
Edited by
DONALD K SHARPES

**INTERNATIONAL
PERSPECTIVES
ON
TEACHER
EDUCATION**

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ROUTLEDGE
London and New York

First published in 1988 by
Routledge
11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE

Published in the USA by
Routledge
in association with Routledge, Chapman & Hall, Inc.
29 West 35th Street, New York NY 10001

© 1988 Donald K. Sharpes

Printed and bound in Great Britain by Mackays of Chatham Ltd, Kent

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

International perspectives on teacher education

I. Teachers — Training of

I. Sharpes, Donald K.

370'.7'1 LB1715

ISBN 0-415-00571-X

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

ISBN 0-415-00571-X

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INTRODUCTION

This book adds a global dimension to the field of teacher education, and reports on significant developments throughout the world. The geographic distribution of reports and authors--at least one chapter from each continent--reveals a broad diversity of cultural and national perspectives currently absent from the recorded literature.

A primary intent was also to show the wide range of social and political influences on teacher education in the world in spite of a common category of understanding. Inservice education, for example, will mean significantly different concepts and practices in Brazil than in Cameroon or Thailand. In some cases a common cultural interest or religious preference will predominate over a shared field of teacher education; in others, a national interest will determine the nature of how a practice like clinical teaching is executed.

The majority of authors are from the developing world. This is by design. First, I believe that colleagues in the Third World--the world of neither capitalism nor communism--have significant contributions to make to all teacher educators. Second, there is often little opportunity for them to get published in the industrialized Western World. Their countries are generally not the primary markets for publishers.

The method of researching problems in teacher education, especially in the developing world, will vary according to local conditions, an issue I discuss at length in Chapter One, and which Maria das Gracas Furtado Feldens describes in her study of roles and beliefs about schools and teachers from Brazil in Chapter Two. Similarly, the approach of the cognitive sciences brings a more philosophical, yet equally valid, perspective to the content and process by which institutions prepare and train teachers. Michael van der Dussen reports on the work of the cognitive researchers.

Political actions in particular have a profound effect on teacher education in many parts of the world. To exclude a study of teacher education because it must respond to some political action, or because there is a strong and visible political element, as some observers would have it, is tantamount to closing our collective eyes to realities we cannot control. Clearly, political disruptions--strikes, student riots, forceful governmental intervention, military actions--can disrupt the presumed purity of a research investigation. But as Panayiotis Persianis describes it, the educational situation in Cyprus brought about by the Turkish invasion and subsequent militarization of part of the island, cannot be understood apart from this political event. Likewise, South African education is influenced in both subtle and profound ways by events and

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circumstances in that country. A study of language training, as Professor Louw of South Africa describes, cannot be analyzed in blissful isolation from political realities.

Another significant problem in schooling and in teacher education everywhere in the world is the role of minorities. A person is of course a minority by virtue of geography. Asians, for example, are not a minority people in Asia. Most countries have attempted to cope realistically with the political necessity of the migration and re-settling of people because of war, violence, oppression, or the seeking of a better life. Whether it is Turkish workers' children in West Germany, Bengali speaking peoples in East London, or Vietnamese immigrants in America, the shift of populations causes schooling dilemmas. It is also an issue in the training of teachers tolerant of and adaptive to heterogeneous classrooms.

The governmental concerns are with citizenship and settlement in the community. But the schooling issues are curricular, and center around language and social adjustment of the students. Racial and ethnic discrimination lie sometimes just below the surface.

The economically developed countries are not necessarily those with the highest levels of social awareness and perfect history in minority relations and cultural understandings. Developing countries, on the other hand, with previous colonial histories are still confronting the demon image of a colony, while coping with exploding minority populations within their national borders. Professor Ade Fajana of Nigeria describes the situation in his country, and Professor Lu Shijie has conducted a similar investigation of minority students in the central highlands of the Peoples Republic of China.

Since 1980 the group known as The International Seminar in Teacher Education has met in various locations throughout the world to discuss distinctive approaches to global teacher education. The international forum has provided an opportunity to share international, unique national and regional concerns in the training of teachers with colleagues from over 40 nations and all continents. The working group format of the International Seminar in Teacher Education, which by choice lacks a formal administrative structure, also provides an opportunity to submit active research projects in advance of publication for collegial and peer review.

It was from such papers that most were selected for re-writing for this book. The criteria for selection were geographic representation of active teacher education research or projects throughout the world; quality of study presented; and appropriateness to the global teacher education community.

Educators, and especially researchers, in the developing world frequently lack the forum for their work to be known in the international community. This book is an attempt to bring to a wider readership the activities of colleagues in both the industrialized and developing parts of the world.

NORTH AMERICA: United States

In the opening chapter, I offer a perspective on the methodological issues in researching teacher education in a world context.

Research evidence in the US on teacher education has firmly established that teachers do make meaningful contributions to student learning. It is clear that teachers, as a research variable, consistently outperform any other variable in affecting students' attitudes and learning, and that some teachers may affect change in students in one

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dimension but not another. It is not clear how much individual student characteristics contribute to learning success, but then the debate concerning the genetic contribution is perennial.

Beyond these apparently obvious generalizations, there is much ambiguity about what works in teaching and schooling and what doesn't.

Teacher education research has involved primarily intervention strategies, and included studies of: how teacher behavior relates to student achievement outcomes; curriculum-oriented studies; competency-based teacher education programs (derived partially from microteaching); individual differences in teachers; process change studies; and student outcome measures. Much of the research literature debates the relative merits of the selection of variables and appropriate methodology.

My central premise in the chapter is that no single academic discipline, let alone one single methodological approach, is meaningful in researching teacher education, or the influence of teachers on students, in most of the world. The techniques of researchers in the industrialized world have been exported largely without adaptation to contextual variables.

It took nearly a decade, for example, to realize that algebraic formulas for predicting numbers of teachers, or amount of literacy, or teacher-student ratios in developing nations were often erroneous in the extreme. I suggest that a combination of political, economic and social realities be factored into any study or program in teacher education in the Third World. The chapters contained in this volume speak, I believe, within national, regional, and cultural contexts that explode some traditional views of how teachers should be prepared and professionally maintained.

Professor Maria das Graces F. Feldens in the chapter from Brazil discusses her research team's finding about beliefs of the importance of this dependence on contextual or cultural variables.

SOUTH AMERICA: Brazil

Professors Feldens and Duncan report on a major research investigation in the "beliefs" of the clients of schools--students, parents, and instructional staff. These studied beliefs were what the respective audiences believed about how the schools were functioning in 1st level schools, or grades one to eight. What they discovered was a divergence of beliefs between parents and students on student learning traits, and that the different groups apparently often did not perceive a discrepancy between their stated beliefs and their schooling practices. They ask whether the schools constrain peoples' beliefs, or whether schooling practices influence how people perceive schooling.

Feldens and Duncan also speak to the importance of instilling professionalism among teachers, only slightly more than half of whom have a college degree. They stress the need for further studies of what is actually happening in schools, and for placing research findings in a proper contextual setting.

AFRICA: Nigeria

Professor Ade Fajana's chapter provides a comprehensive analysis of Nigerian education from the perspective of a northern Nigerian native. He contends that the present state of Nigerian education is still under the historical influence of British rule and past educational policy. He believes that the curriculum is most reflective of the culture. The

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dichotomy between education in northern Nigeria and in the south continues to influence the conduct of education. He says, for example, that the system of missionary education was not pursued in the north, and hence citizens there were deprived of the value of schooling. An experiment in Muslim education in the north at the turn of the century ended unsuccessfully he believes because the aim was colonial control of the labor force and not comprehensive education.

Professor Fajana discusses the role of language, of vocational education, and the problems of Africa in the context of schooling. His main argument is that a multi-cultural curriculum is the most desirable, and the best way to counteract racial myths and stereotypes. I believe that his chapter catches the spirit of both Nigeria and Africa attempting to divorce a colonial past, and vigorously to pursue a culturally unique educational system and recruit and train teachers accordingly. His chapter is an example in Africa of colonial exploitation policies carried on through schooling practices, and of segregation by geography, class and religion. Preparing teachers for a new schooling system will require political and social skill for Nigeria and other African nations.

ASIA: The Peoples Republic of China

Qinghai is a province in China's immense northwest country. It is not as densely populated as China's coasts or interior, but it has one of the largest concentrations of minorities. About 40 percent of Qinghai's population is composed of Han, Tibetan, or Islamic cultures. Professors Lu Shijie and Wang Xiangye report on progress in research on cognitive development among children of ethnic minorities in this part of China, and on its implications for teacher education.

Their illuminating paper describes the research implications and problems of studying diverse kinds of cultural, ethnic, and linguistic groups in this large geographic plateau of Qinghai. They report on the results of their cross-cultural studies, the influence of these minorities on schooling, the students' linguistic differences and the special problems of bilingualism. As is true in so many other places in the world, they bemoan the lack of qualified teachers who can teach in both the vernacular and the national language...in this case Tibetan or Mongolian and official Chinese. Finally, they project the urgent necessity for cultivating both large numbers of qualified teachers, and a high degree of quality of their teacher preparation.

The chapter by Professor Wang Xiangye from Qinghai Normal University discusses a longitudinal study of gifted children, called "supernormal" in China. His primary point is that China faces, as it begins to identify its gifted children, the problem of developing special education programs within teacher education for coping with the special training for teachers of such children and youth.

Both of these chapters from China are a rare look at how teacher educators work as researchers in The Peoples Republic of China on a national educational issue. It is also a valuable insight into the conduct of educational research that impacts on teacher education. For example, I found it extremely interesting to follow the development of the tests used to identify gifted children and to assess their abilities in the absence of standardized test results used in the West. Figure analogues, word analogues, number analogues and creative thinking are used for comparative differences with similar age groups.

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AFRICA: Republic of South Africa

Professor W. J. Louw from the University of Pretoria in South Africa reports on the results of his research on the inservice education of Black teachers in the Republic. Government policy papers have articulated new directives for equality, and the upgrading of teachers' qualifications has consequently assumed even greater importance. Professor Louw notes that improving the language ability of teachers, and of Black students in primary school, is of maximum significance. One of his team's research findings was that the school population among Black pupils is fast outstripping the number of teachers entering the profession. His series of recommendations for government policy for improving inservice programs for Black teachers is based on the research team's conclusions, and calls for a more unified set of government services in the Ministry of Education. The major change in the social order is gradual acceptance by the White constituency for innovative reforms in education.

NORTH AMERICA: Canada

Dana Lawrence writes about a model for teacher preparation for indigenous peoples. He draws on his extensive experience working with the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, affiliated with the University of Regina in Canada. He suggests that his unique kind of program, which has a large degree of autonomy of governance among the client indigenous group, might serve as a model for other academic settings in other countries. The Saskatchewan program prepares teachers to work with their own people, mostly in northern rural areas. The program appears to be successful for prospective candidates for teaching who would normally not apply in a traditional academic teacher education program.

THE ISLAMIC WORLD: Kuwait

The Islamic world is not identified by a single geographic area. There are over 750 million Muslims in the world, and over 30 different ethnic groups. Muslims are a plurality in 36 countries, and have at least a 50 percent majority in five additional countries.

Kuwait is a small country compared to the world's geography. But its strategic importance is its oil and in its location in the Middle East, and for the purposes of this study its similarity to other gulf state countries in teacher education development.

Abdul Rahman Al-Ahmed, former dean of the College of the University of Kuwait describes the educational system in his country, its curriculum and modern beginnings. Governmental authorities and the University are still developing the system for training teachers and providing inservice education experiences.

The problems for Kuwaiti teacher educators training a new cadre of teachers for an expanding population are similar in the Arab gulf states: insufficient academic preparation, and the low quality of candidates entering the profession. Filling more slots for teachers while maintaining measures of quality schooling standards is a universal phenomenon in the developing world

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AUSTRALIA

Warren Halloway writes on inservice teacher education in Australia, and has described the national and state (New South Wales) professional development programs on that continent. He offers some personal experiences working with local and regional schools in developing inservice training programs. He writes of a new scheme to link school-based inservice programs with college courses, first proposed in 1986 in Australia, whereby inservice courses taken in the schools would count partially towards an advanced degree. I believe he raises most of the essential issues concerning inservice education that are likely applicable in other countries, as Leke Tambo describes about Cameroon in another chapter.

EUROPE: Cyprus

Panayiotis Persianis, Director of the Pedagogical Institute in Cyprus, describes some of the profound and disturbing changes in teacher education on the island republic. In 1974 there was an abortive coup d'etat by the Greek military, and then an invasion by Turkish army troops. The military intervention became permanent and caused thousands to be displaced from their homes and villages.

Educators have become, as a result of this military problem, much more intense about their political life, and active in civic affairs, although teachers are barred from becoming candidates in elections. The change in the political structure of the island also created changes in the social fabric of schooling, particularly among displaced adolescents. The Republic of Cyprus does not, at this writing, have a university (although Eastern Mediterranean University exists in the Turkish occupied north) so that prospective secondary school teachers must leave Cyprus to become qualified. The Pedagogical Academy has a three year program which prepares elementary teachers. The Pedagogical Institute is the inservice teacher training arm of the Ministry of Education.

Persianis' chapter is illustrative of how educators are often forced into coping with extensive changes in teacher education because of external events beyond their control.

Although Persianis does not describe the educational situation in the Cypriot north, higher education has changed there as well. The northern third of Cyprus under Turkish occupation, and composed of about 20 percent of Cyprus' total population (about 200,000) has proclaimed itself a separate nation, although it is at yet internationally unrecognized. The Turkish Cypriot minority is virtually all in the north. The education of primary teachers was, until 1986, a three year program. Secondary teachers went to university in Turkey. In the fall of 1986, the Turkish north inaugurated Eastern Mediterranean University in Famagusta, and all teachers began a four year program.

AFRICA: Cameroon

Leke Tambo writes from Cameroon in central West Africa of the development of inservice training activities, in cooperation with Canadian teacher educators, in a northwest section of the country which is rural but populated. The Canadian assistance team helps in developing curriculum and in conducting seminars. A mobile resource unit serving

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the needs of the primary teachers in this region has proven very popular, and Tambo suggests that each province could benefit from such a service. He also recommends for decentralization of supervision and inservice teacher training, and for regularity of inservice activities.

He implies that there is an urban and rural difference in the administration of inservice educational activities, and that excessive centralization may actually hinder cooperative progress. Unstated are the lessons to be learned from teacher training about rigid governmental structures and the economics of scarce resources.

EUROPE: The Netherlands

From the University of Leyden in the Netherlands, Michael van der Dussen reports on the role of the cognitive sciences, particularly on the role of "awareness," in the education of teachers. His thorough research into the cognitive sciences is in the best philosophical tradition of European educators. He discusses at length the role of "awareness," both as a concept and as a phenomenal experience.

But of particular interest is his emphasis on the need for a combination of the research results in cognition and the known psychological processes of learning, and instructional strategies for activating learners' cognitive processes. His chapter illuminates the entire field of the cognitive sciences, and the relevance of their research to educating teachers.

ASIA: Thailand

Weerayudh Wichiarajote (also known as "Charlie") has written provocatively of a model for education that is essentially based on Buddhist principles and beliefs. It is especially challenging for Western educators, schooled in a different religious tradition, to be confronted with an unique Asian model grounded in moral and ethical values. The abundance of diagrams contains stimulating matter on timely issues on war and peace, and the relationships between individuals and the institutions which manage their affairs. The curriculum for peaceful education, and teacher education model, contain intriguing concepts, and suggest new lines of inquiry for the preparation of teachers.

CONCLUSION

Schools in the developing world, and the teachers who maintain them, are qualitatively different from schools and teachers as a group in the developed, industrialized world. The erosion of quality is largely a numbers game. School enrollment growths throughout the developing world, especially at the primary level because of the necessity of universal primary education, have compounded both the number and kind of teachers, and compromised the quality of their training.

Moreover, the structure of teacher education is still in a formative stage in many countries as nations struggle with facilities expansion and enrollment growth. More efficient use of personnel, including peer tutoring, part-time students, and mass media presentations, like radio and televised lectures are innovative options.

Although evidence suggests that in developed countries teachers do not impact heavily on student learning achievement, in developing countries

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the reverse is true, as teachers significantly influence pupil outcomes in schools. Nevertheless, it is difficult to isolate the effect of schooling on the economic structure because of the time differences between a student's school entrance and eventual appearance in the workplace.

According to World Bank reports, there does appear to be a minimum level of training needed for primary teachers for a demonstrable effect on student learning. Beyond this point, however, there are diminishing economic returns on education as an investment, although there are country variations. In Pakistan and Bangladesh village adults who meet a minimum educational threshold double as primary school teachers to help with excessive enrollment demands.

Finally, teacher education is a part of the process of national political, social and economic development. Teacher salaries, shortages of teachers in areas critical for national survival, and all the ingredients necessary for successful functioning of a school are uneven within countries, and tremendously diverse between them. In schooling, and the training of teachers that is an indispensable part of that process, is a long term investment by a country in its youth and its own economic prosperity. Nations and communities that invest more heavily in the quality of education tend to receive higher rates of economic growth about a decade after the investment.

This book is meant to be a contribution to the understanding of research and practice in teacher education throughout the world.

Chapter One

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN RESEARCHING TEACHER EDUCATION

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Teacher education is a part of what Western researchers refer to as a social science. Yet researching teacher education in any developing country does not fit neatly into a single form of inquiry, because it is impossible to regard the education and training of teachers as a single methodological variable. In fact, no simple perspective can lead to a complete understanding of how training programs of any kind can predict patterns of national development.

Just as we can no longer ignore the international effects of economics, trade and commerce on national productivity and prosperity, so we can no longer ignore the dramatic changes in the production and maintenance of teachers in the less industrialized world. My argument here, however, is not just for teacher educators to understand the problems associated with educating teachers in poorer nations, but also for a new perspective even analyzing what those particular problems are.

The way in which we research teacher education in industrialized countries must give way to studying those conditions that actually exist in the Third World. Even in the developed world, teacher education has had its hypotheses and methodology challenged by international experiences. We have learned, for example, to treat with suspicion models which predicted numbers of teachers by a given year, or amount of literacy, or pupil-teacher ratios, especially if these were based on population statistics. There simply is no linear progression of development in teacher education or any other social discipline. And conditions have disproven emphatically any clear relationship between economic development and the kind of national government or political stability.

Social scientists in the Third World are increasingly writing books on entire countries, and not just development sectors like education. These include studies on Burma, Nigeria, Ghana and Mexico. This is a definite change from conceiving how teacher education, for example, reflects what the state determines should be education policy, to how the country itself functions.

Moreover, the international debate about changes in economic and social investments away from physical capital (such as savings) to formal education are a part of the broader policy shifts that affect teacher education. There are other issues such as whether a nation should emphasize mass literacy or functional school literacy; literacy or skill training; agriculture or industrial development; trade or social programs; industrial growth or environmental protection; to name a few decision possibilities.

I propose to sketch a brief outline of some of the major social

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science concepts that impact on a study of teacher education in a developing country, or throughout the developing world. My purpose is to show that education, and specifically teacher education, is a primary social force woven throughout a study of national development and all its processes. This will not be a revelation to professional people or thoughtful citizens. What might be new are the systematic ways in which certain methodological features interact in that process of development and both cause and result from each other in patterns that might be predictable.

Think for a minute about any of the standard and traditional variables we use for studying education, and try and project what would be helpful information to a Ministry of Education in Africa, South America or Asia: sex, religion, age, parentage, ethnic distinction, etc. The social science concepts in the mind of a Western educational researcher will rarely match the reality in any given country.

There are two principal methodological departures upon which to base a system of inquiry about teacher education. Those are chiefly levels of philosophical abstraction: generalizing from selected evidence to patterns of national development, and generalizing to similar situations and conditions in other countries.

The tendency to generalize is always strong in the researcher. But it is the disciplined inquirer who must resist the attempt to stray from the supporting evidence and data.

Perhaps the most intellectually satisfying methodology for researching teacher education in the developing world is also the most sensible--a combination of a variety of social science methods. These include case studies, descriptions, analyses, comparisons, and emerging theories. A basic inquiry approach, such as that conducted by the late Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal, provides solid methodological ground for comprehensive analysis.

This kind of approach is, paradoxically, global in scope, and requires a more multi-dimensional framework. It combines a study of how education influences, and in turn is influenced, by other developmental forces and events within a national, regional or other unifying network, such as religion, or tribal identity.

In this broad framework of social science and educational research, investigators should not plan to see their efforts blessed with early success. Western researchers especially have to be aware of when to cleanse their minds of pre-conceived rationales and concepts, particularly of course if the data invalidate them. They must frequently discard out-moded theories, and state problems in a realistic way, which may not be the most reasonable and researchable way.

What I am suggesting is that theories of what or how to study problems of teacher education in the developing world are themselves developmental. We are all aware of how social science theories often quickly turn to myth with the explosive changes in world affairs. For example, what do we do with all those early 1970's case studies of Iranian education? How relevant are current studies of history for prospective teachers in Argentina, and who could have predicted its war with England? What real effect does the liberal arts educational program in the 1970's have on training teachers in Afghanistan today?

These examples seemingly point to political changes. But in fact, the political changes occurred because of poorly analyzed social changes.

I believe that there are at least three major factors that govern an understanding of how teacher education relates to national progress: 1) economic realities; 2) political realities; and 3) social realities. I say "realities" to distinguish actual events and figures from the social science

discipline itself.

1. ECONOMIC REALITIES IN TEACHER EDUCATION IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

It will come as no surprise that population increases weigh heavily in the determination of schooling and the production of teachers. The world's population is expected to be 8 billion by 2010, double what it was in 1974. This numerical increase brings about a proportionate rise in the number of dependants and school-aged children. Whether or not a country decides that all dependants will actually go to school (and thus provide teachers for them) is arguable. The crippling imbalance in sheer numbers of people and access to material resources is already making an impact, and is often resulting in a marked decline in quality of schooling. The increase in the demand for workers has already led in India to greater reliance on child labor, at least in the agricultural sector. Of course high birth rates also tend to cancel out other gains, such as increase in the quality of life, higher productivity gains, and place a greater burden on subsistence in relation to income.

A nation may have ambitions to maintain high quality in the programs for preparing teachers, but the developing world is also faced with the practical realities of a school-aged population which certainly outstrips the teacher education resources, and potentially the economic reserves allotted to education as a public service.

An example from the world's largest nation, China, has shed some light on the relationship of population, as only one variable from the world of economic realities.

From available estimates, it is safe to assume that there is a severe shortage of secondary school teachers in the People's Republic of China. This situation has been described in reports from the Ministry of Education from 1956 onwards. It is also deducible from the closing of all institutions during the so-called Cultural Revolution from the slow development of previous academic standards.

The examination model for gaining entrance to the University has returned, as one encouraging sign of the reinstatement of academic rather than political criteria for collegiate admission.

The government of the PRC does want expanded secondary school programs, but it will take years before it can provide qualified teachers to staff them. Drawing personnel from other sectors, manufacturing technicians for example, to teach in secondary schools, will only in the long run increase demand in those sectors from which such personnel were borrowed.

2. POLITICS AND TEACHER DEVELOPMENT

However, all educational programs are vulnerable to national political decisions. It follows then that the education and training of teachers is also dependent upon the type of schools proposed.

One of the major issues now debated is: should schools be directly involved with the world of work and rural community development, rather than, say, as agents of literacy or numeracy. Or should the schools serve as agents for upward social mobility? We acknowledge that schools, by themselves, cannot be the sole agency responsible for improving the life of a community. Also needed are land reform measures, water control projects (such as drinking water, irrigation canals, etc.), health care and

clinics, rural cooperatives, and a host of other projects. But one thing is clear; that the preparation and training (and retraining) of teachers is contingent upon the kinds of schools the government plans.

If we are addressing a rural community development school teacher, for example, we are considering a completely different kind of teacher from one commonly prepared in the developed world. We are in fact speaking of preparing teachers who are trained in practical work-related programs in the schools, programs which are essential to the development of local, community institutions: health, nutrition, agriculture and crafts, for example.

"The idea that ordinary rural primary school teachers could play an important role as...leaders in rural development activities...has been taken seriously by many governments and aid agencies concerned with education in developing countries," writes Jon Lauglo. He finds in an historical analysis, however, little to support the ambitious concept that teachers double up as extension agents or model farmers while also maintaining proficiency in their conventional school teaching.

The question Lauglo poses is whether or not teachers should concentrate on their traditional role of transmitting schooling knowledge in the usual school subjects, or whether they should widen that traditional understanding of a teacher also to include specific development needs, particularly in agriculture and crafts.

In Jamaica, Jennings-Wray reports that a successful agricultural education school was in existence 40 years but was closed because of political constraints. He points out that education is always vulnerable in the hands of politicians, and makes the telling observation that education in agriculture is simply not viewed by parents as a higher status education or occupation.

In spite of all the rhetoric about the value of agricultural education, programmes for the development of the economics of the Third World countries, the reality is that the students and their parents do not see agriculture as a subject to be studied by anyone with ambition.

What inhibits the development of such programs in developing countries is precisely what hinders them in developed countries--the negative attitudes society has of practically oriented curricula.

3. SOCIAL REALITIES AND TEACHER EDUCATION IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

As I have noted, it is hard to escape the conclusion that in the developing world, education is not necessarily as highly prized a social good as it is in industrialized countries, and that the value one places on, say, literacy is a more important good than that which an individual places on say, religion or subsistence.

Social class values and attitudes and the social differences between the educated and the illiterate are also determinants.

There are obviously still efforts by the upper and middle classes in some countries to keep members of the lower classes illiterate and in menial and servile roles. Whether or not the children of the lower classes receive any education at all is still politically sensitive in many parts of the world. The difference between urban and rural schools in this context is often used as a convenient tool for analysis, but is not very reliable for assessing the depth of social class differences.