of the morning syllabus with more subjects of particular cultural and social importance (English Language, Sports, Music, Dance, Theatrical Studies, Arts, New technologies in Education), according to the students' needs and interests, taught by specialised teachers.

From a pedagogical point of view, emphasis is given on alternative learning-by-sharing, interdisciplinary, experimental teaching approaches and the undertaking of innovation for the successful application of the enriched syllabus. The proposals for the implementation of cross-curricular projects also contribute to this direction. The *holoimero* school is considered to be a place for the creation of authentic conditions for alternative learning, a parameter that is consistent with the basic principles of modern trends in education, such as environmental education, cross-cultural education, health education, and so on (Loukeris, 2005).

Applying the idea of effectiveness in the Greek *holoimero* school

As we have seen, the Greek *holoimero* school constitutes a relatively new institution in Greece, and for precisely this reason, its evaluation in relation to its effectiveness is essential. The generation of relevant data can contribute to the achievement of the objective that inspired the initiative in the first place, namely the improvement of the quality of studies in all-day schools. If the evaluation shows that such an objective is being reached, than the initiative can be adopted by the remaining schools (Kalimeri, 2006).

The criteria identified by the school effectiveness movement are a key inspiration behind the evaluation. According to Rutter (1983), McCormack-Larkin (1985), Mortimer et al. (1988), Cheng (1993), Reynolds (1999) and Reynolds et al. (1996), school effectiveness is determined by a series of indicators among which the following have a predominant position: the implementation of the curriculum, the collaboration of school teachers, regular feedback to students regarding their progress, the involvement of parents and the community, the support of educationally challenged students, the leadership of the school headmaster and staff, adequate finance, resources and technical infrastructure, and finally, the cultivation of an improved pedagogical climate. A similar list of school effectiveness features was identified by Teddlie & Reynolds (2000; cited in Reviere, 2004), after a comparative study carried out in the USA and in Britain. They thus refer to effective leadership, effective teaching, a continued pervasive focus on learning, a positive school culture, creation of high expectations for all, an emphasis on students' responsibilities and rights, the monitoring of progress at all levels, the development of staff skills at school, and the involvement of parents in productive and appropriate ways.

In the present study, the evaluation of the all-day school programme effectiveness included the exploration of teachers' perceptions. While the school headmaster has the overall responsibility for the organisation and co-ordination of the morning and afternoon syllabus in all-day schools, s/he does so in

collaboration with the teachers. One of these teachers also has a specific role in ensuring the smooth running of the programme. The teachers' perceptions about the all-day school environment was sought in order to capture their every day experience of the programme. The recording of their experiences, through the completion of questionnaires, capture some of the problems encountered, and how these were faced. The issues they raise suggest a framework of quality criteria that can guide the effective operation of the all-day school.

Other studies on the Greek *holoimero* school

Some studies have already been carried out in Greece in order to identify the challenges facing all-day schools, how these could be overcome, and the long-term prospects of the initiative. A recent review by Kyriakopoulou (2006) identified a number of studies, which tend to focus on geographic, social and familial criteria. Suffice it to mention in this context the research carried out by Nikolaou & Pamouktsoglou (2005), by Loukeris, Stamatopoulou & Alvertis (2005), by Loukeris, Karabatzaki & Stamatopoulou (2005), and by Papachristos (2005). A special evaluation of the all-day school was completed in 2005 on behalf of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs with the contribution of various agencies and entities.

The outcomes of the aforementioned studies have led to a number of conclusions, the most important of which have been summarised by Kyriakopoulou (2006), Loukeris & Markantonatou (2004), Loukeris & Syriou (2007) and Loukeris & Taboulari (2005):

- Parents think positively of the institution, are satisfied with the preparation of children's homework for the next day, and consider the collaboration with teachers essential.
- The all-day school contributes to the children's socialisation, the improvement of their personal behaviour, and the stimulation of their self-confidence and self-assurance.
- The provision of varying activities in the all-day school curriculum did not impede the majority of students from attending other extracurricular activities.
- Teachers do not have sufficient time to meet each other, and this limits their collaboration.
- There is a lack in the material and technical infrastructure of the all-day schools, with inadequate provision of pedagogic and teaching resources.
- Funding is also insufficient, and the recruitment of educational personnel is hampered by bureaucratic procedures.

The current study and its research methodology

Assumptions and exploratory questions

Our basic focus was on the extent to which the all-day school fulfils its social and pedagogic role. What we wanted to explore was whether the organisation and the operation of the traditional school was truly transformed in the all-day school, in ways that impacted positively on the students' educational and social experience. Key questions we asked included the following:

- Do staff who teach the same or different subject matter in the morning and afternoon programmes work together to develop flexible curricula and attractive learning environments?
- What issues have a positive or negative influence on the pedagogic climate in the all-day school?
- What facilities are school teachers provided with to support them in fulfilling their administrative and professional roles?
- Is there sufficient funding, and are there enough resources to ensure that the all-day school operates effectively?

Research tool

The evaluation of the all-day schools was carried out through the use of a questionnaire, which helped us record the opinions, experiences and perceptions of school headmasters, deputy managers or teachers in charge of the afternoon programme. In this paper, reference is only made to a part of this questionnaire, and the list of variables concerning effectiveness which are investigated are listed in Tables 1 and 2 below.

These variables were generated in a pilot study carried out in all-day schools in the area of Piraeus (Loukeris & Markantonatou, 2004; Loukeris, Stamatopoulou & Alvertis, 2005). The school headmasters' and teachers' opinions were recorded in a questionnaire that included the following open question: 'In your opinion, what factors contribute to the most effective operation of all-day schools?' Respondents were asked to identify a maximum of four reasons. An analysis of the responses led to the formulation of the variables (as shown in Tables 1 and 2) which were used to draw up a questionnaire which was distributed to all-day school teachers all over Greece, and the results of which we are reporting in this research report.

Process of data collection

Our study was based on a random sample of 85 all-day primary schools. The school headmasters, their deputies, or the teachers-in-charge of all-day schools were targeted given that their opinion was considered to be of great importance, since they had first-hand experience of the initiative, and were best placed to identify and discuss the problems faced in its implementation. Of the 156 questionnaires that were distributed, 136 were returned to us.

Description of the sample

Basic information about the gender, age, and years of service of the respondents was collected. Of the 136 completed questionnaires, 65 were filled in by males, and 71 by females. The average age for the men was 45.8 years (*SD* 6.770) and 41.1 years (*SD* 8.514) for the women. Furthermore, the average previous experience was 22.45 years (*SD* 7.637) for the men and 18.16 (*SD* 9.751) years for the women. While several of the respondents had followed a range of in-service courses, only 4.4% of then had undertaken postgraduate studies.

Statistical analysis of results

SPSS was used to process the questionnaire data. The percentages of all the variables of the questionnaire were calculated and the relations between the variable *improvement of school effectiveness* and the dependent variables were evaluated. For the evaluation of these relations, Kendall's tau-b criterion, which concerns the cross-correlation of categoric data, was selected.

Findings

Table 1 presents the percentage of the answers to the variables of the questionnaire which were examined in correlation with the variable *improvement of school effectiveness*.

TABLE 1: Percentage of the answers to the variables of the questionnaire

Variables	Percentage			
	A Lot	*Some*	*Little*	*Nil*
Interest in being involved in curriculum planning	32.3	38.3	18.1	11.3
Actual involvement in curriculum planning	29.5	36.4	22.0	12.1
Lack of special equipment in classrooms	24.0	45.8		30.2
Problems with financing	42.6	39.5	0.8	17.1
Time demands made on the principal	41.4	41.4		17.2
Reinforcement of contacts between teachers	12.4	32.6		55.0
Cooperation of class teachers	37.3	56.7		6.0
Interest in in-service training	9.8	41.4		48.8
The creation of pleasant climate	4.0	60.5		35.5
The adoption of new teaching methods	7.5	49.6		42.9
Effectiveness	3.0	74.3		22.7
Student drop-out	5.2	67.2		27.6
Parental satisfaction with the activities organised	14.3	80.5		5.2
Parental satisfaction with the study programme	11.9	72.4		15.7

Variables	Percentage			
	A Lot	*Some*	*Little*	*Nil*
Effective cooperation with the administrative authorities	48.4	32.1	11.7	7.8
Sufficient cooperation with the administrative authorities	48.4	33.4	9.5	8.7
Cooperation with the administrative authorities solved problems	45.7	32.6	9.3	12.4
Problems in the cooperation with the administrative authorities	7.1	7.1	14.3	71.5
Cooperation on professional issues	38.5	32.5	19.6	9.4
Improvement of the relationships within the school–parent association	40.2	56.1	3.7	
Improvement of the relationship between the school and the local authorities	16.0	79.4	4.6	
Improvement of the relationship between the school and other institutions	15.5	84.5		
	Yes		**No**	
Organising the management of the school unit	39.4		60.6	

Table 2 presents the values of the correlation coefficient Kendall's tau-b between the variable *improvement of school effectiveness* and the rest of the variables that were examined in the present work.

TABLE 2: The values of Kendall's tau-b correlation coefficient between the variable 'improvement of school effectiveness' and the rest of the variables

Variables	School Effectiveness
Interest in being involved in curriculum planning	0.27**
Actual involvement in curriculum planning	0.25**
Lack of special equipment in classrooms	-0.16*
Problems with financing	-0.19*
Time demands made on the principal	0.18*
Reinforcement of contacts between teachers	0.26**
Cooperation of class teachers	0.21*
Interest for in-service training	0.33**
The creation of pleasant climate	0.56**
The adoption of new teaching methods	0.29**
Student drop-out	-0.35**
Parental satisfaction with activities organised	0.26**
Parental satisfaction with the study programme	0.34**
Effective cooperation with the administrative authorities	0.26**
Sufficient cooperation with the administrative authorities	0.23**
Cooperation with the administrative authorities solved problems	0.26**
Problems in the cooperation with the administrative authorities	-0.27**
Cooperation on professional issues	0.17*
Improvement of the relationships within the school–parent association	0.36**
Improvement of the relationship between the school and the local authorities	0.29**
Improvement of the relationship between the school and other institutions	0.19*
Organising the management of the school unit	0.19*

$* p < 0.05$, $** p < 0.01$

More specifically, one can observe in Table 2 a statistically significant positive relation – at the level of significance $p.<.0.01$ or $p.<.0.05$ – between the variable *improvement of school effectiveness* and a range of other variables. When these variables increase, school effectiveness improves respectively.

One can also observe a statistically significant negative relation – at the level of significance $p.<.0.01$ or $p.<.0.05$ – between the variable *improvement of school effectiveness* and such variables as 'lack of special equipment in classrooms', 'problems with financing', 'student drop-out', and 'problems with cooperation with the administrative authorities'. When these variables decrease, school effectiveness improves accordingly.

Discussion

The aim of the present study was to record the opinions of the school headmasters and teachers in all-day schools in order to identify the factors which they considered to be closely connected with the effective operation of schools.

Firstly, school effectiveness appears to be connected with the teachers' display of interest in participating in the planning and implementation of the all-day school curriculum. As international research confirms (Reynolds, Muijs & Treharne, 2003), both the participative planning of the curriculum and the teachers' enthusiastic involvement influence positively the quality of education provision overall.

Effective education presupposes teacher collaboration, so that the consent of everybody involved in the educational process is ensured, facilitating the smooth running of the all-day school. All the above mentioned factors are explicit, since, according to Heneveld (1994, p. 39), the effective operation of schools is ensured when teachers collaborate together and share ideas, when there is trust in their teaching competence, when school activities are delegated to them, and when they are called upon to address emergent professional issues and challenges.

Several aspects that lead to effectiveness, such as collaboration between teachers and curriculum development, can be positively influenced by in-service training (Purkey & Smith, 1983; Levine & Lezotte, 1990). Certainly this study supports the notion that professional development opportunities have a positive impact on school effectiveness, as does staff collaboration on pedagogic and professional issues, and the adoption of innovative teaching methods. Such activities clearly make additional demands on educational staff, particularly so on the school director.

The latter is the one who is responsible for the coordination of his colleagues, when it comes to the implementation of the programme for creative activities

(Scheerens & Bosker, 1997). This study shows how important staff collaboration becomes when addressing issues and challenges that arise, and how crucial it is to ensure the effectiveness of the all-day school – a factor that has already been highlighted in school effectiveness literature. Rutter *et al*. (1979), for instance, pointed out the importance of democratic processes in the running of a school, with teachers' opinions being solicited and taken seriously in the development of the curriculum and in the planning and implementation of school activities. Mortimore *et al*. (1988), Teddlie & Springfield (1993), and Sammons, Hillman & Mortimore (1995) attest to the fact that school headmasters play a decisive role, since it is thanks to their administrative competence that communication and cooperation with all staff can take place, leading to an improved educational environment and outcome. Effective schools are therefore those that are led in such a way as to facilitate the sharing of responsibilities between all educational staff, with teachers being directly or indirectly involved in decision-making processes, including economic ones (Cresswell, 2004).

Furthermore, Louis & Smith (1990) note that the teachers' involvement in decision-making reinforces the sense of approval of their work by parents and the wider local community. This is also borne out by our own study, where we can report a statistically significant correlation between the improvement of the relations between the school and the parental association, the Local Authorities and the other institutions that are involved in the educational system on the one hand, and school effectiveness on the other. The positive regard in which the community holds the school motivates teachers to invest more effort in their work, leading to improved educational outcomes – a dynamic that was nicely captured by Reviere (2004) in his comparative studies of schools in the USA and Great Britain. It is factors such as these which have an impact on the physiognomy of the school, releasing what Scheerens (2000) calls its 'policy-making potential' and its 'self-renewing capacity'.

Parental involvement in the educational process also contributes to the effective operation of a school (Gaziel, 1996). Parents not only have the right to express their opinion on school matters, but they are actually resources that can contribute toward the solution of problems encountered by the school (Cotton, 1995). Sammons, Hillman & Mortimore (1995) actually consider parents to be educational partners, and supporters of the school project. In the present study, the variables 'parental satisfaction with homework assigned' and 'creative activities' implemented within the all-day school framework, are positively related to the effective operation of all-day schools. Such a finding is supported by other studies, including that by Purkey & Smith (1983), who conclude that the combination of parental involvement, the increase of time dedicated to learning, and the support of school by the local community all contribute to school effectiveness.

Successful economic management also contributes to the effective operation of schools, but this presupposes adequate funding. In the present survey, limited financial resources were also highlighted as a factor that, according to the interviewees' opinions, is negatively related to the effective running of the all-day school. Inadequate funding resulted in a dearth of equipment and resources in classrooms, which naturally had an equally negative impact on the smooth running of the all-day school. In a related study, Loukeris, Karabatzaki & Stamatopoulou (2005) also showed how insufficient funding, inadequate material and limited technical infrastructure, together with parental dissatisfaction with the all-day school curriculum, appear to be connected with the rate of student drop-out from the all-day school programme. Our study also confirms the negative correlation between low levels of financing and school effectiveness, emphasising the point that adequate funding is one of the most important parameters that contributes to creating a pleasant and attractive working environment for teachers and students alike (Louis & Smith, 1990).

In conclusion, the improvement of the effectiveness of the all-day school is linked to a range of factors that include high levels of teacher participation and cooperation, strong and positive relations between students, teachers, parents and the local community, and adequate funding providing the required resources, facilities and infrastructure – all of which contribute to the development of an improved pedagogic climate and a pleasant and attractive environment facilitative of learning and creativity. A context that is supportive of pedagogic innovation helps improve learning outcomes, reflected in parental satisfaction with the creative activities their children are involved in, and the efforts of teachers to help students prepare for their homework commitments. The all-day school programme thus functions as an attractive incentive, which manages to galvanise and retain student interest and motivation for learning.

Notes

1. Funding support came mainly from the 2nd Operational Programme for Education and Initial Vocational Training (EPEAEK).
2. Legal Acts: 50/76/121153/G 1 (13-11-02); 50/57/26650/G 1/17-3-03; 50/58/26861/G 1/17-3-2003; 50/132/90416/ G 1/28-8-2003; 12/773/77094/G 1/28-7-2006.

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IVth Mediterranean Society of Comparative Education Conference in Rabat, Morocco, 8-10 November 2009

MESCE Conference Report

The fourth conference of the Mediterranean Society of Comparative Education (ME.S.C.E) was held under the auspices of the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* (ENS) at Rabat, Morocco on the 9th and 10th November, 2009. The conference title was 'Education, Democracy and Social Justice – Curricular, Pedagogical and Policy Implications'. The conference was held at the end of last year rather than in 2010 not to clash with the World Congress of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) to take place in Istanbul this coming June. ME.S.C.E is a full member of the WCCES whose executive meeting also took place in Rabat the day before the ME.SCE conference started. Members of the WCCES Executive Council participated at the ME.S.C.E conference, some even presenting papers at this event.

This was the largest and most representative ME.S.C.E conference to date. The programme was packed with plenaries, keynotes and parallel sessions with speakers from both sides of the Mediterranean shores. There were also presenters from other regions, such as North America, sub-Saharan Africa and South East Asia, to ensure that the conference involved a certain degree of international border-crossing with respect to ideas and experiences, in the best spirit of critical comparative education. There were presentations from Australia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Canada, Cyprus, France, Greece, Holland, Iran, Italy, Malta, Morocco, Palestine, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Taiwan, Tanzania, Turkey, United Kingdom and the U.S.A. There were also scholars from Southern countries (e.g. Algeria, Ghana) who are now ensconced in Western institutions.

Professor Samira Dlimi from ENS, Morocco and ME.S.C.E Secretary General, Professor Carmel Borg, from the University of Malta, were the conference convenors. They left no stone unturned to render this a superbly organized event, with simultaneous translations in English, French and Arabic being provided. The opening plenary was addressed by Professor Abdelhafid Debbagh, Secrétaire Général du Département de l'Enseignement Supérieur, de la Formation des Cadres et de la Recherche scientifique, the Director of ENS, M. Abdellattif Moqine, Professor Dlimi and M.E.S.C.E President, Professor Peter Mayo, University of Malta. The keynote speakers were: Professor Abdellah Saaf, Universite' Mohammed V, Rabat, Morocco and President of *Le Centre des Etudes et Recherches en Sciences Sociales* (CERSS) Morocco, Professor Mehdi Lahlou,

Institut National de Statistique et d'Economie Appliquée (INSEA), Rabat, Morocco and ME.S.C.E. Vice President, Professor Fatma Gok, Bogazici University, Istanbul, Turkey, ME.S.C.E. Executive Committee Member and convenor of 2010 WCCES Conference, and Professor Abdelmajid Kaddouri, Hasan II University, Casablanca, Morocco.

Topics addressed throughout the conference included Migration, Postcolonial Education, Organizational Culture, Pedagogies of Memory and Mourning, Youth cultures, Language Politics, Colonization and History, Women's issues in Education, Higher Education, Vocational Education, Bologna Process, Assessment Policies, Middle Eastern Politics, Inclusion Policies, Maternal Education, Self-Reliance and Education, Human Rights Education, Equity issues in Education and School Leadership, Gender issues in Education, Scientific Knowledge in a Global Era.

Sponsorship for this conference was provided by the ENS (Rabat-Morocco), Ministry of Education (Morocco), the Italian Cultural Institute and ME.S.C.E. The Italian Ambassador to Morocco also hosted a reception for ME.SCE and WCCES Executive Council participants at his residence. A welcome reception was held on the eve of the conference courtesy of the Italian Cultural Institute in Rabat, Morocco. Information and photos regarding the conference can be found on the Society's website: http://www.mesce.org/

Presidential Address

Professor Peter Mayo, University of Malta, MESCE President 2008-2010

On behalf of the Mediterranean Society of Comparative Education, I welcome the Honorable Minister of Education, members of the executive committee of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES), other participants at the MESCE conference, including members of the newly formed AFRICE, to this, the fourth in a series of conferences, normally held every two years. These conferences focus primarily on different aspects of education in the Mediterranean region but also accommodate papers and roundtables on aspects of education in other parts of the world.

A word of great thanks is due at the very outset of my address to the hosts of this conference from the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* here in Rabat, Morocco. Particular thanks are due to Professor Samira Dlimi who worked very hard, and at times against the odds, to ensure that this conference takes place in the stipulated time with everything in place to ensure the packed programme's smooth running. I can also attest personally to the sterling efforts of our Secretary General,

Professor Carmel Borg, to strengthen the organisational framework of this organisation, ensuring a sound financial basis, the creation of a superb hyperlinked website, the publication of the 2008 conference book and providing significant input into the organisation of the conference.

A quick glance at the programme indicates that this organisation is gradually coming of age. It has come a long way from its very first meeting which took place in the resident city of the comparative education scholar who established this society. The scholar is Dott. Giovanni Pampanini and the city in question is Catania, Sicily. MESCE, as our website points out, is Dott. Pampanini's brainchild, as is the fledgling African Society of Comparative Education, AFRICE, whose representatives we also welcome today. It would be no exaggeration to state that Dott. Pampanini has, through his vision and drive, contributed immensely to the spread and creation of structures for comparative and international education in the Southern regions of the world. It was also he who proposed the holding of the WCCES meeting in Sarajevo and to have the WCCES Executive Committee hold its meeting here in Rabat during the MESCE conference. For all this, he deserves our gratitude.

His vision has no doubt been shared by others. We might now begin to speak of a movement concerning 'education in the Mediterranean' which gravitates around such organisations as MESCE and the journal it helps promote, the *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies* (MJES), the brainchild of its founding and still current editor, Ronald Sultana who invited MESCE representatives to serve on the Editorial Advisory Board. He also co-edited with Professor Borg and me a special issue of MJES dedicated to the 2008 Malta conference which was subsequently turned into a book.

In an age of university classifications, dominated by Anglo-N. American-Australian and South-East Asian universities, and characterised for the most part by the hegemony of English and the high currency of certain contexts at the expense of others, I consider it imperative that we from the South while, unrelenting in our efforts to foreground, in the established literature, the perspectives that emerge from our context, also create our own structures to make these perspectives constantly visible and accessible.

The decision to convert the MJES into an online 'open access' journal was made by the Editor precisely with this view in mind. I think this is a step in the right direction, despite the prejudices against such outlets often expressed in the corridors of high ranking, status conscious universities and their academics in certain parts of the world. I am convinced that the future of academic publishing lies in this direction. It constitutes the means whereby academics reclaim the products of their own labour and condition in no small measure the range of its dissemination.

Initiatives such as these are complemented by others emerging from this part of the world, including that of the impending launch of a journal concerning Postcolonial Issues in Education which will be published in the Mediterranean island of Malta, a symbolic location for such a venture given the country's long histories of domination and colonisation.

Nevertheless swimming against the tide is no mean task. It is fraught with difficulties and major ones at that. I need not rehearse some of the well documented difficulties, including the various conflicts leading to the presence of X signifying the automatic absence of Y in projects such as the one we are undertaking. Financial sustainability is another. And yet success breeds success. The relative success of the Malta conference, not only in terms of participation, smooth running, range of topics discussed but also in terms of registering a profit, led, in some way, to some important actions: the setting up and maintenance of a MESCE website, the publication of keynote talks from the conference and the provision of some partial funding for this conference where the challenges have been many, not least the covering of such otherwise crippling expenses as the provision of professional translation facilities. These facilities are essential if the conference is to be truly representative of the region, catering for both sides of the Mediterranean's shores.

We stuck to the unwritten policy of rotating between one side of the Mediterranean to another, starting off in Catania and then moving to Alexandria with the evocative location of the then newly built Bibliotheca Alexandrina, then to Malta and now to Rabat, Morocco. In my view, an east Mediterranean city would be ideal next time round, maybe an Istanbul, a Nicosia, a Dubrovnik or a Bled. I know our very committed friends from Istanbul have their work cut out with hosting the forthcoming massive WCCES Congress and might want to rule themselves out of the equation for the time being. However the excitement which I am sure the Istanbul event will generate in June might make them want to change their mind, once the dust has settled. It is important that we keep the momentum going.

It is important that we settle on the right choice, right in terms of:

- accessibility of location,
- attraction of the place (without exoticising or 'orientalising' it) to draw members of other international societies and ensure that MESCE becomes not a ghetto but a space for dialogue concerning issues emerging not only from the Mediterranean but also from other regions, in the spirit of true comparative international education
- hosts who demonstrate the kind of commitment, as shown by Professor Dlimi and her colleagues over here, in leaving no stone unturned to make the conference a success.

We need to keep the rotation going in view of proper Mediterranean representation so that educators from all sides of the region feel a sense of ownership of the project. In this regard, it is worth reiterating that there can be no MESCE without active Arab participation. This reflects the fact that there can be no Mediterranean without the presence of the Arab world. The Rome based, Bosnian-Croat scholar, Predrag Matvejevic, once wrote: 'We need to get rid of this European habit of speaking about the Mediterranean and think only of its northern shore: the Mediterranean has another shore, that of Africa and the Maghreb.'(Matvejevic, 1997, p.119). These statements come across as truisms. It would not be amiss, however, to re-assert these truisms as we constantly struggle against popular romanticizations, mystifications, orientalisations and omissions – all part of the politics of (mis) representation and absence.

The Mediterranean is formidable in its diversity and convergences, crisscrossed as it is by cultural crosscurrents that render our various cultures hybrids that have the potential of enabling us to connect with other peoples from the region. We need to explore however the power dynamics, suggestive of unequal power relations in the Mediterranean, that characterise these connections, lest we lapse into a facile notion of 'interculturalism.'

What Ferdinand Braudel calls the *longue durée* of exchange in the Mediterranean left its imprints on the subjectivities of people in the region which even long periods of Northern European colonialism could not stamp out, despite the fact that this colonialism, as well as resistances and accommodations to it, enhanced the ever dynamic process of hybridisation involved. These can lead scholars to engage in 'contrapuntal' readings of situations, in Edward Said's terms, borrowed from literature and music, which render research on education and other aspects of life in the Mediterranean most rewarding and instructive.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Hannam, P. & Echeverria, E. (2009) *Philosophy for Teenagers: Nurturing a Moral Imagination for the 21st Century.* London: Continuum, 209 pp. ISBN: 9781855394667

As, albeit now a part-time, practitioner I found much in the book with which I agreed. Its concerns with enabling young people to think about what they ought to be doing with their lives, what is worth living for, and the need for public action resonated with the kinds of themes that have dominated my professional life. The particular concern, as implied by the title, is using philosophy to enhance young people's responses to ethical and moral dilemmas, especially global issues. The book is in three parts, the first two dealing with what might be best described as the 'theoretical narrative' to the practical application given in part three. Part three also offers a number of illuminating case studies of the results of such an approach to education. There is a clear interrelationship between these three sections, theory does not lead practice, or vice-versa; the theoretical narrative and the practical emerge from a shared engagement in both practice and research by both authors. In reviewing the book one is left asking what is the criteria for success? Perhaps, starting with 'does it work' or the slightly less demanding 'is it helpful'? On this score one sees the experience of the authors shining through the text, the practical has been tested, and works in certain circumstances with certain young people. It has the air of authentic education, which resonated with my own work both with young people and undergraduate students – I could *imagine* that it would work *for me*. Perhaps, though, the title should have indicated their primary concern was with *schooling*.

Having said all this, as an academic, I found the contextualising narrative offered limited. Section one offers a brief review of the arrival of 'Philosophy with Children' and its early history in the UK. It sets out the democratic imperatives for *this* form education, some of the underlying principles of the approach along with a psychological focus on identity formation in young people. Section two deals with 'the ethical' and 'the global' and culminates in Chapter 5's concern with the 'global imagination'. The purpose of the book I take to be: challenging and changing young people's behaviour, and being concerned with the global dimension. In the light of this I want to raise three issues in response:

1. What account of philosophy is implied?
2. How does one motivate action, not just thinking about action?
3. What does it mean to think and act globally?

Many philosophies?

We live, I take as empirical reality, with a plurality of philosophical traditions. Further, we are aware of a global world that has a number of different approaches to something identified as 'philosophy', not only the distinctions between 'Anglo-American' and 'Continental' philosophies, but also, for example, that developed in the Middle or Far East. Whilst there have been work drawing on both the east and west (see Kim, 2003 for a practical example), these have not, in my view, made a strong supportive case for harmony. Rather, they show the potential commensurability of different approaches.

The risk, for Hannam and Echeverria, is of imperialism by evoking, within a global agenda, a particular view of philosophy and philosophical practice. They seem to have three possible responses: firstly, to defend a particular conception of philosophy as both legitimate and useful for their purposes, secondly, to present a plural approach, or thirdly to offer a 'pan-tradition' approach, a little like the way the term 'faith' is used to group together the common features of different (and incommensurate) religious traditions. Whilst a scan of the index is not a scientific study, it nevertheless reveals a lack of references to other traditions, neither does there seem to be a defence of either the western liberal approach to philosophy or a 'pan-traditional' approach.

Motivating force

Hannam and Echeverria are rightly concerned not only with enabling young people to think, but also to act and act well. Whilst this is in line with MacIntyre's (1987) view of the role of the academic disciplines, one might ask whether the kind of philosophically minded education proposed here is the best way to go about it.

One might make three broad critiques. The first concerns the nature of philosophical enquiry itself. Hirst (1999) recognises that the liberal education assumption of the rather direct link between theoretical knowledge and practical wisdom was mistaken. Given practical wisdom would seem to be Hannam and Echeverria's goal I would have liked to have seen this question more directly addressed. Secondly, there is little discussion of the disabling dangers of doing philosophy, especially by young people. My own experience of enquiry with young people (and undergraduates) is that 'thinking things through' leads them to relativism and they are *less* sure they ought to act. The view presented of philosophy as a necessarily *good form of education* is too unbalanced. Finally, and relatedly, is the role *ideals,* and their related emotions, play in motivating young people to act. Whilst *ideals* bring with them difficulties, we want them to be tutored by wisdom, nevertheless they offer a motivating force for many young people. I would have liked to see more consideration of the motivational importance ideals and emotions (see Prinz, 2007).

Global dimensions

The aphorism has been 'think globally, act locally', but as Beck (1999) has pointed out there are a myriad of ideas that have hitched their wagon to the global, globalising and globalization agenda. The teasing out of these terms and the types of political and moral issues alluded to would have been helpful. In particular, it would have been good to have a sense of the moral and political assumptions the authors saw as underpinning the use of these terms.

The point returns to the largely unexplicated conception of the good that threads through the theoretical narrative and is reflected in the practical section. Conceptions of the good brings with them particular way of talking about the global. In Hannam and Echeverria's case their conception seems to draw extensively on a universalising, ethical liberal, humanist tradition. I would have liked to see a more self-critical defence of this position as it underpins a series of assumptions about the type of philosophy studied, its motivational force, and the ethics of engagement in the global.

Concluding comments

In summary, the characteristics of a good book are, perhaps, that they have something to offer practice and a transparency to critical engagement. These are both reflected in Hannam and Echeverria's contribution to the education of young people. In the hands of the intelligent practitioner, their reflections and practical suggestions will, I am sure, enhance practice. However, as I have attempted to outline, there are a number of issues that seem to emerge directly from their task which are in need of more detailed consideration.

References

Beck, U. (1999) *What Is Globalization?* Cambridge: Polity Press

Kim, H-K (2003) Critical thinking, learning and Confucius: a positive assessment, *Journal of the Philosophy of Education*, Vol. 37(1), pp. 73-87.

Hirst, P. (1999) The nature of educational aims. In R. Marples (ed) *The Aims of Education*. London: Routledge

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Prinz, J.J. (2007) *The Emotional Construction of Morals*. New York: Oxford University Press.

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Herrera, Linda & Torres, Carlos Alberto (eds)(2006) *Cultures of Arab Schooling, Critical Ethnographies from Egypt.* **New York: SUNY Press, 208 pp. ISBN: 9780791469026**

Le livre que nous présentons est la traduction anglaise d'une version antérieure en arabe. Il est le résultat de deux ans de travail (2002-2004) et de collaboration entre les auteurs, l'équipe de traductrices[1] et les chercheurs de *Culture and Education in Egypt Working Group (CEEWG)* dans le cadre de *Middle East Awards Program* au sein de *Population Council's West Asia and North Africa Office*. Les auteurs ont réussi à impliquer dans le projet aussi les autorités égyptiennes, notamment le Ministère de l'Education. Grâce à son soutien, ils ont obtenu les autorisations nécessaires pour accéder aux écoles publiques, sans lesquelles les enquêtes ethnologiques n'auraient jamais eues lieu.

Dans l'ensemble de l'ouvrage, le déroulement de la recherche est tissé par deux fils conducteurs : la *Critical Social Theory* et la pensée de Paulo Freire.

Comme conduit par ce fil d'Ariane, le lecteur ne risque pas de s'égarer parmi les vicissitudes et les témoignages de tel enseignant ou tel étudiant, car les objectifs de chaque contribution ressortent tous de ce parti théorique, dont le correspondant méthodologique, l'Ethnographie Critique, est de plus en plus appliqué à l'étude de l'éducation dans le monde arabe. La conviction commune aux auteurs est qu'une approche critique de l'éducation dans le monde arabe peut servir à la société civile pour s'interroger sur les questions de justice sociale, participation, démocratie et également d'injustice, passivité et autoritarisme.

L'autre fil conducteur qui rassemble les réflexions des contributeurs est la pédagogie de Paulo Freire, dont chaque livre est le produit de son expérience politique et pédagogique et le reflet de son engagement social pour transformer la société par le biais de l'éducation. C'est du même engagement que se réclament nos auteurs, qui appliquent le message freirien à leur propre expérience.

Constitué de six chapitres/enquêtes où chacun des enquêteurs se plonge dans le quotidien d'un ou plusieurs établissements scolaires, ce travail offre au lecteur l'opportunité rare de creuser la réalité actuelle du système éducatif égyptien et de connaître son processus de reproduction sociale. *Cultures of Arab Schooling* examine méticuleusement des aspects précis de l'école égyptienne, ses conditions, ses acteurs, ses défauts et qualités. Chaque contributeur est le porte-parole d'un sujet qui se cristallise au fur et à mesure en problématique spécifique, développée au travers d'instruments méthodologiques comme l'interview pour certains, l'observation pour d'autres ou encore la combinaison des deux.

Les interviewés et les observés sont les acteurs principaux de l'ouvrage. Ils jouent divers rôles en même temps: ils subissent passivement les questionnements, ils passent sous la loupe de l'observation tandis qu'ils prennent

une part active dans la dénonciation d'injustices, qu'ils soient étudiant, enseignant ou principal de l'école. Tous, à leur façon et à leur niveau, déversent sur l'enquêteur les oppressions et frustrations vis-à-vis de celui qui occupe la position supérieure. Parfois, l'enquêteur est même sollicité de secouer le Ministère de l'Education de ses torpeurs pour qu'une prise de conscience de la détérioration de l'école publique arrive jusqu'au sommet de la pyramide (p. 138).

Linda Herrera ouvre et clôt l'ouvrage avec deux contributions : *Islamization and Education : Between Politics, Profit and Pluralism* et *The Colors of Change: Participation and Praxis in Egyptian Education*. L'une et l'autre se concentrent en premier lieu sur les rapports de force entre le gouvernement et les tendances islamistes à l'égard de l'éducation nationale et en second lieu sur les contraintes bureaucratiques et traditionnelles qui font obstacle même aux travaux d'aménagement d'une école publique. Forte de sa fonction de socialisation et d'enseignement du code d'appartenance à un pays, l'école représente le lieu idéal pour un éventuel affrontement culturel et politique et pour la transformation sociale actuellement en cours en Egypte. En reflet, elle reproduit les mêmes phénomènes qui se produisent en premier temps en société. Elle fait écho aux changements des milieux sociaux et aux manifestations diverses d'islamisation de l'éducation: les dispositions islamiques adoptées par les enseignants, l'introduction de symboles et messages islamiques dans la vie scolaire, le port du voile pour les petites écolières. On pourrait croire que les observations relevées concernent les écoles islamiques privées. Cependant, Herrera se réfère à la fois aux institutions scolaires privées d'inspiration islamique et aux écoles publiques.

D'autres sujets extrêmement actuels sont abordés avec expertise et professionnalisme par Kamal Naguib, Ahmed Youssof Saad, Iman Farag et Fadia Maughith.

Dans *The Production and Reproduction of Culture in Egyptian School,* Kamal Naguib analyse les processus de reproduction culturelle dans l'école égyptienne et les stratégies de résistance de ses acteurs (p. 53). Son étude est le résultat d'une investigation ethnographique conduite dans dix écoles publiques alexandrines. Grâce à une minutieuse description des faits, l'école égyptienne paraît comme une fourmilière d'individus en attente d'instructions provenant de ses supérieurs. Fortement contrôlé et inefficace en même temps, ce système se consolide et s'abrutit autour de l'autoritarisme du *mudir* et du laxisme de ses subordonnés.

L'article de Ahmed Youssof Saad, *Subsistence Education : Schooling in a Context of Urban Poverty*, est aussi de type ethnographique. Ayant comme objet d'enquête une école publique de la banlieue cairote pauvre, Youssof Saad vise la dialectique entre la vie réelle des gens de cette banlieue et la perception de la réalité transmise par l'école. Par le biais de l'observation et en s'appuyant sur la *Pédagogie des opprimés* de Freire, il identifie le contexte et les symptômes de «la

personnalité de l'opprimé» (étudiants ou enseignants): oppression, peur, sentiment d'abandon, violence verbale et physique, incertitude des référents aggravée par la pression des courants islamiques dont témoigne le *taboor* quotidien (salut au drapeau) suivi par l'écoute et la répétition des versets (p. 97).

La contribution de Iman Farag *A Great Vocation*, *a Modest Profession: Teachers' Paths and Practices* est consacrée au rôle de l'enseignant dans le système scolaire égyptien. Elle élucide les débats nationaux concernant les enseignants depuis le *Liberal Age* jusqu'au néolibéralisme contemporain. Le questionnaire étant un outil d'interaction et de découverte, l'auteure en exploite les fonctions pour étudier les contradictions existant entre la profession et la vocation des enseignants, leur insatisfaction et le manque de reconnaissance de la part de société et de l'Etat. De plus, le phénomène des cours particuliers qui représente une interpénétration du travail officiel avec une activité privée, ne fait qu'accroitre l'écart entre la crédibilité de leur rôle de formateur et l'efficacité de leur travail en classe (p. 115).

Fadia Maughith avec *What are Teachers Transmitting? Pedagogic Culture in Rural Egypt* nous présente un tableau de la culture pédagogique transmise par les enseignants de la campagne égyptienne. Forte de son expérience personnelle (l'auteure a grandi dans un village rural), son enquête se déroule avec un groupe de dix enseignants provenant de petites villes du Delta (p. 136). Chaque enseignant est un cas d'étude à part qui ajoute des éléments nouveaux au tableau grâce à son témoignage et expérience. Souvent, lors des entretiens, les mots acquièrent le pouvoir de l'invective et se transforment en âpres dénonciations du système auquel ils appartiennent.

Enfin, les réflexions de Carlos Alberto Torres closent magistralement l'ouvrage. Elles suivent les voies tracées par les fils conducteurs auparavant cités (la *Critical Social Theory* et la pédagogie de Paulo Freire), comme du reste le livre entier. Les deux éléments – guides tendent au même but malgré des points de départ différents: d'une part, l'approche critique de la société agit sur l'homme afin de le libérer des circonstances sociales qui l'asservissent, de l'autre la pensée freirienne confie à l'action pédagogique l'interminable lutte pour libérer l'individu de toute forme d'oppression.

Dans sa conclusion, Torres aborde le sujet de l'éducation égyptienne en le positionnant dans l'actualité politique du monde arabe car il considère la question éducative comme strictement liée à la conduite démocratique d'un pays. D'après le rapport annuel 2002 de *Arab Human Development*, l'éducation dans le monde arabe est fortement touchée par la détérioration des libertés d'expression et la crise de la production des savoirs scientifiques dans les milieux universitaires, lesquels sont de plus en plus remplacés par les croyances superstitieuses et religieuses (p. 6). Une des ambitions de l'ouvrage paraît donc de rétablir les priorités des

savoirs, de secouer les milieux de la recherche éducative, de refonder le système éducatif égyptien sur la base de ces enquêtes jamais réalisées auparavant.

Le travail collectif dirigé par Linda Herrera et Carlos Alberto Torres ici présenté a l'ambition d'offrir à son lecteur un tableau complet d'expériences, faits, témoignages et réflexions sur le monde éducatif égyptien. Il constitue certes, pour la recherche en sciences sociales sur l'Egypte contemporaine, un ouvrage totalement novateur et riche grâce à la qualité de son travail de terrain. Mais l'on risque de ne pas partager l'ambition voire la naïveté des auteurs selon lesquels il pourrait servir de source aux futures réformes éducatives : pour que cela soit, il faudrait que le soutien du gouvernement ne se limite pas seulement à l'octroi d'autorisations d'accès aux écoles, mais qu'il relève d'une volonté de coopération perpétuelle avec l'expertise locale, qui possède les connaissances et les méthodes susceptibles de remédier aux défauts du système éducatif égyptien.

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Note

1. Equipe dirigée par Linda Herrera. Lors d'une interview, l'auteure a reconnu les difficultés à traduire les articles car le langage des auteurs était parfois trop virulent et critique et donc peu adaptable à l'anglais *scholar*.

Ross, A. (2008) *A European Education: Citizenship, identities and young people,* **Stoke-On-Trent, UK: Trentham Books, 159pp., ISBN: 978-1-85856-367-1**

It has often been remarked that the foundations of modern sociology still tacitly imagine 'society' to be a nation state. This book is about how processes of socialisation, including pedagogy, respond to the supra- or sub-national identities and citizenships called into possibility by 'Europe'. It is the final volume in a series on this theme that is intended to be of relevance to teacher educators, 'early childhood workers, social pedagogues, and the like' (p. viii).

For 10 years Professor Alistair Ross directed the ERASMUS Thematic Network Project *Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe*, which involved universities from 29 European states. He is still involved in trans-European work on education and young people's identities. So I am surprised that the curriculum and pedagogy material in this book is based mostly on UK experience. I also think the book comes close to suffering from its ambitious scope and the resulting selectivity and uneven depth.

However, the book can usefully be understood as an account of Professor Ross' journey through a wide range of fields and it at least fulfils its aim to indicate some of the 'topography' (p. viii) of the issue in all its vastness and difficulty. To the extent that it makes a substantial argument, I think it is that supra-national rights in particular are forcing a re-thinking of citizenship and identity in Europe, and accordingly those close to pedagogical practice need to re-theorise their work using a wide range of material.

The book is a start to that end. It impressively offers to tackle the fields of European history, citizenship, human rights, the purposes and various models of education, curriculum and pedagogy, the relationships between identity, experience and learning, typologies of active and passive citizenship, competition and cooperation, and some syntheses of this, all within a constructionist frame. This is a tall order in 142 pages, but it also means that it is difficult to imagine a reader who would not be interested in *something* contained in the book. I enjoyed the attempt to identify critical moments in European history through which we might argue that European identities have been constructed: from the Persian Wars to the Peace of Westphalia onwards (Chapter 3). I was also attracted to some glimpsed theoretical openings. One of these is the possible relationship between Bruner's ways of knowing (through action, imagery and symbols) and learning about a nation state, its flags and procedures for example (p. 68-69). Another is the hint that European countries *especially* might now see 'active' citizenship as a range of political activity that is less informed by social constructs of national identity (p. 50).

Such moments of intrigue are the product of a wide-ranging account of disparate literature but there is unfortunately little space left to pursue them. The book is perhaps less likely to suit the academic who is deeply involved with the problems of European socialisation. But for its intended audience it offers a sense of the complexity of these problems in a short, single volume.

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