Contemporary Initial Teacher Training Reforms in Egypt: A Comparative and Historical Perspective

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DEDICATION

To My Husband:

Khaled Bahgat

And

My Daughter:

Mariam
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The present research has been motivated by several factors. It emerged from a sincere desire to change career perceptions of early years teachers. I also had an interest to investigate the roots and factors that shaped the status quo of the teaching profession and teachers' status. This was not free of other motivations such as, my strong interest in the subject, my pride in and loyalty to my country, and my hope for a better future for teachers and teacher education.

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Abstract

This thesis investigates contemporary initial teacher training reforms in Egypt within a comparative and historical context. It pays close attention to the division between primary and secondary teachers as this is located at the heart of reform processes. To achieve this, it reflects on the experience of England, France and the United States, to identify lessons learned in teacher training reform that could be applied or avoided in order to enhance initial teacher education in Egypt. The thesis reviews reform efforts based on policy decisions and educational practices that have taken place in initial teacher training in Egypt, in particular contemporary changes. It examines the nature of these reforms and how far they have been successful in achieving their aims. It also interprets these changes more fully by listening to the voices of those involved in the system.

The comparative and historical analysis of reform processes in teacher training in the case studies and Egypt has shown a common pattern of restructuring rather than values and principles. In particular, Egypt has shown an interest in reforming initial teacher education that bears comparison with the reform experience that has been carried out in England, France and the United States.

Structural aspects of the system of teacher education are usually taken as an indicator of the success of the policy and practice of teacher education. This thesis suggests that more attention should be given to the underlying values and principles of initial teacher education in Egypt rather than only the structural aspects of the system. A social reconstructionist approach to teacher education may help to promote a better future for teachers in Egypt.
Aims of the study

This thesis seeks to investigate contemporary initial teacher education reform in Egypt in the light of comparative and historical perspectives; paying close attention to the division between primary and secondary teachers which is situated at the heart of reform processes. To accomplish this, I propose to review and map reform efforts as policy statements and educational practices that have taken place in initial teacher training in Egypt, especially contemporary reform, and to examine the nature of this reform and how far it is successful in achieving its intended aims. In addition, I reflect on the experience of some Western countries to identify lessons learned in teacher training reform that could be applied or avoided in order to enhance initial teacher education in Egypt.

Research questions

Relating to these key aims of the study, therefore, the main research question is: How might the system of initial teacher education in Egypt be understood and improved when compared to some other countries and reflected in its historical and contemporary perspectives?
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Included in this question are a number of related questions that I will address:

1. What is the nature of the main changes that have been made to the processes of initial teacher training in England, France and the United States of America? And to what extent are they successful in achieving the intended aims?

The answer to this question will give me the opportunity to examine critically reform efforts in these particular countries. Also, the examination will help me identify lessons that could be applied or avoided from the experience of these countries. England, France and the United States of America particularly were chosen for certain reasons. Firstly, most Egyptian researchers are especially interested in examining these particular countries. They always recommend borrowing ideas, perceptions and practices from these countries. However, they give one single justification for their argument in copying from these countries. The sole reason put forward for this purpose is that these countries are already developed. I want to go beyond that and examine critically reform efforts in the same countries, in order to build my judgment on my critical examination and the arising debate. Additionally, the answer to this question will make me more reflective in approaching and examining reform efforts in my country. Therefore, my next question is

2. What is the nature of the main changes that have been made to the processes of initial teacher training in Egypt, especially contemporary
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reform? And to what extent are they successful in achieving the intended aims?

The answer to this set of questions will make possible the examination of the processes of initial teacher training in Egypt in its historical framework. This is important because I agree with Sadler (1900) that:

A national system of Education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and "of battles long ago". It has in it some of the secret workings of national life. (p. 49 cited in Phillips 1997 p. 286).

Then this historical examination will lead to the reflection on contemporary changes. The examination of this question will depend mainly on theory; therefore, the following two questions will continue the task to examine the educational practices of teacher education reform.

3. How do policy makers, teacher trainers and practising teachers view contemporary changes in initial teacher education in Egypt?

4. What do policy makers, teacher trainers and practising teachers think the future of initial teacher education should be?

The aims of these two questions are to engage with current policy developments, propose further reforms informed by evidence of historical, and comparative contexts and views of people in the system and to provide the opportunity of those involved in the system to voice their opinions, in particular, give practising teachers a voice which they have not had before. In the present study the issues that are associated with the concept of voice such
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as the role of teachers in aspects of the policy of teacher education, educational research, social and political activities in the society and in initial training and in-service, are all explored to allow for the expression of teachers' experiences and concerns. As Hargreaves (1996) has noted

Recognizing and respecting teachers’ voices and the worth of the knowledge and experience they articulate give teachers rightful redress against the background of this previous and prolonged silence (p. 12-13).

The answer to the last two questions added to the previous examination will provide a full account of teacher education reform in Egypt.

Method of the study

A quantitative and qualitative mode of study were conducted to address these issues. Methods of data collection for this study came from several sources. The study used documents from different countries. It is grounded on primary and secondary sources. In addition, a questionnaire was used in this study to explore a range of views of policy makers and university staff members about teacher training in Egypt. The study was also based upon structured interviews with some policy makers, university staff members and practising teachers. I seek to explore views about changes in the system and the impact of it on teacher training and the teaching profession. Furthermore, the investigation and examination of initial teacher training are embraced in a comparative and historical context.
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Rationale and significance of the study

Issues relating to teacher education policy and practice are currently very topical, attracting a lot of attention both in particular countries, for example England and the United States, and internationally, for example the World Year Book of Education (2002). There is no in depth study as yet of Egypt’s initial teacher training policy and practice, and it is important in developing this to relate it closely to the international context.

In Egypt, many educationalists have shown an interest in looking comparatively at teacher education in two or more countries, especially ‘developed’ countries. Their research has focused on teacher training reform in the light of contemporary international trends. Much of this research emphasised description of some teacher training systems. In much of the existing literature, it is clear that the authors had depended mainly on descriptive methods. Were they trying to interpret the existing situation? They mainly depend on or use comparative approaches that were developed by Western researchers like Bereday and Holmes. Much has indeed been written on ‘borrowing’ from ‘developed’ countries’ experience and frequent references suggested Egypt could benefit from the Western ‘advanced’ countries’ experience. Nevertheless, hardly any attempt is made to show exactly how successful these countries have been in their reforms. When teacher training is discussed, the concern is usually with providing some recommendations to enhance the system in the light of other countries’ systems,
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rather than providing evidence of the extent of success that these systems had in their own countries, and the logic for importing these systems to be used in Egypt.

Even if the educationalists were to have comparable data on teacher training reform in 'developed' countries, which in the case of Egypt does not exist, such data would hardly reveal anything of the controversy that these countries have undergone in terms of teacher training reform. Their data would tell us nothing about the issue of 'educating' or 'training', or as we say in Egypt 'preparing' teachers. Their research is also silent in terms of the appropriate philosophy of teacher education. They mainly focus on approaches to restructuring the system of teacher training in the sense of the length of the course, the relative weight of the programme areas, the admission system, and selection of candidates. Approaches to teacher training programmes mainly address teachers' competences and standards. Approaches to teacher education in the sense of competence and standards have high currency in academic research in Egypt. Educational research in Egypt either recommended the application of these approaches to be in line with innovations of developed countries or attempted to propose ideas to be taken forward in modules of teacher training. However, these attempts were never implemented. Additionally, other approaches to teacher training such as social reconstructionism were never proposed for teacher education reform in Egypt (see for example Mona Abdul-Lateef 1990; El-Bahwashi 1993; Hameedosh 1999, Shahab 1997; Abdul-Fatah 1995; and Merza 1998).
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Efthimiou (1999) developed a comparative case-oriented approach to the study of teacher education reform as discourse and policy initiatives but not including educational practices. Her approach aimed to provide, first, a theoretical and methodological framework to study teacher education reform in two nations, Greece and the United States with different traditions. Second, she aimed to apply the framework to analyse comparatively the processes and proposed policies of teacher education reform in Greece and the United States in the last two decades. The data analysis is based on a mass of primary and secondary sources.

The present study departs from these previous works. It adopts a critical orientation, which adopts the characteristics identified by Sander (2000), to examine teacher education reforms in its comparative and historical context. It is a comparative and historical analysis of teacher education reforms with particular reference to theory and educational practice in Egypt. The study uses a critical comparative methodology, which focuses on the analysis of teacher education reforms not simply from one angle or one point of view, but from a number of angles. In particular the focus is on understanding initial teacher education reform in its historical development and by listening to the ‘voices’ and views of people of those involved in the system. The focus of analysis shows reform efforts in Egypt as policy decisions and as educational practices. Policy decisions will be examined by relying on primary and secondary sources. Educational practice will
be explored based on questionnaires and interviews with people of the system including policy makers, teacher trainers and practising teachers.

In respect of the United States, Liston and Zeichner (1991) set out some proposals for teacher education reform. They identified these proposals as social reconstructionist in their approach. They argued that the social reconstructionist reform agenda is the only model to give an adequate design to enable prospective teachers to reflect on how academic, social, and political conditions influence teachers' actions. Liston and Zeichner (1991) propose that programmes of teacher education should enable future teachers to give reasons for their educational action. I argue that the teacher training reforms in Egypt have emphasised restructuring regardless of the appropriate programme content to be taught. In considering the economic and social crisis in Egypt, I agree with Liston and Zeichner (1991) that teacher education plays an important role in relation to problems in the society. I believe that the teacher education programme can serve to develop the type of teachers who are aware of society's problems and have the intention to criticize it in order to improve it or develop it further. If we could educate and train this type of teacher, they could pass these intentions and beliefs to students and this could have great benefit for the whole society.

Recently, initiatives from the state government were developed to improve higher education (http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2002/04/12/000094946)
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The proposed project to develop higher education consisted of twenty five sub-projects, including a sub-project to develop faculties of education. The system of initial teacher training was restructured in 1988 to take place in university. In connection with the new proposal to develop higher education, another shift was announced in late 2001 to implement major restructuring of the system. However, I argue that these changes in the recent past and the further changes proposed are limited because they are based on structural reform, that is, on structure rather than underlying values and principles of initial teacher education. Their recommendations include the following: how many years the length of the course should be; the appropriate system to be followed regarding the integrated or the consecutive approach; and how many hours should be allocated to the course components in the sense of general education, academic and work experience. The restructuring is silent regarding the reconceptualization of what it means to prepare teachers and how.

The New Zealand educationalist, Roger Openshaw, once wrote: “first, bring your map” (Openshaw 1998). His paper suggests that teacher education will not move forward into the twenty first century until those who influence policy possess a map which will tell them where they have come from and where they wish to go. Also, Robin Alexander (2000) argued that:

Comparativists need to examine how they stand, and how they ought to stand, in relation to policy and practice (p.40).
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I argue that problems of teacher education in Egypt have two main causes. First, the Egyptian policy interests have followed international trends without considering the implications. Second, the policy has focused on restructuring the system without philosophy. At the beginning of the twenty first century, there is a vital need for a co-ordinated and cohesive system of teacher education in Egypt. In addition, a clear philosophy and policy for initial teacher education in Egypt are needed to enhance initial teacher education.

This thesis is the first full account of changes in teacher education policy in Egypt in a comparative and historical context. I propose to sketch the changes that have been carried out in initial teacher education in Egypt, in particular contemporary changes. It is important to understand such changes in the system (why were they carried out? what procedures had been taken? and to what extent they are successful?). By listening to the ‘voices’ of those involved in the system, I can examine and interpret these changes more fully. In addition, I propose to use overseas theory but applying it critically to the Egyptian situation. I attempt to bring overseas ideas and experience in teacher training in the hope that I can understand and evaluate more critically the changes which have occurred in Egypt as well as suggest where they could be applied or avoided in order to enhance the system of teacher education in Egypt. In addition, I attempt to apply the social reconstructionist approach from the United States to the case of Egypt. It is the first time that this has been attempted.
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The comparative methodology I use in this thesis, has not, to my knowledge, been used before in Egypt. This approach focuses on understanding initial teacher education reform in its historical development and as it is now. In particular, it investigates and explores the reality of initial teacher education in Egypt according to representatives of the system and uses interviews and questionnaire to achieve this aim. The present thesis is a starting point in considering qualitative research for teacher education alongside a quantitative approach. Educational research in Egypt has been dominated by quantitative strategies (Crossley and Vulliamy 1997); and imbued with cultural resistance to the use of qualitative strategies. With reference to developing countries Crossley and Vulliamy (1997) noted that:

Qualitative research in education has a special potential in developing countries because, for various historical and culture reasons, educational research in such countries has, to date been dominated by positivist strategies. Consequently, there have been many educational research questions in developing countries to which a quantitative research strategy has been applied when either a qualitative one or a combination of the two would have been more appropriate. In addition, some research questions have rarely been addressed at all despite their potential relevance to both the process of policymaking and to the more theoretical study of schooling in the developing world (p. 13-14).

The qualitative dimension is a further aspect of the significance of the study; it is the first time it has been applied to initial teacher education in Egypt and the experience of this research needs to be considered and discussed for the benefit of future researchers.
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There are other interesting issues around teacher education, which I am not trying to cover in this thesis, for example describing or developing training methods and instructional strategies around the tradition of social reconstructionism. Further research could also be done to develop training methods and instructional strategies which would make possible the education and training of teachers who are reflective about their teaching, schools and society. The present study is limited to apply the reconstructionist conceptual orientation to reform teacher education in Egypt. There is indeed a rich research agenda still to be pursued and I hope that the present thesis makes a useful contribution along the way.

Circumstances that gave rise to this study

According to Walford (2001) ‘all research might be said to be researching yourself’ (p.98). Although the decision about the choice of this particular topic was suggested to me by the Ministry of Higher Education, a desire evolved from previous experience to produce the present thesis. I was one of the first graduates from one of the Faculties of Specific Education in Egypt. This is a Faculty of Kindergarten, which trains female teachers of early years education. From personal experience, being enrolled and having graduated from this faculty created many problems for me, and generally for my colleagues. The obvious problem was very low social status among other teachers (Pilot interview with previous
kindergarten teachers, now demonstrators or assistant lecturers at university). Other problems were reflected in the shortage of staff and their assistants which meant that Ministry delegate members of staff from the different universities to taught in such faculties (Bureau of Cultural and Educational Affairs of Egypt in Canada 1995). There was no clear policy and planning and there was no efficient administration (Pilot interview with some teacher trainers in teacher education).

Other Faculties of Specific Education have encountered the same problems. I have many colleagues throughout some of these faculties and many of them have expressed these problems in day-to-day life (Pilot interview with some teacher trainers in Specific Faculty of Education). Additionally, Faculties of Specific Education and those for Kindergartens are entrusted with the same responsibilities as other similar university faculties (Bureau of Cultural and Educational Affairs of Egypt in Canada 1995). I found it my duty as a researcher to investigate the diverse systems of initial teacher training in Egypt and to examine why all these routes exist. What is the impact of this diversity on teachers and the teaching profession? In addition, what are the consequences of the suggested new reform? I hope to find some ways for the Ministry to co-ordinate the system of teacher education and to narrow the gap that presently exists between different types of teachers.
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Structure of the study

In Chapter One, the aims of the study are presented. The rationale of the study is then explained. In addition, the method of the study is highlighted briefly. Chapter Two describes the method and procedures of the study. Included in the description are constraints of research method, profile of informants, outline for data analysis and limitations of the study. Chapter Three discusses the approach and methods I use in the present study. Also, the value and limitations of my approach will be highlighted.

A comparative and historical study of the evolution of initial teacher training to date in some Western countries, especially England, France, the USA, and other countries is undertaken in Chapter Four. The Chapter highlights the main differences and similarities between countries. The nature of initial teacher training reforms in Egypt constitute the subject matter of Chapter Five. This includes the main changes that have been made to the processes of initial teacher training in Egypt over the past two centuries and especially since the unification of the place of teacher education in 1988. It describes the main changes under two main themes: the shift of initial teacher training in non-university institutions to university; and the tensions in relation to reform processes of diversification.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight present a questionnaire-based survey and interviews relating to the opinions of policy makers, teacher trainers and practising teachers in the provision of initial teacher training in Egypt. This is to examine
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their views of initial teacher training in Egypt. In addition, these chapters include data analysis of the questionnaires and interviews around the three main themes: the policy of initial teacher education in Egypt, the teachers' roles inside and outside institutions of teacher education, and teachers' social and professional status.

In Chapter Nine, further discussion of the data will be developed. This will relate the issues raised in the earlier chapters on comparative and historical contexts to those of the later ones which explore the views of teachers, teacher trainers and policy makers. Finally, Chapter Ten will present the conclusions of the study.
Chapter Two

The challenges of research methods in Egypt: the empty circle

Researchers, when doing educational research in developing countries, face certain inevitable hazards (Cook 1998, p. 93).

In this chapter, I describe methods and procedures of the study. Included in the description are the challenges of research in Egypt, the profile of informants, an outline for data analysis and limitations of the study. A number of challenges I faced during the conduct of my research in my country will be revealed. This is to explain differences between the research as planned and the actual experience of the research process. Challenges such as routine, bureaucracy, power, uncommon use of qualitative research methods and the time limit for conducting the research, were very obstructive, and made me change the planned agenda for collecting the research data. The discussion draws on the research diary which I kept during the fieldwork stage of the research. I argue in this chapter that the cultural resistance to the application of qualitative research methodology in Egypt has contributed to challenges that made differences between the research as planned and the actual experience of the research process. Egyptian researchers were sceptical about using qualitative research methodology because of the time, effort and resources it requires.
Recently, there have been many accounts of researchers' own experience while doing research. These accounts dealt with the formal and informal process of doing qualitative research (Burgess 1984) or qualitative and quantitative research (Walford 1998), including the methodological principles that were actually used. Researchers' accounts revealed how they handled research problems in their own studies. According to these accounts and my own experience, doing research is not a straightforward process in the sense of following a number of steps that those researchers should have followed to the final stage. Rather, it is a social process influenced by researchers and the research setting. On this basis, this chapter is another forward step in this thesis from Egyptian researchers' attitude to doing research, in which

Factors such as limitations of resources, climatic conditions and cultural norms often require researchers to deviate from their own pre-existing procedures (Crossley and Vulliamy 1997 p. 21).

Research methods

This study relied on the use of different methods of data collection. These include documentary sources, questionnaire, and structured interviews.

- Documentary sources

The use of documentary sources in the present thesis has a key role. Scott (1990) asserted that historical work in social research involves the use of documentary sources. My study made use of selected primary, secondary and tertiary sources.
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Primary sources were defined as those materials which ‘are produced by those directly involved in or who were witnesses to a particular historical episode or issue’ (McCulloch and Richardson 2000, p.79). On the other hand secondary sources defined as those ‘written after the event, usually by those who were not party to it’ (McCulloch and Richardson 2000, p.79). Finally, tertiary sources were considered to help in situating other references such as abstracts and search engines on the Internet (May 2001).

The study made use of selected secondary sources on initial teacher education in its broader historical, social and cultural contexts. Materials include dissertations and theses, journal articles, conference papers, maps and books. Primary source material includes official documents collected from some universities and departments of teacher training, mainly faculty regulations and guidebooks. In addition, primary documents were gathered from the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Higher Education and the Higher Supreme Council of Universities in Egypt. They included government and educational committee reports, legislative documents, decrees and laws. These sources can help to uncover the tensions between policy statements and educational practice. Tertiary sources included dissertation abstracts and the use of the Internet. The overseas primary sources included Committee Reports, Circulars, and Green and White Papers. With reference to the French experience primary sources were inaccessible due to language. Secondary sources in the English language assisted to some extent to overcome this problem. However, Le Metais (2001) warned
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against the use of them because ‘as processed information, they may contain inherent mistakes or misinterpretations’ (p. 202).

In relation to developing countries, Harber (1997; see also, Walker 1985) asserted that the difficulty of obtaining documentary material from a developing country makes collecting secondary sources feel more like collecting primary data. Open and free access to information in Egypt is very rare. Access to information in the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Higher Education in Egypt such as official policy documents and policy papers requires permission. In addition, to receive access to information of official documents, theses and academic position papers from faculties of education one should obtain permission. These materials were considered restricted and only accessible to researchers under specified conditions. Researchers have to obtain written evidence stating their identity as researchers to have access to enter university faculty libraries. The manual procedures are the way to search for and get hold of materials. Electronic means of storing and displaying materials are rarely available. Therefore, the time, efforts and money that researchers have to spend in order to get hold of materials are very common features to doing research in Egypt. On some occasions, researchers’ applications to get access to materials could be denied or they can get permission but cannot find the material they were looking for. On other occasions, researchers pay for the visit to a particular library in their city or elsewhere far from it, but then cannot find materials they require to locate for their research.
In relation to resources, Griffiths and Parker-Jenkins (1994) revealed how much easier it was for them, as technical assistants, to find out and to access international research about school attendance and gender in Ghana where they were international consultants, than it would have been for their colleagues of the native country. They argued that:

The research which is available and which will be used to inform future projects is likely to be the research which is ‘owned’ by the West, and which is published for a Western audience, and accountable to them. The literature review itself can be read as an example of the way the West holds resources of information which it then sells as part of consultancy to the clients (p.453).

International research in education in general and teacher education in particular about Egypt is very limited. As far as I know, international researchers have done some of this research for academic degrees (Cook 1998; 1999; 2000 and Toronto 1992); and there are relatively few Egyptian researchers who have contributed to education in Egypt (Dahawy 1985; 1992; Abou Hagger and Diab 2000; Razik and Zaher 1992; Ghany 1999; and Jarrar and Massialas 1992).

- **Research by questionnaire**

The second method of data collection in the present study is research by questionnaire. The use of questionnaires aims to examine the educational practices of policy decisions in Egypt. It is employed as a general survey of opinions and attitudes. The questionnaire covered a wide range of initial teacher education issues. In addition it aimed to discover a range of views about the teacher training
system and the extent of satisfaction and criticisms of the system. Another objective is to seek responses from some policy makers and teacher trainers and their opinions in relation to initial teacher training in Egypt.

Survey research has commonly been associated with the use of questionnaires. Theoretically, using a questionnaire allows the researcher to amass data that may take a much longer time to collect if using other methods. Traditionally, the use of a postal questionnaire has carried the problem of low response rates (Hedge 1995). Although this is not common in Egypt, recently the use of electronic networks for a questionnaire rather than the traditional method of getting information by the postal system has facilitated the process of obtaining information. Although it carries a lot of advantages such as speed and efficiency, it also carries some problems, such as restricted sampling and biased responses. Further, the absence of interaction between the researcher and subjects can create some ambiguity and confusion because of the nature of postal or electronic surveys. Although the use of computer packages can make the process of analysis of quantitative data more straightforward and quicker (Wellington 1996; see also Cohen and Manion 1985), it emphasises surface information rather than detailed information.

Regarding the research culture in Egypt and the uncommon use of electronic surveys, on the one hand conducting a questionnaire has involved many features more usually associated with employing an interview. For example, arranging for a meeting allowed little time for chat as it was time consuming to hand out the
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questionnaire, fill in the questionnaire with participants or arrange for a time to collect responses. On the other hand, using structured interviews has carried some characteristics that are associated with conducting questionnaires such as the use of open-ended questions that are difficult to analyse, whether they are used in interviewing or questionnaires (Arksey and Knight 1999). Moreover, in the present study, questions in the structured interviews were not modified. Interviews with policy makers and teacher trainers had some sort of communication in order to clarify some questions. In the interviews with practising teachers no such communication was established as colleagues in educational research distributed the schedule of the structured interviews to them.

Given the difficulties of conducting questionnaires in Egypt, the questionnaire was given to a total of two hundred participants (policy makers and teacher trainers). The teacher trainer sample came from faculties of education and specific education in Egypt. I got 73 questionnaire responses from teacher trainers and 13 from policy makers. Also, I interviewed 7 teacher trainers, 4 policy makers, and 29 practising teachers. Even though I tried to ensure that the research sample represented both urban and rural areas in Egypt, the limited time, money and energy restricted this intention. I was not able to visit many regions throughout Egypt and only a few of those that I did visit are rural areas such as El-Monofiea, El-Sharkia, Dumyat and Ismalia. Even though the sample from rural areas was small, I attempted to gain access to the opinions of practising teachers of these regions, not only those of urban areas (see maps of Egypt, pp. 54,55,56).
The structured interviews

The third method of data collection in the present study is the structured interviews. The main objective is to examine the educational practices of policy decisions. There are many types of interviews, for example, structured interview, semi-structured interview, and unstructured interview. The basic difference between the different interviewing strategies is the degree of interaction between the researcher and the participant. Structured interviews can provide a great deal of data in a short time. Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) argued that structured interview techniques for collecting data can be useful to reduce the researcher bias or effect because there is no influence from the researcher upon the participants, as researchers provide their questions in advance.

Interviews were conducted with a sample of teachers to discover their views about teacher education in Egypt. The sample of teachers was made up of teachers in their first ten years of teaching. They have experience of post-reform initial teacher training as well as more recent memories than teachers do with longer experience. Moreover, I interviewed some teacher trainers and some policy makers to find out their opinions of initial teacher training systems and their recommendations to develop the system. I attempted to obtain a full picture of teacher education in Egypt by using documentary sources alongside questionnaire and interview methods of research. This strategy is beneficial as Zeichner (1999) argues,
using a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods, has been an important part of recent research in teacher education. (p.10).

With particular reference to historical research in education McCulloch and Richardson (2000) have noted that:

The use of more than one method can address not only more complex issues, but also a wide range of social scientific, historical and educational concerns (p.119).

I hope the use of interviews has helped me to highlight some more of the key issues in initial teacher training in Egypt than other researchers who have depended on descriptive methods. To sum up, the use of closed questions in questionnaires could be an instrument to give a cheap and quick way for analysis, which open questions do not. But, open questions could be a useful follow-up to closed questions. On the other hand the use of interviews is hard work and time-consuming. Their analysis is not as quick or as cheap as the analysis of closed questions in questionnaires (May 2001). Regarding the present study, and contrary to the view of Arksey and Knight (1999), the use of both methods of data collection was hard work and neither quick nor cheap.

Although I faced challenges in administering my research methods, I managed to get the information I was interested in. By using a three scale questionnaire followed by an option of possible explanation, I got responses accompanied by reasons for a particular choice. In fact, not many participants gave an explanation, but with a large sample compared to structured interviews, I collected richer information. I treated the analysis of this information qualitatively as I did with
interviews. Although I used structured interviews with no contact with practising teachers, I got very interesting and valuable data. This data was placed together with the data I obtained from the questionnaires. The overall data was valuable when integrated and compared.

The challenges of research in Egypt

- **Between two cultures: self reflection**

When I was first granted a government scholarship to study for the Masters and doctoral degrees in education, I was required to study ‘systems of teacher education in developed countries’. I was expected to explore contemporary international trends in developing systems of teacher education and to transfer the new developments to the Egyptian soil. My initial decision to adopt ‘prior judgement’ or ‘uncritical’ comparative study was influenced by the dominant cultural norms of doing research in Egypt. I was influenced by these norms until I was shocked by some English researchers' views on their own systems of teacher education and the way I was interested in the system of which they were so critical.

A few years ago, I presented a proposal about the subject of my Masters dissertation. It was about developing teacher education in Egypt in the light of developed countries’ experience. This matched the subject of my scholarship. To my surprise—at that time—the course director said to me ‘so you consider our system is better’! I said yes. Then he asked me, why do you think that? At this stage I
hesitated and wondered in myself, is it adequate to defend my situation and argue that England is a developed industrial country, which has a good economy, and that this offered a stronger relation with successful education? Is this fair enough? I did not know until I engaged, during the first year of my PhD, in the international literature on teacher education. From this personal experience and reading the literature, my thinking has developed. I think a critical approach, which is not suggesting any prior judgement about the cases examined, is better for my study. I think the focus on understanding initial teacher education reform through its historical development and as it is now, and also from being critically reflective on other countries, is important.

- **The collapse of research planning**

I started my fieldwork in Egypt in late September 2001. Before conducting the actual questionnaire, I piloted it on a group of policy makers and teacher trainers in order to assess the appropriateness, clarity and relevance of questions. The pilot questionnaire was designed to encompass closed and open questions. I was expecting that I could use closed questions for the questionnaire along with asking informants to explain their responses. I was aiming to generate information that on one hand could help in understanding participants’ answers and on the other enrich the data.

Unfortunately, many participants found it took too long to write down their explanations after each question and to give answers to the open questions. They
preferred to choose responses that agree with their views but rarely write down any explanations. On some occasions, this tendency was clear when informants declined to give any comment or answers and left the space provided blank. Some others wrote a few words to fill in the space provided. The following are some excerpts that reflect the point of view of some participants towards the pilot questionnaire. A professor in a Faculty of Education suggested that:

It seems like your questionnaire mainly depends on the use of open questions. This type of questionnaire is unlikely to encourage a mass participation and also it is hard to analyse.

This view reflects a sceptical attitude about using qualitative research methodology that subordinates it to the dominant tradition of quantitative research (Personal research diary 2001). A researcher pointed out that:

Sometimes you use in your questionnaire two options like yes or no to let participants choose from them; on other time you use three options like yes, no or to some extent. I suggest that you could unify these options throughout the questionnaire and to use either two scale options or three scale options.

Another researcher suggested that:

It is better to reorganize the questionnaire to be three scale predetermined standardised categories. This will give great value to your questionnaire. This also will make it well organised.

The last two views reflect researchers’ appreciation of standardised questionnaires. From their view this is because of the validity it gives to research and the straightforward process of analysis (Personal research diary 2001).
Apart from this, some participants were happy to answer questions along with giving explanations. According to standard research method everywhere and in particular in Egypt, students should pilot their research tools prior to actual application. They also should revise their instruments in the light of the pilot study. On some occasions, researchers seek the advice and suggestions of experts in their research area in order to develop their data collection methods, or to invite them as referees to test the validity of their tools.

Because it was a pilot questionnaire and because I was keen to get responses of participants to help me explore the issues I am interested in, I changed the structure of the questionnaire. Following this preference and suggestions that were expressed by informants I reorganized the questionnaire into three scale predetermined standardised categories and an option was provided to participants to explain their responses if they could. Although I changed the questionnaire to three scale options, I still have had criticisms from some teacher trainers about the way I should have designed the questionnaire. A lecturer at Faculty of Specific Education suggested that:

In my view three scale questionnaire is inadequate in achieving the aims of your questionnaire. It is better to use five or six scale in order to obtain accurate data.

Again, this view reflects dominant beliefs in the value of quantitative techniques and the trust of gaining hard data they gave to research (Personal research diary 2001).
Chapter Two: the empty circle

Another difficulty I faced during my fieldwork was in using semi-structured interviews. I planned to employ a semi-structured interview to collect data. However, under time pressure to conduct the fieldwork and under the major difficulties encountered in applying the questionnaire, I turned the semi-structured interview into a structured interview. I piloted the interview during a visit to my country in June 2000. I was on a one-month visit to the country and I found it better to take this opportunity to pilot the interview. I found co-operation from informants when conducting my interview. Although they agreed to the interview being tape-recorded I found difficulty arranging for an appointment and with the limited time they gave to me to conduct the interview. Moreover, this was not free from other constraints such as interruptions, about which there is more to mention. I believed that piloting the interview and the questionnaire would avoid such constraints in actual fieldwork. However, the actual situation in facing these constraints generated frustration. I do believe that cultural resistance to the use of qualitative research techniques and the dominant belief in the value of quantitative methodology have influenced my research process and created challenges which I had to handle.

- Routine and bureaucracy: assistant letters

After I got the permission of the authorities in Egypt to develop my study I found that I must get permission from the Scholarship Welfare Office in Cairo. The duty of this office is to offer written letters to places that the scholarship
researchers would be going to visit. I was told that these letters would facilitate my mission. Unfortunately, the letters that were supposed to facilitate my mission actually obstructed the work to be done. Every time I used these letters obstacles emerged. Yet, when I was to get access to policy documents in the Ministry of Education or the Ministry of Higher Education, I was told to submit proof of permission from Ministry security to have access to the information I need.

I was faced with the same dilemma every time I used these letters. For example, I had a difficult time when I was trying to get permission to collect policy documents, decrees and laws from the Ministry of Higher Education. On that day, I visited three places in the city to get hold of the information I wanted. On two occasions, I was told that this was not the right place and I was directed to (in their view) the appropriate place. In my third direction the man in charge was unhappy at the way the letter was directed to him and claimed that the man who wrote the letter directed it to the wrong person. He decided to call the man and to clarify the situation. The man first claimed that I (the researcher) was responsible for this mistake; however he told the caller to ask me to go again to his office to collect another letter. I felt that if I did so I would fall into an 'empty circle' forever. Therefore, I decided to throw away the rest of these letters. I found it much easier when I went myself to people in charge, to identify myself and explain my mission, and then I really found different treatment. Although this happened when I went to get permission to access policy documents, I experienced
Chapter Two: the empty circle

the same scenario when I went to get permission to interview teachers in their schools (Personal research diary 2001).

I started the distribution of the questionnaire to staff members at some faculties of education and the research centre without using the ‘assistant letters’. Alongside this I attempted to gain permission to do the interviews with teachers in schools. The same dilemma emerged with the ‘empty circle’ to collect permission; every time I was asked to go and get further permissions or was told to show the authority’s permission. Yet, when I explained I had the State Security permission, they insisted on having their own. In schools, head teachers refused to let me interview teachers unless I showed them the Ministry’s permission. I think again routine and bureaucracy have a very influential role in this matter; and because of them people in authority wanted to be sure that I have got this permission to allow me to apply my research methods. Also, the unfamiliar and uncommon use of interviews with teachers had a further influence on that matter. I had the authority’s permission to interview teachers. I was optimistic to start interviewing the informants; however, another obstacle emerged.

- The social process of research

I found some teachers uncomfortable about me tape recording the interviews. They preferred to get the questions written in advance so they could write down their answers. After spending some time convincing teachers to participate in a recorded interview they seemed to be convinced, but with suspicion, and I noticed
that they were not comfortable and their responses were very short. A few teachers were happy to participate in tape-recorded interviews and their talking seemed to be free and open. Given the period I had to complete the fieldwork, just three months, along with the constraints I had found in employing the questionnaire, I decided to make the interview, not only for teachers but also for policy makers and educators, a structured interview format.

David Phillips and Anastasia Economou (2001) have expressed views about these problems, especially the problem of gaining access to the 'powerful' people in education. It included the difficulty in arranging an interview, and resistance from the interviewees as some of them have no time to give to researchers and others refuse to allow the interview to be tape-recorded. Lynn Davies (1997) discussed many of the problems I have faced in my country. The work involved interviews and observation in schools in Botswana, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Pakistan. Ozga (2000) interviewed elite groups of policy makers. She discussed some methodological issues that arise in using an interview method with policy makers who because of their positions have obtained authority and power. These are, the need to use alternative sources to meet the skill and experience of particular groups of policy makers, the social relations that exist when conducting the interview, the need for quality management of a situation and researcher self presentation, and the problem of access. Ozga (2000) explained that:

What was necessary was to be thoroughly prepared, and to accept that the 'interview' was likely to be controlled by the interviewee. Forms of control related to the structure of the account that was presented, as the interest in the 'life'
allowed the interviewee to select moments and issues that were of most significance. Very often these accounts were punctuated with questions to the interviewer, sometimes checking on the level of preparation and knowledge of the topic, sometimes entering into a discussion of a particular event or idea.............Indeed, the need to enact the role of attentive audience to the ‘public servant’ could make considerable demands (p. 127).

With reference to Lebanese culture, Ihsan Caillau (2001) decided to employ the semi-structured interview method in her study because it reduced the threatening tension the questionnaire causes to Lebanese people. She explained that:

Being a democratic country which enjoys, today more than ever, the freedom of speech, the country has suffered terrible and tremendous consequences from the press’s indulgence in ‘uncovering the truth’. Many business organizations and important pillars of the community were ruined by the manipulated power of the press and the freedom of expression. Consequently, the Lebanese, especially the ‘elite’, became stigmatised by all forms of data gatherings which employ written documents (which hold as evidence in a court of law). However, because the interview method (recorded tapes do not hold as evidence in a court of law) frees the informants from any liability, (provided that there is no other person present with the researcher in the room to act as witness) I decided to rely on the less threatening interview method for gathering my data (p. 113).

In contrast with Lebanese research culture, my experience revealed that the use of tape-recorded interviews with Egyptian people is a threatening method in itself. Informants may have thought that recording the interview might expose them to legal liability; and the information that they gave could be used against them. This might make people less talkative and more secretive when talking to strangers. This could be applied to Egyptian researchers and to non-Egyptians. As Rob
McBride (1997) wrote from personal experience as an English researcher engaged in research with Egyptian teachers, his impression is that ‘research especially qualitative research, is hardly known in Egypt’ (p.3). His experience of interviewing Egyptian teachers revealed that few teachers wanted to talk and most of them were cautious. A similar view was expressed by English authors Griffiths and Parker-Jenkins (1994), whilst commenting on a research study conducted in Sudan. Their view was that:

The process that led to the silence and non-cooperation of the Sudanese could be observed in many English institutions where the relatively disempowered, by reason of gender, race or class, find innovation imposed on them by the relatively powerful (p.454).

Crossley and Vulliamy (1984) pointed out that the absence of qualitative research such as case studies in developing countries has vital consequences for the production of any comparative analysis of education. Beeby (1978; cited in Crossley and Vulliamy 1984) highlighted a critical point regarding the absence of such studies in developing countries. This in his view resulted from the dominance of educational research and the reliance on the methods of a scientific approach which proved of limited value in curing problems in the classroom. He called for the use of a combination of qualitative strategies such as action research and comparative studies.

I do believe that if interview methods are to be employed with Egyptian people, a bridge of trust and an informal relationship should be built between the researcher and the interviewee. In conducting the fieldwork in the present study, I
felt that some teachers’ view of me is that of a researcher doing research ‘on’ them to gain personal benefit. They see me in a higher and more powerful position than them. In addition, because they do not know me, they may be afraid to provide me with information that could be used to have power over them. In my view, trust could be built by entering the world of teachers. If teachers were to feel that the researcher’s role is to work ‘for’ them, their participation and attitude would change. This can only happen if a long term relationship and trust have been established.

I was visiting some faculties of education not only in Cairo, but also in some other regions to hand out the questionnaire to faculty members and wait either to get their responses, or to arrange for another visit. In Cairo for example, I had to deal with the questionnaire as one can do with the interview. I was reading questions and marking informants’ responses. In other cities such as Alexandria, I had to travel more than once to get responses. Through employing the interview with teacher trainers and policy makers there were many interruptions during interview time. For example, a telephone or mobile call, and an urgent matter needs to be dealt with either for students, staff members or administration.

It is also notable that researchers in Egypt usually encounter other difficulties. These include bureaucracy and difficult work conditions. In my own case, bureaucratic administration made it hard to get access to information. The working conditions that policy makers and university staff members are working in are considered very harsh. Many university staff members represented
different faculties of education throughout the country. Others were working in educational centres alongside their duties in faculties of education. Given the other related circumstances of the work environment, they have a full schedule of lectures and supervision of many MA and PhD students. Yet, if the educator is working in one faculty, he or she has to give lectures moving from one building to another in the campus. In addition, they are working in very hot weather with severe humidity and facing every day difficulties with transport, overcrowding and traffic jams.

Teachers are also working in poor conditions. They have to deal with large numbers of students in each class and a severe lack of facilities. Their salaries are low, even though the government has made many attempts to increase them. They finish the schoolday, then run to give private lessons to students in their homes. Teachers spend the rest of the day providing these lessons and only go home until very late to have some sleep before starting the following school day. Teachers find that private lessons are the way to increase their income and the instrument to elevate their economic and social positions. As a result of this, to get hold of a teacher to interview is difficult. The best thing is to arrange time for the interview to be held in the break time or when teachers have a free class. Both options are hard for teachers. The break time is supposed to let teachers have a few minutes to have a rest and to eat or drink; while in a free class teachers take this time to mark and revise students’ work or to prepare for the next school day.
Chapter Two: the empty circle

Under these circumstances, I did not have any opportunity to conduct interviews with teachers. Accordingly, I distributed the interview questions to teachers and I left blank spaces to them to write down their answers. Then I hoped that teachers would get some free time to answer my questions. I think it is important to mention that if I had more time to conduct my research, I would not have ended up with a better situation. In my view, longer time would not be any more helpful unless circumstances and attitudes were changed.

- Ethical issues

Two of the ethical issues discussed in Louisy (1997) of informal consent and anonymity and confidentiality, are of great consideration in the present study. These ethical issues are considered as an insider researcher conducting a case study of her own higher education institution. These ethical principles recognize the obligation of the researcher to research subjects, research colleagues, other researchers and sponsors, as well as scholarship and to citizenship (Louisy 1997 p.203-204).

The present study was based on interviews with policy makers and teacher trainers who were invited to participate in structured interviews. The problem associated with anonymity and confidentiality in doing the interviews with this particular group is highly sensitive. Some information about interviewees such as their names, academic levels, and their workplace, are important to consider in connection with confidentiality. To handle this matter, participants’ names were concealed and I made sure to use anonymity in the form of numbers for each
Chapter Two: the empty circle

interviewee. For practising teachers I used similar treatment as I concealed the name of their schools. I only mentioned the name of the regions which they come from.

The second ethical problem I faced was associated with informed consent. This is to consider how much information participants should be aware of about the research. Should participants be given detailed information about research aims, questions and procedures or not; and if they are, will this influence their view and have an impact on the research? In conducting the interviews and questionnaires with policy makers and teacher trainers, some of them wanted to know verbally from me information about the subject of the research, the aims and the procedures. I was convinced that such information if provided in detail, could affect participants' views. Therefore, I was keen to provide only general information about the research subject, the aim of the questionnaire and the interview and what they involved. Interestingly, some participants challenged the way I structured the questionnaire. Also, some of them wanted to test my knowledge of the subject. In this case I felt that my role as the controller of the interview or the questionnaire was reversed as they took it over.

The research procedures

In this study, I employed a questionnaire to explore policy makers' and teacher trainers' views of initial teacher training in Egypt. In addition, I employed two structured interviews to investigate, in depth, policy makers', teacher trainers' and practising teachers' views of initial teacher training. With reference to the notion
of 'voices' in educational research, Hargreaves (1996) has noted some problems in writing on teachers' voices. This was to include a selection of particular voices as comprehensive, or representing a decontextualisation of teachers' voices from the contexts of teaching, and from other groups either dissimilar teachers or non-teachers. Hargreaves warned us of the consequences if these issues are not considered:

Instead of searching for and listening appreciatively to voices that differ, voices that jar, voices that might even offend, we are perhaps too ready to hear only those voices that broadly echo our own (p.13).

Two methods of data collection, the questionnaire and structured interviews, were employed in order to explore the opinions of both policy makers and teacher trainers. The questionnaire was administered to have more access to many people in the field from different places and regions as well. This was considered to be the best way to explore the views of people in the field. Then I would choose some of them for interview according to their responses in the questionnaire to probe their responses more deeply.

In fact, difficulties in administering the questionnaire limited the number of participants. I found that distributing a questionnaire is not an easy matter. In Egypt, if a researcher wants to get responses he or she has to hand a questionnaire to each individual in the sample. Researchers follow this up by asking from time to time (by using telephone calls or looking in participants' offices), if they are ready to hand the questionnaire back or if they will arrange for a time to fill in the questionnaire with the researcher.
In fact, not only was the number of participants limited, but also their responses did not enable me to decide who were the best to interview. Therefore, I decided to interview at least one teacher trainer from each institution of teacher education and some of the policy makers.

In Egypt, employing an interview is much more difficult than administering a questionnaire. People have no time to spend in answering questions and not all of them will accept the tape recording of the interview. I attempted to cover in the interview the issues I raised in the questionnaire in more detail. With regard to practising teachers I wanted to gain information based on their experience during their training and after entering the profession. This cannot be gained by the use of questionnaires. Therefore, I decided to use a tape-recorded interview method. After I piloted the interview I found some difficulties. First, some teachers felt uncomfortable with a tape-recorded interview and suggested instead to have written questions. Secondly, I found that I had to get permission to interview teachers for each school in each region. This was impossible, considering that getting even one letter of permission for interviews teachers in one school takes a considerable time.

Following piloting the questionnaire, I distributed the final version of it to policy makers and teacher trainers at some faculties of education and the educational centre in Cairo as well as in other regions. The cover sheet of the questionnaire was included to inform participants of what this questionnaire was
about, its aim and what it involved. A final statement was provided to assure
participants that the information given will only be used for research purposes.

The questions were divided into three headings:

A. The policy of teacher training in Egypt: this was to explore the
participants’ opinions on the policy of teacher education; the consistency
between policy statements and educational practice; the 1988 policy that
unified teacher education and the establishment of a variety of routes to
teacher education.

B. Teachers’ roles and institutions of teacher training in Egypt: this was
to assess the quality of some particular teacher training centres.

C. Teachers’ professional and social status: this was to investigate the
participants’ opinions about the policy contribution to the social and
professional positions of teachers.

The interview

I interviewed some policy makers and university staff members in order to
investigate, in-depth, the purposes of a variety of routes to teacher education; to
explore the extent that the shift of the place of teacher training had in elevating the
quality of teacher education and on teachers’ status professionally and socially; to
explore informants’ opinions on the state’s new proposal for reforming teacher
education; and finally the informants’ recommendations for improvement of the
status quo. In addition to interviewing policy makers and university staff
members, I interviewed practising teachers to gain in-depth information on their views on many routes to teacher education and to explore their roles, concerns and recommendations for teacher education in Egypt. The interview questions to the policy makers and teacher trainers were divided into three headings:

A. **Policy of teacher training in Egypt**: this was to investigate in-depth diversity in the system and the tensions between unification and a process of diversification.

B. **Teachers' roles and institutions of teacher training in Egypt**: this was to explore teachers' roles inside and outside teacher education centres; the quality of teacher education and to show the participants' concerns and recommendations for a productive system of teacher education.

C. **Teachers professional and social status in Egypt**: this was to investigate the participants' opinions on issues surrounding the policy of teacher education role in the making of teachers and the teaching profession status.

The interview questions I posed to teachers were divided into three headings:

A. **Policy of teacher training in Egypt**: this was to explore teacher opinions about routes to teacher education.

B. **Teachers' roles and institutions of teacher training in Egypt**: this was to explore teachers' roles inside and outside teacher education centres; to investigate the quality of teacher education and teachers' concerns and their recommendations.
C. Teachers' professional and social status in Egypt: this was to investigate practising teachers opinions on their status; to show teachers' concerns and their recommendations for a productive system of teacher education.

Participants

I attempted to collect a convenience sample (Kuzel 1992) to explore the view of policy makers, university staff members and practising teachers at different regions in Egypt. This sample strategy was used to save me time, money and effort. I originally planned to use a random sample for the questionnaire in which lists of staff members' names and positions in universities should be collected. Although I collected these lists, I was faced with the reality of the situation that I had to hand out the questionnaire to participants to increase the possibilities of getting responses. Therefore, I changed to using a convenience sample strategy.

The Universities, Institute of Higher Education and a National Centre

The university sample of the questionnaire includes six universities throughout Egypt. These were Cairo University, Ain-Shams University, Al-Azhar University, Alexandra University, Suez Canal University and El-Monofiea University (see Table 1). In Cairo, there are many faculties that train teachers; Faculty of Education at Ain-Shams University, Faculty of Females at Ain-Shams University, Faculty of Kindergarten at Cairo University, Faculty of Specific Education at
Cairo University, Faculty of Specific Education at Ain-Shams University, and Faculty of Education (males) at Al-Azhar University.

Cairo is the capital of Egypt with the largest population of all the cities, nearly twenty million out of 70 million. Cairo University is the oldest and first university in Egypt. It was established in 1908 as the private Egyptian University. In 1925 the university’s status changed from a private institution to a state university. The university’s name changed twice, first in 1940 from the Egyptian University to King Fouad the 1st University; and in 1953 it was changed to Cairo University by the Free Officers who led the Egyptian Revolution (Reid 1990).

Ain-Shams and Al-Azhar Universities are also situated in Cairo. Al-Azhar is the oldest university in the world. It was first opened in 972 AD and since then it has become the most well known mosque in the whole Moslem world and the oldest university ever for both religious and secular studies (http://www.frcu.eun.eg/www/universities/html/azhar.html).

Alexandria is the second biggest city in Egypt and it is only 210 kilometres away from Cairo. It has a Faculty of Education, Faculty of Kindergarten and Faculty of Specific Education to train teachers. The Suez Canal University is located in Ismalia and it is 110 kilometres from Cairo. It has a Faculty of Education to train teachers. Finally, El-Monofia University is located in El-Monofia region and it is 70 kilometres from Cairo. It has a Faculty of Education in Shibin el kom and Faculty of Specific Education in Ashmon. The study sample of the questionnaire included staff members in faculties of education within these
universities. In addition, the sample included a leading higher Education Institution. Finally, a leading National Centre for Research was included to survey the views of some policy makers. The centre includes an Educational Planning Unit, a Physical Planning Unit, a Curriculum and Materials Department Centre, and a Policy Analysis and Research Unit (see Table 2).

I visited some of these centres to hand out the questionnaire to staff members in them. I mainly focused on Cairo simply because I live in it. My sample was limited to a few regions in Egypt as there are twenty six regions. Indeed, with the limited time, effort and money, I could not include any further regions in my survey.

Table 1: Number of questionnaire participants according to universities at which they work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Universities</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cairo University</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>38.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandria University</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suez Canal University</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Monofiea University</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ain-Shams University</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Azhar University</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The National Centre of Research</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 2: Number of questionnaire participants according to faculties, institute and national centre at which they work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutions of teacher training</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Faculty of Education at Alexandria University</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Faculty of Education at Suez Canal University</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Faculty of Specific Education at Ashmon El-Monofia University</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Faculty of Kindergarten at Cairo University *</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Faculty of Specific Education at Cairo University *</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Faculty of Education (males) at Al-Azhar University *</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Faculty of Females at Ain-Shams University*</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Faculty of Education at Ain-Shams University *</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Institute of Higher Education *</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 The National Centre for Research *</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* This symbol means the centre is located in Cairo
A profile of questionnaire of policy makers and teacher trainers

I distributed 200 questionnaires throughout Egypt and I collected 86 responses. 33 responses were collected from Cairo University, 20 from Ain-Shams University, 8 from Al-Azhar University, 4 from Alexandria University, 2 from Suez Canal University, 6 from El-Monofiea University and 13 from the National Centre of Research. The majority of responses were males, 56 out of 86, and 30 were females. They were specialists in a range of fields such as Foundations of Education, Curricula and Teaching Methods, Administration, Planning and Comparative Education, Technology of Education, Adult Education, Psychology of Education, Kindergarten and Primary Education, policy Analysis and Research Unit, Educational Planning Unit, Curriculum and Materials Department and a Physical Planning unit (see Table 3). There were three academic levels represented, Lecturer, Assistant Professor and Professor (see Table 4).
### Table 3: Number of participants according to fields of specialisations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants specializations</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Foundations of Education</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Curricula and Teaching Methods</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Administration, Planning and Comparative Education</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Technology of Education</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Adult Education</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Psychology of Education</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Distance Education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Kindergarten and Primary Education</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Policy Analysis and Research Unit</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Educational Planning Unit</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Curriculum and Materials Department</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Planning Unit</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4: Number of questionnaire participants according to their academic level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Lecturer</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Assistant Professor</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>46.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Professor</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>39.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A profile of the interviews with policy makers and teacher trainers

In addition to the questionnaire, I interviewed 11 policy makers and staff members from different places in Egypt for half an hour to an hour. The majority of the participants were males: 8 males and 3 females. They represented four universities, Cairo, Ain-Shams, Alexandria and Suez Canal. In addition, four interviews were conducted at the National Centre for Research (see table 5). With respect to the field of specialisation, these are Foundations of Education, Kindergarten and Primary Education, Comparative Education and Politics of Education (see table 6). The academic positions, lecturers, Assistant Professor and Professor are all represented (see table 7).

Table 5: Number of interviewees who were policy makers and university staff members according to universities they are working in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cairo University</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ain-Shams University</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandria University</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suez Canal University</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The National Centre for Research</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter Two: the empty circle

Table 6: Number of interviewees who were policy makers and university staff members according to fields of specializations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specialization</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Politics of Education</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundations of Education</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative Education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindergarten and Primary Education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Number of interviewees who were policy makers and university staff members according to their academic level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Assistant Professors</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Professors</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>76</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A profile of the practising teachers

In addition to interviewing policy makers and staff members, I interviewed 29 practising teachers from different places in Egypt. The majority of practising teachers were males (23) and only 6 were females. They are specialists in a range
of subjects such as, Arabic Language, English Language, Mathematics, Sciences, Chemistry and Physics, Philosophy, Sport, Art, Education Technology and Information Technology (see table 8). They are practising teachers who teach in primary, preparatory or preparatory-secondary and secondary schools (see table 9). The interviewees came from different regions, Cairo, Al Jizah, El-Monofiea El-Sharkia and Dumyat.

Because of the time constraint I had to seek help from some colleagues who work in education research to conduct the interview in regions such as El-Monofiea El-Sharkia and Dumyat. Although I did not conduct the interview myself, the structured interview helped to resolve this matter. The questions were determined on a piece of paper with spaces provided for teachers' answers. I employed this strategy in spite of its limitations, to give teachers of rural areas equal voice as teachers in urban areas. This technique was limited to collecting teachers' answers without the ability to interact face-to-face with them. This also limited the recording of teachers' non-verbal responses. However, this is the only technique I have found to cope with teachers' circumstances. The teaching experience of practising teachers varied from 1 to over 10 years and averaged about 7 years (see table 10).
### Table 8: Number of interviewee teachers according to fields of specializations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specialization</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabic Language</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry and Physics</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Language</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Technology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information Technology</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter Two: the empty circle

Table 9: Number of interviewee teachers according to the level they teach to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>37.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory and Secondary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Number of interviewee teachers according to their teaching experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experience</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than a year</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than five years</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five years</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>55.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 years or more</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Map of Egypt: this map shows all the places that the questionnaire and interview samples were collected from. These are the places that are highlighted on the map.
Map of Egypt: this is a closer picture of the previous map. It shows the places that the questionnaire and interview samples were collected from in close up. These are the places that are highlighted on the map.
Map of Egypt: this map shows some of the places that the questionnaire and interview samples were collected from. These are the places that are highlighted on the map. This map is much clearer but does not include all the places.
Chapter Two: the empty circle

Outline of the data analysis

In analysing qualitative data, researchers usually integrate two forms of data analysis. These are data reduction and data display. The former is based on selecting, abstracting and focusing the data that appears in transcription form. The latter is based on classifying data into categories and in relation to different themes (Miles and Huberman 1994). With reference to data reduction, I transcribed the data I got from using the questionnaire and interviews. Regarding the questionnaire, I calculated participants' responses to each statement. Then, participants' comments were analysed qualitatively. At this stage participants' names were concealed. I ensured anonymity in the form of alphabetic letters or numbers for all the participants in the present study.

Regarding data display, I classified data into categories based on different themes. During the process of analysis, data was reassessed on how it fitted into essential themes. The frequency of occurrence of each item in a category was then calculated. This was followed by comparing the data generated from each sample with the others. The construction of interpretation and discussion was based on the material gained from the empirical data and the comparative and historical analysis.

Limitations of the study

The present study needs to be approached with caution for several reasons. Firstly, the design and application of the research devices and also research constraints in Egypt are factors which may have affected the quality of the
data. In particular, there is a limitation in the use of structured interviews with practising teachers in which actual communication was absent. Additionally, the study is limited in exploration of the nature of teacher training reform effort in some Western countries solely from policy documents and overseas literature. Secondly, generalisation of findings, in particular research results from policy makers and teacher trainers, is problematic. The research sample of this group of interviewees was small. Thirdly, my subjectivity could be affected by my own experience. As ‘all research has a subjective element’ (Walford 2001, p.98), my previous experience as a trainee teacher at a Faculty of Kindergarten and three years of being a practising teacher for early years education, might influence the interpretation of my findings. However, I tried to take into account all perspectives. Despite these issues, some useful data was generated through this empirical research which allows some insight into the experiences of teachers, policy makers and teacher trainers through their own ‘voices’.

In this chapter, the methods and procedures of the study were illustrated. The challenges I encountered in doing my research in Egypt were revealed. Also, I described the outline for data analysis and limitations of the study.
Chapter Three

A comparative and historical approach to initial teacher education reform in Egypt

*We necessarily and constantly compare in order to make choices and to judge where we stand in relation to others and to our own past (Alexander 2000, p.26).*

In the present chapter, the two key traditions of the history of comparative education will be discussed. I will elaborate on the approach I use in this study, and the value and limitations of my approach will be illustrated.

In this study, I seek to investigate contemporary initial teacher education in Egypt in the light of comparative and historical perspectives. I aim to identify lessons learned from other countries’ experiences regarding initial teacher education reforms. This means an attempt to benefit from other countries’ experience in avoiding mistakes they may fall into, or applying successful ideas, perceptions and concepts. Lessons learned can be identified to achieve two alternatives. One alternative is to avoid negative experiences and another to recommend the application of positive experiences. I use critical comparative methodology which focuses the analysis on understanding initial teacher education reform in its historical development and as it is now.

The comparative methodology I use in the present study examines the reform efforts based on theory in the overseas cases and reform efforts based on theory and educational practices in Egypt. The use of questionnaires and interviews helps
to address the educational practices in Egypt, and the use of documents helps to
examine the reform efforts in the overseas cases and in Egypt as well.

Pre-history of comparative education

The history of comparative education dates back to the late nineteenth century
and to those of the founding generation of the field such as Mark Antoine Jullien,
Sadler, Kandel and Hans. This founding group tried to legitimise the field as a
discipline. However, prior to this stage, scholars were interested in describing and
exploring foreign education systems. This stage was called the pre-history of
comparative education (Crossley and Vulliamy 1984).

During the thirteenth, fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, Arab scholars like
Ibn Battutach, Ibn Khaldun and Ibn Jubayr were the pioneers who provided the
first comparative education documents in the Arab region. During their travels
across the Arab region they noticed the state, conditions and institutions of
learning in the places they visited. For example, Ibn Battutach described education
systems and schools in the countries he visited during his travels; also Ibn Jubayr
described Iraqi schools when he visited them in the eighteenth century
(Benhamida 1990). Ibn Battutach described systems of education and schools
throughout the countries he visited. He also wrote about the educational and
cultural similarities and differences among different societies (Dahawy 2001).
Chapter Three: A comparative and historical approach

Two key traditions of comparative education

There are two key traditions in the history of comparative education. The first is the quantitative research strategy tradition. The second tradition is the qualitative research strategy approach. The former modelled itself on perceptions of the nature of research in the natural sciences whereas the latter focused instead on interpreting the context in which research was situated. Quantitative research in the social sciences developed from the positivist tradition. In social science ‘positivism’ is used to refer to the application of what is assumed to be natural or physical. Thus, Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) defined positivism as

the position in the social sciences which aims at objectivity in social inquiry by means of adopting the methods and procedures of the natural or physical science (p.21-22).

The most obvious characteristics of a quantitative approach are to seek accurate measurement, examine hypotheses and to have a statistical analysis of the data. Further, positivists see the task of science as to enable the prediction and control of social events. By contrast, qualitative research has developed from the anti-positivism approach and has emerged as a reaction against the development of quantitative research. Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) defined qualitative research as

the systematic attempt to generate and use non-quantitative techniques and methodologies which will facilitate understanding and conceptualisation of the face-to-face routine, everyday socio-cultural context of educational processes and institutions (p. 44).
Chapter Three: A comparative and historical approach

Identifying a theory is an important part of this kind of research; at the same time, it is important to examine this theory in the light of data. Some researchers, for example Ragin (1987), have argued for combining qualitative and quantitative approaches in comparative research.

In the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century, comparativists like Mark-Antoine Jullien, Horace Mann, Mathew Arnold, Sadler, Hans, Kandel and Schneider attempted to develop the discipline for the study of education in an international context. They attempted to legitimise the field as a discipline. Therefore, they made use of the scientific methods of positivism in comparative education (Efthimiou 1999). They were challenged for being significantly affected by the quantitative research strategy for the study of foreign systems in education. This generation was interested in the idea of 'borrowing' educational practices of foreign countries and then transferring them to their home countries. However, the first generation developed a systematic approach to comparative education. They drew attention to the dangers of importing educational practices across nations regardless of considering factors and forces that shaped policies and practices. This concern with contextual factors of comparative education as Crossley and Vulliamy (1997) argued

has much in common with the core perspectives and assumptions of qualitative research (p.8).

To accomplish this they determined and analysed national educational characteristics in which they searched for and developed concepts that would
Chapter Three: A comparative and historical approach

permit cross national comparisons (Crossley and Vulliamy 1997; see also Bereday 1964; Silver 1983). They attempted to reveal the ways in which education and society are linked, for example this was reflected in Sadler's (1900) own words:

In studying foreign systems of Education we should not forget that the things outside the schools matter even more than the things inside the schools, and govern and interpret the things inside. (Sadler 1900, p. 49 cited in Phillips 1997 p. 286).

In addition, this generation made use of the historical method of comparative education in order to enable them to identify the factors and forces that determine the national character of education systems (Crossley and Vulliamy 1984).

The following generation appeared after World War Two and committed itself to a more scientific comparative education. This intention was reflected in the work of the comparativists like George Bereday, Brian Holmes, Noah, and Eckstein and also in the work of international organizations. This approach focused on the systematic collection of statistical data across countries as a guide for policy making. The comparativists’ prime concern has transferred from emphasising national educational character to analyses of problems. This change of attention has led to change in methodology as it shifted from relying on the educational character of different countries to the use of variables and concepts in investigating particular problems (Silver 1983). Unlike the former generation, this one made use of interdisciplinary methods more than history in order to develop new concepts (Efthimiou 1999).
Chapter Three: A comparative and historical approach

Bereday (1964) argued that the comparative field can be divided into two major parts: area studies and comparative studies. The former can study one country or region, and the latter can study many countries or regions. Bereday identified two approaches to conducting comparative research according to the type of study. In area studies two steps are needed: description and interpretation. However, in comparative studies two further steps are required: juxtaposition and comparison. Bereday developed his approach to comparative education within the scientific framework.

Holmes (1981) developed a research method in comparative education, which draws from the philosophical ideas of John Dewey’s ‘reflective thinking’ and Karl Popper’s ‘critical dualism’. He suggested ‘the problem solving approach’ as a method of research in comparative education. It started with the selection of a problem and its analysis. This was followed by identifying the contexts. Hypotheses are then formed as alternative policies to solve the problem. These hypotheses may then be tested. Holmes (1981) drew a distinction between comparative education as a theory or ‘pure’ and as a practical or ‘applied’ social science. He argued that:

The distinction lies in the extent to which as ‘pure’ scientists comparative educationists formulate policies, test them in order to eliminate those least likely to succeed and as ‘applied’ scientists they accept policies, advise governments how best to put them into practice and inform them what outcomes (good and bad) are likely to result when a particular policy is implemented (Holmes 1981, p.49).
Chapter Three: A comparative and historical approach

Holmes’ comparative approach sought to provide predictable consequences for the transfer of educational practices.

More recently, comparative work in education is still concerned with being free from history (Cowen 2002). As Broadfoot (2001) pointed out data have been applied separately from their context. She argued that this trend has been driven by the notion of standards and competition and linked with economic performance. Broadfoot (2001) suggested that:

It is an age that assumes it is desirable to measure the quality of education using quantitative techniques; an age that is willing to invest very considerable resources in so doing in the belief that such studies will elucidate whether the education system is both providing value for money and the necessary infrastructure of skills to ensure future economic competitiveness on the international stage (p. 92).

Broadfoot (2001) related the tension in comparative education traditions between the quantitative and qualitative research strategies to a wider conflict in the philosophy of social science. She suggested that this tension has reflected the changes in society in its transitional shift from a modern to a postmodern age. The new era has put every society in the challenging position of having to balance the pressures to follow international trends of economic performance, and ways to keep and protect its own cultural identity. Also, interdependency, speed of communication and revolution of technology have been influences. Contemporary comparative education tends to be, as Cowen (2002) called it, ‘ahistorical’.
Chapter Three: A comparative and historical approach

In Cowen's own words, it contains no serious account of political and cultural context, of significant individual actors or social movements (p.420).

Therefore, Cowen argued that contemporary comparative education requires a historical dimension.

Ragin's work (1987) referred to the two main traditions of comparative research as a statistical variable-oriented methodology and the interpretative case-oriented comparative methodology. Ragin pointed out the main features that determined each technique. In the variable-oriented study, the objective is to prove that a relationship existed for a specific population in which data are gathered from that population. However, in a case-oriented comparative approach each case is treated as a whole and in meaningful combinations of conditions. But, the two comparative strategies can combine with each other. Ragin (1987) goes so far as to determine the type of dialogue which characterises each strategy. The forms of dialogue that dominate in the variable-oriented approach are discussions of measurement alternatives, control variables, functional forms, and other specification issues ... individual cases typically acquire significance as case only relative to general patterns displayed across many cases, not relative to the specific historical, cultural, political, substantive, or theoretical concerns of the investigator ... variables are the main factors in this dialogue, not individual cases (pp. 165-166).

However, the dialogue between ideas and evidence in a case-oriented comparative
approach is different. In Ragin’s (1987) words,

this dialogue centers on issues of divergence and causal heterogeneity. The problem is not to specify a single causal model that fits the data best (the question that dominates the research dialogue in studies using multivariate statistical techniques) but to determine the number and character of the different causal models that exist among comparable cases. The phenomenon to be explained is viewed as an outcome and thus may be more or less constant across relevant observations—in the sense that all cases display roughly the same outcome. Thus, the goal in case-oriented comparative studies is not to explain variation but to account for the differences among instances of a certain outcome (p.167, brackets in original).

In relation to qualitative research methodology, comparative research shares similarities of the search for meaning within the culture under study to enable understanding education from the micro (local) and macro (national) level (Crossley and Vulliamy 1997).

**Comparative and historical approaches**

Skocpol and Somers (1980) identified three major logical models in the use of comparative history: The Parallel Demonstration of Theory, The Contrast of Contexts, and The Macro-Causal Analysis. Each of these approaches has its own methodological logic of presentation of argument. Yet, in the use of any of these models, juxtaposing case histories across time (historical, social and economic) and place (countries) has its own logic. For example, in the first of the case approaches, the parallel comparative history approach, juxtaposition is used to validate certain theoretical arguments. Cases are juxtaposed to demonstrate that
Chapter Three: A comparative and historical approach

the theoretical argument applies to multiple cases. The aim of comparison is to assert a similarity among the cases, that is in the sense of the common applicability of the theoretical arguments presented. In other words the broad applicability of the theoretical argument is demonstrated in the exploration of case studies. Differences among the cases are considered as 'contextual particularities'.

The juxtaposition in the second type, contrast-oriented comparative history, aims to show the unique characteristics of each case. General themes, questions or concepts are used as instruments to help to show contrasts between or among cases. They could be set out before discussing the case studies or they could develop as the discussions proceed.

In the third type, the macro-analysis of comparative history approach, the objective of juxtaposition is to test the validity of theory and to replace invalidated theory by developing new causal generalisations. In other words, macro-causal analysis aims to validate causal statements about macro phenomena. There are two analytic designs to be used or a combination of both of them in order to proceed to macro analysis. In the use of the first analytic design labelled 'Method of Agreement' the researcher seeks to establish that the phenomenon to be explained is common between or among the case studies, and that hypothesized causal factors are common, although the cases may differentiate in other ways. However, in the second analytic design labelled 'Method of Difference', the researcher seeks to contrast cases in which the phenomenon to be explained and the hypothesized factors are absent in the positive cases, but it is present to the control negative ones.
and in which they are similar to the positive cases in other ways. This aim is to validate the main causal argument for the positive cases.

Efthimiou (1999) developed a comparative model to explore teacher education reform as processes and discourse, but not as educational practices, in Greece and the United States during the 1980s and 1990s. Her study is based on the qualitative case oriented comparative approach. The model Efthimiou suggested consisted of two steps. In the first stage she analysed and interpreted the institutional and political traditions of teacher training in each country depending on policy documents and secondary sources of teacher training reform. Accordingly, the analysis of teacher education reform documents represented two analytical units or concepts: the political culture and the rationalization. In the second stage the two concepts provided the medium for the exploration of similarities and differences between the two countries in which comparison was used in an analytical way. Efthimiou relied in her approach on the logic of contrast of contextual comparative analysis.

Sander (2000) discussed the alternative approaches in comparative methodology in a report on comparative research on development in teacher education at national, European and global levels. Sander's (2000) analysis of comparative research views on developments in teacher education at global, European and national levels, suggested two contradictory approaches, the affirmative and the critical. The affirmative view described developments in teacher education and teacher education policy as concerning the diversity of
national education systems. Such approaches participate in defending the initiatives of the state. They also provide support and legitimate certain policies in which close cooperation and support from state representatives are provided. In contrast, the critical view interpreted developments in teacher education and teacher education policy as being identical resulting from the development of the world market. Sander (2000) classified critical approaches to represent either

a critique of existing (affirmative) theories or a critique of social systems at the level of education. Both procedures might be seen as necessary and useful but the latter is obviously far more important for improving our knowledge and understanding of the functioning of actual (teacher) education systems in reality under concrete historical circumstances (p.162).

Sander (2000) drew an overview of their major characteristics as shown in Figure 1.
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**Figure 1. Alternative approaches in comparative methodology.**

(Sander 2000, p.201)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Affirmative approaches</strong></th>
<th><strong>Critical approaches</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definition of the subject to be studied</td>
<td>Education systems as reflecting the diversity of cultures (and education policy as having the task to maintain it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selection of sources of information on the subject</td>
<td>Preference given to the normative legal basis and the normative administrative and political definitions of the tasks and functions of education systems and education policy by governments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology options in producing research results</td>
<td>Reading and quoting from texts (simple text reproduction and summary, not even hermeneutical interpretation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategies of interpreting research results</td>
<td>Tendency of producing self-fulfilling prophecies confirming the myths of 'diversity' and 'difference'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic objectives/Functions of research</td>
<td>Production of affirmative ideologies (Cold War ideologies, European dimension ideologies, nationalist ideologies, regionalist ideologies, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education and education policy as practical but universal forms of mediation and social control-and of generating opposition to mechanisms of control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emphasis on the complex and contradictory reality of social and political processes in the field of education and education policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Analyzing social processes, including all stakeholders, their actions, attitudes and ideologies, their specific interests, strategies and power relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Focus on understanding fundamental problems in the historical development of social systems through the education sector and education policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Radical critique of social systems (the history and impact of class system in education and education policy)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furlong *et al* (2000) evaluated the changes in initial teacher training in England and Wales throughout the 1990s. They explored the impact of the policy on practice by using two national surveys of all teacher training divisions and 50 case studies of courses for initial teacher training. They examined the policy process of teacher education from a number of contexts. These were the context of
influence, context of text production and the context of practice. In particular, they wanted to explore the impact of policy change in terms of the nature of teacher professionalism on practice. Although they outlined the historical and comparative contexts of teacher training policy, this was done briefly.

The recent study by McCulloch et al (2000) reviewed and assessed changes and developments in teacher professionalism in England in the past half century. The study was based on documentary sources and face-to-face interviews with practising teachers and policy makers. The documentary sources included policy documents and official sources which were subject to the United Kingdom rule that opens official records to be released to the public after thirty years from their issue. The results of the study were developed from the use of a combination of documentary and empirical evidence. This combination of different research methods such as interviews and documentary sources, as McCulloch et al have noted, provided insights about the changes and developments in education over a considerable time.

In the present study the comparative and historical approach I employ is critical in nature. I examine the nature of initial teacher training reform efforts in some Western countries. I aim to examine processes that have been implemented in reforming teacher training in each country and to what extent they have been successful. Then, I examine the nature of initial teacher education in Egypt in terms of the process of developments that have been carried out. This will show
how much Egypt has been interested in following international trends. As I argued earlier the problems of teacher education in Egypt have two main causes. First, Egyptian policy followed international trends without considering the implications. Second, the policy focus has been to restructure the system without philosophy.

Issues of types of institution, types of curricula, types of certification, types of schooling, social class and gender are keys to understanding teacher training reform. The approach I use is comparative in the sense that it explores parallel and juxtaposed data; also, it advises policy makers about the possible consequence of applying particular policies and providing recommendations to enhance teacher education in Egypt. It is historical in terms of its concern in ‘describing and analysing how processes converge conceptually and diverge in the social complexities of apparently common phenomena. The pursuit is not national character and structures but historical processes, as perceived by participants, as negotiated into historical statements’ (Silver 1983, pp. 288-289).

Two types of unit of analysis are used as explained in Ragin (1987), an ‘observational’ unit and an ‘explanatory’ unit. The former is used in data collection and data analysis. The latter is used to account for the pattern of results gained. The observational units are types of institution, types of curricula, types of certification and types of schooling. The explanatory units are structural based reform and uncritical borrowing.
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In this study I wanted to address the issue of 'borrowing' and 'importing' uncritically teacher training reforms from other countries and recommending implementation in Egypt. Egyptian educationalists have rarely revealed exactly how successful these countries are in their reforms and the research is silent in terms of the controversy that has been undergone as part of the overseas experience. I want to reveal the controversy which has existed in teacher training reforms in the Western cases. I would like to show to what extent these countries have been successful in their reforms.

The overseas experience was investigated in the light of a review of the literature relating to initial teacher education with reference to the historical, social, political and cultural contexts. This means locating foreign case studies of initial teacher training reform within a consideration of the factors and forces that shaped them (Crossley and Vulliamy 1984).

In the data analysis, I use policy decisions and educational practices in Egypt. Also I use overseas experience to reflect critically on changes taking place in Egypt. This makes it possible, as Heafford has suggested,

\[
\text{to seize the opportunities to examine closely the educational practice of other countries not with a view to importing uncritically structures or methods, but in order to predict better the possible outcomes of particular policy decisions} \quad (\text{Heafford 1997, p. 237; italics added}).
\]

In particular, I examine in more detail contemporary reform initiatives in the overseas countries to show how Egypt borrowed from them. Thus, I am able to
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suggest the possible outcome of current policy decisions in Egypt if it imports uncritically structures of other countries' systems.

Comparative education and qualitative research in Egypt

In the previous chapter, I argued that the cultural resistance and a lack of interest in qualitative research methodology, influences a sceptical attitude against it and the time, effort and resources it needs. Egyptian researchers have a single-minded concern and respect of quantitative research methodology, not only in educational research but also in comparative education. Although that is the case in Egypt, the research studies in social studies in general are considered to be descriptive and the analytical content of the studies is poor (Korayem http://www.idrc.ca/books/focus/930/15koraye.html). This resulted from

The adoption of inappropriate approach, and/or the poor analytical capability of the research result in an inadequate handling of the research problem, as well as incomplete coverage of the research topic. Therefore, important parts of the research issue could be left unexplored (Korayem http://www.idrc.ca/books/focus/930/15koraye.html p.9).

The research process and the experience of researchers in doing their own research are not discussed. Researchers are not reflective about their research and they do not pay attention to the social process of research. Research on comparative education is done without discussing research methodology and issues which arise when doing comparative research. Researchers’ work is free of engaging in discussing other research strategies and their research position in
relation to these approaches. I do believe that considering qualitative research in Egypt is important and the use of quantitative and qualitative research methodology together could result in covering many issues in education that quantitative research cannot solely cover.

In Egypt, mention has usually been made of studying the educational practices of developed countries. It has been assumed that because these countries are advanced, they should be considered as role models and their experiences should be followed and imported. In fact, these countries have their own problems and to some extent, they are not satisfied with their own systems.

The Arabic literature points to the growing interest in and use of comparative studies. Researchers have made use of the descriptive method, and the analytical method, but they have rarely used questionnaires and interviews. They paid attention to comparing the system of initial teacher education in Egypt with other countries’ experience and the contemporary international trends in teacher training as well. I found Phillips’ (1989) explanation of how comparative data could be misused is applicable to the Egyptian case. He suggested that educationalists advocate following foreign models and praise them; otherwise they strongly criticize their home system. However, they hardly revealed the ‘processes’ through which prosperity is achieved. Yet, their judgments do not address many issues in the countries they are attracted to. Phillips (1989) also noted that:
Many of the immediate "attractions" of various features of other countries' education systems are sparked off by purely political motives: what might otherwise appear as fairly arbitrary policy decisions at home need legitimating, and perceived success of the same or similar policies in other countries may be imagined to serve that purpose well (p. 272).

In the same vein, Robin Alexander (2000) made a distinction between comparative education as a discipline and as a policy-directed international educational comparison which are different in kind and purpose.

The former....is first and foremost an academic pursuit which aims to expand the sum of our knowledge and understanding of the educational endeavour and whose policy application are subsidiary to this aim....in contrast, policy-directed international education comparison, as its label signals, originates in the policy context and/ or has policy problem and their solution as its principal focus. It may look to academe for methodological validation but what matters more is the extent to which it is seen by policy-makers to engage with their agenda (and indeed to take that agenda as a 'given' rather than as problematic), and whether it meets policy-driven definitions of relevance. Its principal aspirations are the accumulation not of knowledge which stands the test of verification or falsification, but of information which others will deem useful (pp.28-40).

Benhamida (1990) noted some weakness of comparative studies conducted in Arab states. Studies conducted in academic institutions have a narrower comparative scope and they emphasise the school itself irrespective of the social conditions that surrounded it. Studies carried out by the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO) are not involved in a debate over
theoretical issues and these studies mainly use statistical analyses. Benhamida (1990) asserted that:

Comparative studies in education are mostly empirical and descriptive in nature. They aim essentially at providing information. (this is not to be belittled in a situation where reliable information is often scarce and difficult to obtain. Moreover, because it is often difficult to collect information in his own country, a researcher can only be pleased to find data about other countries.) In this respect it should be pointed out that translation continues to be one of the main sources of access to information about foreign educational concerns, and of making it available to the Arab reader (p. 304; brackets in original).

Educationalists and researchers from Egypt and Arab states, who paid attention to the comparative education field, are mostly following the steps of comparativist leaders from America and Europe (Dahawy 2001). They are mainly dependent on comparative approaches that reflect the perspectives and assumptions of quantitative research.

I referred to the overseas experience to reflect and evaluate better reforms in Egypt; secondly, to show the influence of external factors on Egyptian society such as the pressure to follow international trends. On this basis, a historical dimension to the present study is very helpful. It provides insights on influences that encouraged this idea. This is especially as Crook and McCulloch (2002) explained

The growth of national interdependence and the phenomenon of ‘globalization’ have led to increasing
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attention being accorded to the nature of policy networks and of policy borrowing (p.398).

I have included this quote to show the significance of the influence of *exogenous* factors on Egyptian society. As May (2001) has noted,

> The influence of global capital on a culture, or the development of whole societies, affects that culture as an *exogenous* factor, particularly in terms of the relationships between western societies and the majority world (often referred to as ‘developing’) (p. 214).

This is to explain how the concept of, for example, globalisation has been used as an excuse to follow the steps of mainly developed countries. This trend was translated in many comparative studies that have been conducted in Egypt. Researchers saw the solution of teacher education problems in looking at Western advanced societies’ reforms and following them as well. Their belief was that changes should be made along the lines of the developed countries. May (2001) warned of the consequences that might follow from this:

> Comparative researchers cannot assume that their own countries, or those of others, are characterized on the basis of a single culture or shared value-consensus. This allows for a continuum between difference and similarity which is open to comparative empirical examination. A note of caution should be added here lest people think that the process of globalization will automatically combat such thinking. This may simply result in more global forms of ethnocentrism. The world may move beyond the researcher’s shores, only to finish at the frontiers of the west (p. 217).
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In fact, there are other exogenous factors that might have influence on countries, in particular developing countries; these include colonialism and neo-colonialism. The former succeeded in occupying the land and the mind of colonial people. Indeed, most occupied countries were freed but neo-colonialism has continued in colonial people’s minds. The colonial powers carried out their educational policies to impose their language and culture on the countries they occupied. This was done on purpose to wipe out the culture of the colonial people and to replace it with their own. Thus, occupying the minds of people led to more dependence on the occupier and made people have an interest in all that is Western.

Recently, dependent countries have gained their independence. However, a new tactic for continuing to occupy people’s minds has developed. International aid provided advice, aid and experts to previously occupied countries. Holmes (1981) attacked this intention and argued that:

Such technical advisers are neo-colonialists. Unwittingly they are cultural imperialists imposing, with the best will in the world, models of educational provision which may be ill-adapted and indeed not capable of adaptation by the nations whose governments have asked for help and advice. The difference between present-day technical experts (whether under contract to an international agency or on a bilateral programme) and the missionaries and former colonial officials is that the modern adviser rarely stays long enough in any country to be held personally responsible for either success or failure. There is no doubt that the development of education on the basis of rather crude cultural imperialism which frequently involves rather crude cultural borrowing still includes many unanticipated and unwanted consequences (p.33).
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With relation to the previous issue and in particular to teacher education research, Zeichner (1999) suggested another caution:

One of the issues that we will have to confront soon in this new generation of teacher education research is how to break down the arrogant and neocolonialist stance that is represented by the often one-way communication of research studies and finding from industrialized English-speaking countries to the rest of the world (p. 12).

Cultural domination and the nature of international aid of self-interest are clear examples of neo-colonialism. They contributed to shaping the process of decision making of reform in developing countries. Mazhero (1981 cited in Griffiths and Parker-Jenkins 1994) argued that:

Even in the clarification of educational objectives, the 'South' is forced to use basically Northern terminology and thinking as a precondition for identifying problems, formulating solutions and implementing reforms (p. 128).

In a comparative study one should be very careful in the sense of what should be imported and what should not. Indeed every country developed or developing has its own unique cultural, economic and social circumstances. I do believe that developing countries should not look at the experience of developed countries uncritically. However, it would be better to try learning from their experiences not in the sense of imitating or applying their policies but in terms of identifying the lessons that could be applied or avoided. Moreover, the use of comparative
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research evidence could be used as an instrument to anticipate the unintended consequences of particular policy borrowing (Finegold et al 1993).

Social reconstructionism

I believe that the use of the present comparative and historical approach could help to first identify some lessons in teacher education reform that could be on the one hand applied or on the other hand could be avoided. Secondly, it may help to anticipate the consequences of applying one particular policy borrowing rather than others. In other words, the model shows the unintended consequences of the proposed new reform in Egypt on teacher education in general, and on divisions between teachers in particular. Then, it highlights the motives, benefits and implications of applying the philosophy of social reconstructionism that was introduced by the American researchers Liston and Zeichner (1991) on teacher education. This philosophy presents a new approach to the way of teaching student teachers.

Undoubtedly, we live in a changing world. Every society becomes a changing society in a condition of political, economic, social, cultural and educational change. Accordingly, each society should aim at developing people who are able to cope with changes. Teacher education could help to achieve a society’s aims in this respect. According to the American researchers in teacher education Liston and Zeichner (1991),
teacher education ought to aim directly at developing teachers who are able to identify and articulate their purposes, who can choose the appropriate instructional strategies or appropriate means, who know and understand the content to be taught, who understand the social experiences and cognitive orientations of their students, and who can be counted on for giving good reasons for their actions (p. 39).

Zeichner and Liston (1991) fall into the social reconstructionist tradition with their oriented agenda for teacher education reform. They see teachers' reflections not only as being reflective about their teaching, but also as reflecting on the social conditions of schooling, for example, the classroom, the school and the society, in which their teaching takes place. Liston and Zeichner (1991) suggested a set of proposals for teacher education. They believe that:

"every plan for teacher education takes a position, at least implicitly, on the current institutional form and social context of schooling. Teacher education programs can serve to integrate prospective teachers into the logic of the present social order or they can serve to promote a situation where future teachers can deal critically with that reality in order to improve it (p. xvii; emphasis added)."

Teacher education programmes can influence the social conditions of teacher education and teachers' working environment. As a result future teachers can deal and handle these conditions in a way that would help the creation of a respected profession. This would be a starting point for teachers to situate their problems in a wider social context. Teacher trainers have an important role regarding this matter in the sense of helping future teachers to examine the social context of schooling.
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(Liston and Ziechner 1991) suggested that a teacher education curriculum that included the social conditions of schooling would prepare future teachers for the reality of schooling and encourage them to be reflective on their wider society.

There are several significant elements of social reconstructionist practices in teacher education, for example, in course content, the pedagogy and social relations within courses and the structure and organisation of programmes. These elements include the establishment of consistency and coherence between theory and practice; the view of teaching as a form of research in which teachers are researchers who are able to contribute significantly to knowledge about teaching; the focus on collaborative forms of learning both in academic courses and in practice; and the content of the teacher education curricula to reflect the perspectives of underrepresented groups in the school and university curriculum and so on (Liston and Zeichner 1991).

These elements are of great importance especially where disconnection between research, policy, and practice in teacher education is widespread (Zeichner 1999).

We know from much of the research on teacher education reform that program development has often been a reaction to the mandates of state departments and legislatures more than it has been a thoughtful, analytic, and forward-looking process based on the attempt to implement a set of coherent, well thought out principles and ideas about what teachers need to know and need to be able to do.....teacher education research has had very little influence on
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policymaking about teacher education both in the U.S. and elsewhere (p.12).

Zeichner (1999) argued that policy making in the United States has constrained teacher education. He claimed that policy makers are working in response to political pressures.

In doing so, they oversimplify and distort complex issues by mandating quantitative requirements—number of credits of this and number of hours of that—which do not correspond to the complexity of the issues involved (p.12).

Liston and Zeichner (1991) set out the social reconstructionist tradition as their oriented agenda for teacher education reform in the US. They agree that teacher education needs to be seen in relation to the inequalities in the larger society. Teacher education plays an important role in relation to problems in the wider society. In many countries through out the world, particular instances of economic, political and social transition have contributed to redefinition or construction of the educational systems (Coulby et al 2000). In the Egyptian context the problem of the massive inequalities of power and resources has clearly become a part of the wider society. Recently, the Egyptian community like all other communities has experienced the remarkable changes in the world, such as the transformation into a market economy under the pressure from globalisation. In Egypt, social mobility has had a significant influence on the society and also education, especially economic changes that have had an important effect on the Egyptian social structure.
Amin (1990) attributed the economic, social, political and intellectual crisis in Egypt to the changes in social structure and to a rapid rate of social mobility. Amin mentioned the key manifestations of economic, social, political and intellectual crisis in Egypt. For example, economic imbalances and distortions, domination of material values, increasing westernisation of social life, a lack of the sense of loyalty and the spread of low culture. With reference to the influence of research on the decision making process in Egypt, Korayem argued that:

The applicability of the research results in Egypt is marginal in the social sciences. The research outputs are not usually considered by the policymakers, no matter how relevant the research topics to the problems that the country is facing, or how sound the analyses and the conclusions reached. In Egypt, the design and application of policies are neither supported nor guided by serious research conducted by competent technical staff. This applies to the decision-making process in economics, education, and political science. The link between researchers and practitioners is missing (http://www.idrc.ca/books/focus/930/15koraye.html, p.8).

In terms of the problems of education in Egypt, private lessons were considered a response to inequality of educational opportunity (Razik and Zaher 1992). Good facilities and teachers are most often found in private schools rather than in state schools. According to Razik and Zaher (1992), because teachers sometimes give higher priority to private lessons than their work in school, parents seek to hire private teachers for the benefit of their children. The Ministry of Education and the Minister himself have entered in a war over the last ten years against teachers who
give private lessons. The minister made it clear that the whole society must be involved in this war against private lessons. According to the *Egyptian Mail* (2001), the minister’s speech to students to mark the new school year declared that:

> Private tuition is unacceptable in our society. We should all co-operate to fight it (p.9).

In a further work Zeichner (1993) discussed how the traditions of reform can help us to think about different approaches to teacher education. He draws on his own programme at the University of Wisconsin-Madison as an example for explaining the way that traditions of reform can lead to understanding approaches to teacher education. With reference to the term reflection the programme emphasised in particular the developmentalist tradition and the social reconstructionist tradition of teacher education reform in the United States. The concept of teaching expertise lies at the heart of the efforts of the programme and in which the use of the term reflection emphasises the developmentalist and social reconstructionist dimension of this concept. These dimensions mean

1. That the student teacher’s attention is focused both at their own practices and outwardly at their students and the social conditions in which their practices are situated.
2. That there is a democratic and emancipatory impulse in the reflection which leads to the consideration of the social and political dimensions of teaching along with its other dimensions.
3. That reflection is treated as a social practice rather than merely as a private activity.
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To gain these goals various strategies for the preparation of more reflective teachers have been tried such as, ethnographic studies, journal writing, action research and case study.

However, as Phillips (1997) asserted, it is not easy to import educational policies from one country to another; yet if they are, they must be adapted to the borrower country’s circumstances and conditions. Phillips (1997) also used Sadler’s (1900) famous statements that warn against careless use of foreign models and at the same time showed the value and limitations of comparative studies.

We cannot wander at pleasure among the educational systems of the world, like a child strolling through a garden, and pick off a flower from one bush and some leaves from another, and then expect that if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home, we shall have a living plant. (Sadler 1900, p. 49 cited in Phillips 1997 p. 286).

Also, Alexander (2000) objected to a particular type of borrowing and lending.

There is indeed no objection to educational borrowing and lending as such: far from it, for without it we are the poorer, intellectually, culturally and—just possibly—economically. The objection concerns the thinking that provokes borrowing as a policy response, and the way borrowing is done (p.42).

A further point that should be considered is the need to take into account the Egyptian historical, social, cultural and economic contexts. This is because the questions of teacher education for social change are in constant interaction with the history, culture, and traditions.
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of individuals, groups, and institutions as well as with the ways they and others have constructed knowledge, practice, and research paradigms at given moments in time and over time (Cochran-Smith 1998, p.922).

I found that some of the problems discussed in May (2001) in doing a comparative study are obviously reflected in conducting my work. These include problems of language differences, together with the time limit of the study, the risk of using surveys that should carry an equivalence of meaning, and the possible misunderstandings that happen in interviews. Also, practical difficulties in the sense of time and money have influences (Alexander 2000). Therefore I relied only on primary and secondary sources to review the overseas experience.

Comparisons between ‘developing’ and ‘developed’ countries are certainly problematic because of their wide cultural, social and economic differences. It should also be remembered that ‘borrowing’ policies from ‘developed’ countries such as England and the United States might not be desirable. Developed countries do not have a uniform approach to education, and they are constantly reforming and changing their policies. However, studying another education system provides useful insights into understanding my own country’s system of education (Ghany 1999).

These countries themselves raise the notion of substantial policy borrowing in which reformers pay attention to reforms introduced elsewhere. For example, the United States reformers show interest in policy borrowing from the English system.
and the British show the same interest in borrowing from the American policies (see for example Finegold et al 1993). Broadfoot (2001) criticized this notion of policy borrowing:

Not only is such 'policy borrowing' not being subjected to the careful cultural analysis that comparative educationists would regard as essential to any judgement about the potential utility of such techniques in a different context; it is also not informed by any more fundamental theoretical understanding of the factors that influence learning (p. 92).

Overall, it is possible to see one's own system more clearly when it is reflected against a different system, and differences can help point out features in one system that might be taken into consideration (Menlo and Poppleton 1990). Moreover, lessons can be learned by looking at developments in different parts of the world.

In this chapter, I have explored the two key traditions of the history of comparative education. I sketched out the approach I use in this study. Then, I discussed the value and limitations of the proposed approach. In the following two chapters, data from comparative and historical analysis will be illustrated.
Chapter Four

The nature of initial teacher education

reform: the historical and comparative context

In this chapter, I attempt to examine the nature of initial teacher education reform in various overseas contexts. England, France and the United States of America are the three main case studies that I will examine. These particular countries arouse my interest for several reasons. They share the same inherited divisions in teacher education as Egypt concerning the types of training institution and the curricular patterns. These divisions were rooted in types of education: elementary schooling for the masses and secondary education for the elite. In addition, they share the move to establish a unified system for all teachers. England was considered a leading country in Europe for teacher education at university in the 1960s. This movement from college to university was the result of educational research. In England there was

The easing of the clear lines of demarcation between the provision of teachers for primary and secondary schools, the establishment of an all-graduate profession, the tradition of research in education and the freedom enjoyed by teachers from excessive state intervention (Pritchard 1997, p. 223).

In France the abandonment of a concurrent model and the creation of Instituts Universitaires de Formation de Maîtres (IUFMs) in 1989 had theoretically unified
Chapter Four: The historical and comparative context

the status and training for all prospective teachers at both primary and secondary schooling (Heafford 1997; see also Bourdoncle and Robert 2000).

With reference to North America's system of teacher education, the social reconstructionist tradition for teacher education reform (Liston and Zeichner 1991), was considered of great interest.

First, I am going to write about each country individually. I will discuss the evolution of the initial teacher education system in each case. Then, I will examine the reform processes in the systems that have taken place. There will be a focus on the inherited divisions between primary and secondary teachers in which reform efforts in each country have addressed this problem of division between teachers and it has come to the heart of their reform processes of teacher education. Also, I assess the success that has been achieved as a result of these reform efforts. This will be followed by sketching out the similarities and differences between the selected countries in their reform efforts of teacher training. Finally, a general overview of some other overseas countries will be given.

Initial teacher training in England in the nineteenth century

Teacher education in England can best be understood in its historical context. It is 'a product of history rather than of logic' (Judge 1992, p.111). Judge (1992) argued that inherited divisions, which were created in the nineteenth century, mark teacher education in these two ways: types of institution of teacher education and curricular patterns. These divisions are rooted in types of education: mass
elementary education and elite secondary education. Teacher education provision was to 'match the needs of a differentiated school system (differentiated on the basis of social class as well as age)' (Maguire and Ball 1995, p. 232). In the later 19th century, the state's main concern was to establish the elementary school system for the children of the poor. Following the 1902 Education Act, the state was concerned also with the creation of a secondary school system. After forty years, a clear distinction between primary and secondary education was identified. Primary schools were known as the place for children up to eleven years old and secondary schools were provided for children over that age. The 1944 McNair Report on teachers and youth leaders pointed out that:

The failure to make this distinction between primary and secondary education in 1902 has resulted in the creation of disparate yet overlapping systems of elementary and secondary school, the existence of which has complicated almost every other educational problem, and not least the recognition, the training and the supply of teachers (Board of Education 1944, p.9).

In the 19th century, teachers were only needed to be 'trained' for the children of the working classes in elementary education. Teachers themselves were drawn from the same class and later the lower middle classes. It was unclear whether the teachers of the masses needed to be themselves 'educated' or whether they required only to be grounded in the 'basics'. Also, it was considered that teaching is a practical affair and this should be reflected in the training of teachers (Maguire and Ball 1995). Elementary teacher education was controlled by voluntary religious bodies (church) and supported financially by the state. Social and moral
training was the type of preparation that elementary teachers had in the nineteenth century (Judge 1992).

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the monitorial system of teacher education was introduced as the first systematic attempt to train teachers in England and Wales. In that system, the master taught the older students (monitors) and then they taught the younger ones. The monitor was to be about 10 or 11 years old. For half a century, the monitorial system survived because it was inexpensive and efficient as one master was able to teach many students. However, it was criticised for lowering the status of adult teachers and allowing inefficient young students to be responsible for teaching (Lawson and Silver 1973; see also Judge et al 1994).

The pupil-teacher system lasted throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. It provided education and training as well. Pupil-teachers were apprenticed to a teacher at the age of 13 for five years. They had to pass an annual examination conducted by the inspectors. Financial incentives were provided during their appointment. At the end of the apprenticeship, pupil-teachers could enter for a Queen’s scholarship examination. The brightest pupil-teacher was awarded a grant to enter post school training for a two-year course of study in training colleges provided by voluntary religious bodies (Lawson and Silver 1973; see also Gosden 1984; Judge 1992 and Judge et al 1994).

By the beginning of the twentieth century, widespread opposition to the pupil-teacher system was reported. That was as a result of putting immature and ill-
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qualified apprentices in the classroom and providing them with poor instruction (Lawson and Silver 1973). Generally speaking teacher training for the elementary school was criticised as inadequate. From the early 1890s university departments of education were developed as universities accepted the government’s calls to establish day training colleges to provide a secular alternative to the religious training colleges for elementary teachers. The affiliation to university elevated the status of elementary teaching and linked it to higher education (Judge et al 1994). Students took combined university and college courses. Lawson and Silver (1973) argued that:

The day training colleges were the first important step away from the denominational basis of training, and although in elementary education it was to be the local authority training colleges of the twentieth century that proved important, some of the foundations in the 1890s were intended to train both elementary and secondary teachers. Schemes for joint training coincided, for a moment of time, with the interest among some educationists in raising the professional status of teachers.... The schemes of the 1890s did not result in a unitary system of training or registration. The universities eventually developed postgraduate courses for secondary education and local authority colleges, alongside the denominational ones, were to be engaged mainly in training elementary teachers (p. 334).

Several universities opened secondary school departments as a response to consultation with a number of professional associations. In their view the appropriate pattern of education and training for secondary school teachers should be a first degree followed by a one-year post graduate course of training. Traditionally, teaching at secondary level required a university degree as evidence
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of academic qualifications. Secondary teachers were required to be admitted for a four-year course of education and training at a university. The first three years were provided to study for a university degree, and then the fourth was followed at a university training department (Board of Education 1944). By the end of the 19th century a dual system of concurrent and consecutive teacher training was created. The two-year concurrent course route at training colleges did not lead to a university degree whereas the four-year consecutive course route at a university did. Meanwhile, teacher training for secondary school teachers was voluntary but not for their elementary counterparts. The distinctive preparation of the two worlds of elementary and secondary teachers set them apart from each other (Judge et al 1994). This was what created a very sharp split between the two groups (Judge 1992).

Initial teacher training in England in the twentieth century

In the early twentieth century the local education authorities (LEAs) had their own training colleges (Taylor 1984). These training colleges provided a two-year course of general education and professional training, which led to a student's qualification of certificated teacher (Board of Education 1944).

The McNair Report (1944) observed that the regulations that controlled the elementary education defined particular qualifications for the teachers hired in them, whereas the regulations which directed secondary schools did not prescribe any such qualifications for the teachers to be employed in them. Moreover,
elementary teachers’ salaries were determined according to whether they were a
certificate holder or not. On the other hand, secondary school teachers’ salaries
were related to whether they were a graduate or not (Board of Education 1944).

This Report addressed the major weakness of the initial teacher training
system: the lack of a coherent system of initial teacher training as 100 institutions
provided the training of teachers without any relation to one another. The Report
recommended the need for an integrated training service. In the view of the
McNair Committee, two alternative proposals could achieve an integrated service.
One group in the McNair Committee suggested the creation of University Schools
of Education, while the other proposed the establishment of a system of
independent Joint Boards (See also Bradley 1984). The former group proposed a
scheme A for the creation of University Schools of Education. It recommended
that universities should involve themselves more effectively with the training
college. In their belief:

Our scheme places the training of graduates and non-
graduates under the same authority, namely the University
School of Education; and it makes institutions which are
approved for the training of qualified teachers of all kinds
an integral part of the School. We thus reject the idea,
which is sometimes suggested, that the universities should
concern themselves only with the education and training of
teachers of older children. Such a proposal is both
undesirable and impracticable. It is undesirable because
the teachers of younger children need to be well educated
and well trained, because the kind of education given in the
primary schools profoundly affects the educational
prospects of children when they reach the secondary
schools, and because, particularly when the educational
system is being unified, it would be doing a great
disservice to education to take a step which divided the teaching profession. It is impracticable because some students, very sensibly, do not make up their minds about the type of school in which they intend to teach until towards the end of their course of training, and because there is and should be mobility of teaching staff between primary and secondary schools. Further the fundamental studies and disciplines of all teachers, primary and secondary alike are, at their apex, the concern of the universities (Board of Education 1944, pp 51,52).

The second group favoured the encouragement of the existing Joint Boards as scheme B and of any new ones to be created. In their view

It is clear to us that the training colleges value the connection with the universities established by these Joint Boards and the attendant Boards of Studies and that they would welcome closer contact with the universities, provided that it takes the form of a partnership between equals and does not lead to the universities having a predominant influence in the training of the students in the training colleges (Board of Education 1944, p. 56).

In a spirit of compromise the Committee of Vice-chancellors and Principals (CVCP) proposed scheme C for the establishment of Institutes of Education as an alternative to the Schools of Education scheme A and the Joint Boards scheme B. Institutes of Education, based on voluntary, rather than compulsory co-operation between the universities and training colleges (Crook 1995) were to be set up. The course length was extended from two to three years. All students who successfully completed a concurrent three-year course in a training college got a university certificate awarded through the Institute of Education (Committee on Higher Education 1963a). The Area Training Organisations had been established to coordinate courses and training alongside colleges and universities (Taylor 1984).
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The McNair Report draws attention to an important issue, which was the distinction between elementary and secondary teachers with regard to using uncommon terms. Elementary staff were called Teacher and Head Teacher, whereas secondary staff were called Master (Mistress) and Head Master (Head Mistress). In their belief,

We regard this distinction as objectionable and an obstacle to the profession. We do not consider the matter to be one requiring a formal recommendation but we suggest that the Board of Education, by the example set in their official documents and in other ways, should encourage the use of a common terminology for primary and secondary schools in the future (Board of Education 1944, p. 44).

In the 1960s another system of higher education called polytechnics was developed. Higher education was very diverse. It included non-university colleges of higher education and polytechnics alongside the universities. Non-university institutions of higher education were divided from others in the higher education system (Judge et al 1994). During that time, the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) rather than the universities was involved in the validation of many awards for teacher education (Crook 1995). The nature of CNAA validation was that all teacher training institutions should submit proposals concerning the content of the new course. The proposals were explored in the light of council regulation and by council officers visiting them, and were subject to approval or rejection (Sharples 1984). This diversification distinguished between the university teacher training (voluntary) for secondary school teachers and the college (compulsory) course training for primary school teachers.
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Traditionally, teachers with degrees taught mostly in grammar schools whereas teachers holding teachers’ certificates taught in primary or secondary modern schools (non-selective secondary schools for the majority of secondary school pupils). Initiatives to change this situation were developed towards the establishment of an all-graduate profession. First, the Bachelor of Education degree (BEd) was introduced and secondly, the Post Graduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) was made compulsory for all graduates enrolling as teachers (Hoghin and Jarmany 1998).

The official Report of the Robbins Committee on higher education (1963a) revealed their attitude towards the introduction of the BEd Degree. They pointed out that:

We certainly do not think that all secondary school teachers should be graduates and all primary school teachers not. On the contrary, well-trained non-graduates are indispensable in a general secondary school system and much more useful for many posts than graduates with specialist degrees, and it would be an excellent thing if more graduates, men as well as women, entered the primary schools. Any division in the teaching profession between primary and non-graduate on the one hand and secondary and graduate on the other must be avoided. Yet, although the courses in Training Colleges for which degrees are awarded (or which count towards a degree) should certainly include courses open to future primary school teachers ... we are strongly opposed to any attempt to divide the profession by tying degree qualification to one type of school (Committee on Higher Education 1963a, p.113).

In the Committee’s vision the integration between colleges and universities and having the universities administer the colleges would improve the status of the
colleges and would elevate the stature of teaching prestige by making it a graduate profession (Judge et al 1994). The Report recommended the introduction of a four year Bachelor Degree of Education. Para. 333 of the Report declared:

Four-year courses leading both to a degree and to professional qualification should be provided in training colleges for suitable students (Committee on Higher Education 1963a, p. 279).

In addition, the Report recommended a change of name from “training college” to “college of education”. The BEd Degree was introduced after the Report of the Robbins Committee in the mid 1960s (Taylor 1984). The degree was validated by universities and awarded to suitable candidates after a four-year course (Bradley 1984). However, control over the colleges was rejected to be left to the independent universities (Judge et al 1994). Positive and negative effects shed light on the new movement. The academic study of education was moved to a higher level. However, these studies were not accompanied by the practical application of teaching, or pedagogy (Simon 1991).

In the 1970s the structure, organisation and content of teacher education changed. It became a joint responsibility of the new colleges and institutes of higher education, of polytechnics and of universities (Taylor 1984). The entry standard to the college of education was elevated to the same level as for the universities. Taylor (1984) pointed out that:

Changed institutional settings, a stronger academic emphasis, and a shift towards more conservative, subject-centred, instrumental educational purposes weakened and diversified what had been the core values of teacher
education. Industrial rather than professional models of teacher organisation were in the ascendant (p. 19).

Under the Conservative government's rule in the early 1970s the James Committee was established to review the education of teachers. The 1972 Report of the James Committee addressed many issues in the teacher training system. The college of education course length was extended to that of the BEd degree, but the relation of colleges to higher education was still unclear, and the academic content of the course was believed to neglect the professional concerns. The distance between the concurrent system of teacher education in colleges of education and the consecutive one in universities was believed to be unsuitable. The report argued that the dual system of teacher training must be ended by the establishment of two cycles of programmes for all teachers. The first is a well-planned phase of personal higher education and the second cycle is professional (DES 1972).

The 1972 Report of the James Committee expressed its view of the education and training of teachers as follows:

All teachers need to be well educated professionals but the specific kind of preparation a teacher needs obviously depends upon the kind of school in which he plans to work, his specialism (if any) and the age range of the children or young people he intends to teach. Differences in the preparation for teaching do not necessarily, however, denote any difference in the rigour of the preparation or in the intellectual demands on those who undertake it (p.67).

The Report recommended that:
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given an appropriate educational base, the professional training of all teachers should be the same in length and structure, however different in its emphases and the details of its content, and that preservice higher education and professional training for all school teachers should extend over at least four years. The fact that all initial teacher training will lead to the same professional qualification must reduce that divisiveness (between primary and secondary, graduate and non-graduate) which has bedevilled the teaching profession for so many years (p.67).

A restructuring of the pattern of general education and professional training for future teachers did not prevent the academic/professional divides because of its consecutiveness (Alexander 1984). The Department of Education and Science (DES) responded to the Committee proposals and refused to accept a completely consecutive approach (Judge et al 1994).

By the mid 1960s, and through until the 1980s, various versions of a new BEd degree were introduced. Firstly, a BEd degree was introduced following the Robbins Report’s recommendations. This one was criticised as a lengthened model following the same path as the overcrowded and over academic teaching certificate. The second BEd was proposed by the 1972 James committee’s Report to replace the BEd by an initial two-year diploma course of a general nature for all trainees in colleges of education, and a course of professional training which was carried out in association with an appropriate professional centre (Lawson and Silver 1973; see also the Report of James Committee 1972 and Alexander 1984). Then the third BEd was introduced by the 1980s as the four-year concurrent course had been phased back. Simon (1991) pointed out that:
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The universities in the 1960s, responsible for training only a small minority of the total teacher output, concentrated almost entirely on the secondary age range, largely preparing grammar school teachers in the traditional way, or as comprehensive education spread, subject specialist teachers for the new comprehensive schools. Only four universities trained a small number of primary teachers (p.377).

So far, the sharp divisions of the 19th century in teacher training still existed, as more colleges moved to the consecutive model in preference to the concurrent one. This shift showed that the university was the institution for secondary teacher training whereas the college was the place for primary teacher training.

Since the 1980s, the government has increased its control over colleges of education and universities and over the content of teacher training courses. Before 1984, teacher educators in universities and colleges controlled the education and training of teachers independently. They determined the knowledge base of teacher education courses, and they controlled the curriculum and assessment of teacher education. However, this freedom of teacher educators has changed as the government has taken over these responsibilities.

Under the Conservative government in the 1980s, the White Paper Teaching Quality (1983) called for significant differentiation in the training and deployment of teachers to suit the variety of tasks they undertook. It claimed in Para 3

The work of nursery school teachers with children beginning their schooling is very different from that of teachers working with small sixth form groups studying at Advanced Level, and differences are needed in content and approach if slow learners are to be helped and the most
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able stretched, in both primary and secondary schools (p. I).

The White Paper continued to draw attention to the need for the fit between teachers' qualifications, training, and the tasks they are doing in the schools. A mismatch between initial teacher training courses and the needs of the schools was indicated by HMI inspection surveys. Some teachers were asked to undertake teaching tasks in parts of the curriculum that they had not been prepared for in their education or training.

Traditionally one primary teacher was responsible for each primary class. Most courses of primary teacher training aimed at preparing them to teach across a broad range of the curriculum as class teachers. Meanwhile, the White Paper Teaching Quality (1983) noted in Para 33 that:

all primary teachers should be equipped to take a particular responsibility for one aspect of the curriculum (such as science, mathematics or music), to act as consultants to their colleagues on that aspect and, where appropriate, to teach it to classes other than their own (p. 10).

With regard to secondary teachers, most of them were subject based. However, the White Paper called attention to the need for

not only adequate subject expertise but also to have studied how to make their subjects accessible to pupils of different ages, needs and levels of ability, not least through lively teaching; how best to assess and promote the progress of their pupils, and the place of their subject within the whole school curriculum, and its applications in adult and working life (Para 34, p. 10).
The White Paper *Teaching Quality* (1983) recommended that the Secretary of State should establish criteria, which he would take into account in deciding on the approval of individual initial teacher training courses. Because of these recommendations, the Secretary of State decided to establish a Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE). The CATE set out in DES Circular 3/84 the requirements for approval of initial teacher education courses and the criteria for the award of Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) (DES 1987).

The establishment of the CATE in 1984 emphasised the provision of the phase-based nature of initial teacher training courses for pupils aged either 3/5-11 in the primary level or 11-16/18 in the secondary level. Initial teacher training courses for each phase were different. Secondary courses were required to prepare student teachers to teach one or two subjects, whereas primary courses were expected to include all the subjects of the primary curriculum, with the ability to co-ordinate one or two particular curriculum areas (Fursland 1997).

Another government concern was to focus on the professional and practical aspects of the system. The government increased its control over colleges of education and universities and over the content of teacher training courses. All teachers had to have knowledge of basic subject matter and professional aspects (Judge 1992).

The Secretary of State set out revised criteria in Circular 24/89 to replace the former circulars 3/84. It introduced new criteria and new requirements for the accreditation of courses of initial teacher training. The new approved course
prepared student teachers to work with pupils within a particular phase and age range, and in the case of secondary courses to teach specific subjects. It commented in Circular 24/89 that:

Courses should prepare students to teach either wholly or mainly in primary schools or wholly or mainly in secondary schools (DES 1989).

The age ranges for secondary courses to be covered were 11-16 or 11-18, whereas for primary courses they were 3 or 5-12, with emphasis either on the age range 3 or 5-8 or 7-11 or 12.

Under the 1988 Education Reform Act, state schools are organised into different divisions according to the age of children who attend them: primary schools include key stage 1 and 2 for junior level 7-11 years, and secondary schools include key stage 3 and 4 for the ages of 11-16/18 years. This is reflected in teacher training as primary school teachers have two routes to follow: either a four-year undergraduate program, or a one-year postgraduate certificate course in education. Secondary school teachers also have two routes to follow: either where a minority of secondary teachers follow a four-year undergraduate programme, or where they are awarded a first degree in a relevant subject then follow a one-year post graduate certificate course in education (Maguire and Ball 1995).

Circular 9/92 made revisions to the criteria for secondary training (DFE 1992). The time of teaching practice for student teachers was lengthened and particular periods were spent on core subjects. A shift from an input to an output approach in teacher education was decided to make teacher training more
practical than theoretical. Initial teacher training replaced initial teacher education as competencies were considered the only acceptable evidence of whether a course was effective (Jacques 1998). The definition of good teaching was tied to teacher competence. The government vision of the practice of teaching was to achieve the goals of the state curriculum. It was understood to be inherently a technical activity concentrating on a combination of discipline skills and specialized subject expertise. This view of teaching and of the pattern of the teacher training needed to support it is about techniques. Therefore, this vision transformed teacher education into teacher training (Judge et al 1994).

Because of the Secretary of State’s proposals in 1992 for 80% of the one-year PGCE course to become school-based, universities and other initial training institutions were developed to arrange for partnership with local schools. This led to the involvement of experienced teachers in the planning and evaluation of training courses, and in the selection, assessment and supervision of beginner teachers. As a response to educationalist critics who argued for an equitable balance for the PGCE, the course was divided into two-thirds of student time being spent in schools, with the remaining third in a higher education institution (Crook 1995).

In a break with recent traditions of teaching being an all graduate profession and a throwback to earlier approaches, the Secretary of State proposed in the draft Circular 14/93 for primary education, to develop one-year courses for
mature individuals with considerable previous experience of working with young children to teach at this stage. This proposal
discriminated among standards for teachers of different age phases, suggesting that teachers of young children did not need as much academic knowledge as other teachers ... it did not assume that a higher education background was relevant to teaching (Judge et al 1994, p.226).

However, Department for Education (DFE) Circular 14/93 for primary education attempted to open up the possibility of specialist primary initial teacher training courses instead of the generalist courses. Courses were expected to include preparation to teach the core subjects of the National Curriculum (English, Maths and Science). This Circular, The Initial Training of Primary School Teachers: New Criteria for Courses, encouraged the use of specialist teaching in primary schools especially at Key Stage 2. It is mentioned that:

Since the issue of Circular 3/84 the government exercised significant control over teacher education. In particular, the amount of main subject study was defined, the time students spent on practical teaching was detailed and the content of education courses indicated, albeit in broad terms. A precise number of hours were to be allocated to the preparation of students to teach English and mathematics. Teachers were increasingly expected to play a more prominent part in training (Jacques 1998, p. 17).

Courses of initial teacher training have become subject to almost continuous inspection by HMI working under the authority of the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED), who present their reports to the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) (Richards, Harling and Webb 1998).
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Furthermore, the Circular 14/93 proposed the creation of the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) as a successor to the CATE. The proposals aimed to regulate the relationship between universities and schools, set up a new standard for teacher training and to promote teaching as a profession. Teacher training was to become completely school-based and separated from higher education institutions, as the government was apparently more committed to expanding the school-centred initial teacher training than school-higher education partnerships. It meant taking schools out of HEIs/schools partnerships and shifting it entirely to schools.

Grimmett (1995) criticizes the government motives in England and other countries for the rush to introduce school-based training. He claimed that these countries were re-introducing the 19th century model of teacher training. He explained how government motives in the 19th century favoured industrialists who

Wanted a work force skilled enough to operate their machines but not capable of questioning their place in the socio/political system. The idea of teaching children to think critically, to ask questions and solve problems would have seemed to them a recipe for their demise. They made sure that that did not happen by their control of the school system and its funding (p. 205).

Pimm and Selinger (1995) claimed that currently in England the apprenticeship model of teacher training was back in vogue. In the government’s belief, schools were the best place for teachers to learn to teach, but not universities. Asher and Malet (1999) noted that in England the university/higher education contribution to the training of PGCE teachers has been limited to one-third of the year. In
addition, course components concerned with the education as opposed to the training of student teachers have been very much reduced.

Pimm and Selinger (1995) described this move of university based teacher education to school-based teacher training as a model of restructuring the system without purposeful reconceptualization. The national government implemented a radical restructuring of the system; however, this was not accompanied with reconceptualization of what it means to prepare teachers and how.

They go so far as to say that politically harsh restructuring has commodified education and teacher training in England. This happened when the government declared that the education system is in crisis and only market forces can save it. The government raised the slogan 'less is more'. This means less government in terms of privatisation, increased competition and decreased funding levels, while it produces more government in terms of increased regulation and interference in the practice of professionals. Pimm and Selinger warn that:

If teaching becomes so dramatically commodified, it is rendered simply an exchange, without the accompanying social, communal, gluing function which generates social cohesion (p. 64).

Teacher education institutions and teacher trainers reaction appear to have little resistance against political decisions. Grimmett (1995) warned that restructuring without reconceptualization represents change but not improvement. With reference to England, he argued that current change is taking part in the ruin of university-based teacher education.
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Under the Labour government since 1997 DfEE Circular 10/1997 Teaching: High Status, High Standards made the shift of training to schools but it left the quality assurance to universities. The intention of this Circular was to improve the quality of education and to raise both standards and teachers’ quality. The Circular represented the result of TTA advice to the Secretary of State regarding initial teacher training National Curriculum. The Circular set out new criteria for all teacher education courses and determined the content of English and mathematics which should be taught to all trainees on all primary initial teacher training courses. The document listed standards for the award of Qualified Teacher Status.

The planning of Key Stage 2/3 developed in institutions as a result of certain factors in the political and educational contexts: secondary teacher shortages in some subject areas, the issue of promoting continuity and progression between Key Stage 2 and 3, and the quality of primary teaching and learning at Key Stage 2. The TTA invited institutions to develop Key Stage 2/3 courses in the core subjects of the National Curriculum. The Department for Education (DFE) Circular 14/93 was revised to fit the requirements of initial teacher training courses for junior/secondary schools from 7 to 14 years old. Student teachers were required to enrol for one year Post Graduate Certificate in Education courses. Teachers were expected to attend for 18 weeks in schools for Key Stage 2, and then it was raised to 24 weeks to be equivalent to Secondary Post Graduate Certificate in Education courses (Fursland 1997).
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Fursland (1997) argued that while the development of Key Stage 2/3 courses has changed the idea of age-phase provision of initial teacher training, it has also created crises:

Teachers trained to teach the 7-14 age group will need to cast off age-phase blinkers and transcend the primary/secondary divide, in order to exploit the golden opportunity for promoting continuity and progression between the key stages which this course provides... it remains to be seen whether the structure of schooling will enable teachers trained on Key Stage 2/3 courses to fulfil their evident potential in linking specialist learning across the two phases, in addition to the valuable subject-specialist contribution at Key Stage 2 (pp. 145-146).

More recently, in the Green Paper Teachers: meeting the challenge of change (1998), the government has set out key proposals for all trainee teachers. For example; new national tests for all trainee teachers to guarantee high-level skills in numeracy, literacy and ICT; new pre-course provision for trainee teachers; review of the procedures for Qualified Teacher Status; a network of schools to pioneer innovative practice in school-led teacher training and a contractual duty for all teachers to keep their skills up-to-date (DfEE 1998 pp. 43-44).

To sum up, in England the different institutional identity between primary school teachers and secondary ones, the training of the former in non-university institutions and the training of the latter in university were tied with their professional identity, training and status. The distinctive preparation of the two worlds of elementary and secondary teachers set them apart from each other and created a very sharp split between the two groups.
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Through over many decades, several attempts have been proposed to diminish the gap between the two groups. The major reports in England (The McNair Report 1944, The Robbins Report 1963 and The James Report 1972) addressed the problem of division in the teaching profession between primary and secondary teachers. They rejected the idea that universities should concern themselves only with the education and training of teachers of older children. All these major reports suggested a restructuring of the pattern of teacher training: an integration between colleges and universities which could improve the status of the colleges and the status of teaching. However, the rhetoric of some recent policy documents (Circular 14/93) has discriminated between teachers of different age phases.

The government at first saw that the restructuring and shift of colleges of education to university could elevate the status of primary teachers and the status of the teaching profession as well. However, the government has changed its attitude and made another structural shift from university to schools as they are considered the best place for teachers to learn to teach. Over decades the main characteristic of the system has been restructuring. However, this was not accompanied with reconceptualization of what it means to prepare teachers and how.

The government has oscillated between the idea of teacher education and teacher training. Since the early systematic attempt to train teachers, the apprenticeship model of teacher training was introduced to determine the idea of offering classroom technicians and skilled teachers. During the 1960s, the concept
of teacher education replaced the concept of teacher training when the name of training colleges changed to colleges of education. Also, more recently the name of institute of education changed to school of education. These changes in the government attitude to teacher education highlight that restructuring the system has been implemented without reconceptualization. Moreover, restructuring has commodified education and teacher training as market forces have confirmed their control over it. So far restructuring has represented change but not improvement, because it has been implemented without reconceptualization.

**Initial teacher education in France in the nineteenth century**

In France, teacher education for primary and secondary teachers inherited two types of divisions: the type of institution and the curricular content. Furthermore, ‘Stated purposes, pupils’ social backgrounds, educational contents, pedagogical methods and teacher types were all different’ (Bourdoncle and Robert 2000, p. 72). These divisions are rooted in types of education: mass elementary education and elite secondary education.

From the early nineteenth century until the second half of the 20th century two parallel educational systems existed for different classes of students. The first provided an elementary level of education for the masses who had little chance of continuing beyond that level. The second provided education to the elite with the
opportunity of moving up to university. Those who entered the first system had no chance to enter university, and if they were attracted to teaching they could only be trained at an *école normale* as an *Instituteur* in primary schools. However, students who entered the second system that led to a university degree, could, if they wanted to join the teaching career, train to become secondary teachers as *professeurs* (Holyoake 1993).

Primary teaching did not require any specific training; it was dependent mainly on the Catholic Church. In contrast, highly trained priests, and clerics provided secondary teaching. The former was for the common people and the latter was for the elite. The French Revolution of 1789 determined the divisions between primary and secondary teachers. Primary teachers were called *instituteurs* and secondary teachers called *professeurs*. Napoléon took little personal interest in primary education. He focused his efforts on the secondary sector to provide the administrative and military elite with teachers trained in university. Primary and secondary education were separate. The responsibility for the teaching of all younger pupils was left to the clergy, whereas secondary or higher education was provided only by state establishments (*Lycées*). The division of responsibility between Church and State deepened the separation between primary and secondary (Judge et al 1994).

During the 19th century, primary teachers underwent considerable changes. In 1833 an *école normale de Garçons* for training male teachers was established. Candidates were required to have finished their primary schools to be able to enrol.
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Students were to be at least sixteen years old on admission. The number of students needed each year was determined by a competitive examination and successful students were supported by public funding and required to be boarders. Later the écoles normales for female teachers were created (Bourdoncle and Robert 2000; see also Judge et al 1994).

The course content they had was focused on religion and morals. Teaching methods were practised in affiliated primary schools and practical knowledge was vague and superficial. Their training was characterized by instruction with a prescribed academic content limited to what was necessary for the teaching task. Methodological techniques figured large and were carried out in a rigid and prescriptive manner. The training was carried out under a regime designed to ensure that the largely lower middle-class students who underwent it did not get ideas above their station, e.g. a full timetable which included many domestic duties (Heafford 1997, p. 238).

Initial teacher training in France in the twentieth century

Secondary teachers required a university degree, without any need for pedagogical training. They received university academic education, specialising in one discipline. Before World War Two, the Agrégés were the only established system to graduate professeurs. The Agrégation (later called Collèges d'Enseignement Technique) has been known as the traditional type of preparation for secondary school teachers. The Agrégation requires at least one year of further study and the possession of a Master's degree. It consisted of a competitive postgraduate written examination of a highly academic standard and the
submission of two theses, followed by an oral examination (Committee on Higher Education 1963b). Judge et al (1994) noted that:

The agregation served purposes other than the preparation for teaching, and in any case even for the lycée teacher practical experience in the classroom before being employed was deemed unnecessary while courses in educational theory were disdained as both useless and irrelevant (p. 45).

In 1950, a new certific (Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat de L'a Enseignement du Second Degré) was established alongside the Agrégés. It was considered to be a second order Agrégés. It is a competitive academic examination, taken one year after the award of university degree (Licence). Licence is a university degree involving the holding of the Diplôme d'Etudes Universitaires Générales and one year of further university study. There was one main difference between the two routes to teach in secondary education. While the Agrégés required no form of professional training, the Certific required enrolling in a one year programme of professional training. Successful students in the competitive examinations (Concours) were allowed entry to a one year course of professional training. The regional pedagogical centres were established throughout France to provide practical training for students from the faculties who had succeeded in the competition for the CAPES (Judge et al 1994 and see also Holyoake 1993).

The Centres Pédagogiques Régionaux were established for secondary school teachers and provided an almost entirely school-based year of training (Heafford 1997). Students holding a normal degree (first degree with honours Licence d'
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Enseignement) were recruited for an apprenticeship of training. The training consisted of three periods of nine weeks spent in different schools under the supervision of chosen practicing teachers. Teacher training in the CPR failed to achieve an appropriate balance between theory and practice. It is argued that the inefficiency of this model was a result of two contradictory approaches to teacher training. These are the apprenticeship and the full responsibility that had been given to student teachers for one or two classes during their training year (Brisard and Hall 2001).

In 1963, a decision was made to establish colleges of General Education (Collèges d'Enseignement Général). This meant the need to reclassify the upper primary schools classes into Collèges. Students from age 11 to 15 were required to be attending in the new level. This educational change required adjustment in the type of training that teachers have taken. A third category of teachers was created. It was distinct from the général instituteur (teach below the age of eleven) and the specialist professeurs (teach in the lycée specializing of a subject). Teachers needed to specialize in two subjects. They provided supplementary education and training beyond that which was given to instituteurs in Centres attached to the écoles normales. Teachers were called professeurs and not instituteurs. However, they are in French terms, neither polyvalent nor monovalent but bivalent. Their salaries are lower, their hours of service higher than those of the certifié and agrégé, but their salaries are higher, and their hours of service lower than those of the instituteur. Their own teachers in the centre at the école normale may be by an odd paradox of history, agrégés from the university world, but in their own education and training there is no formal
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or informal connection to that world (Judge et al 1994, p. 33).

The two distinctive cultures of teachers were clear in the sense that the university is the place for the Agrégé and the Certifie teachers, while the Instituteur training and education has no link to higher education. The two patterns of teacher education were situated in fundamentally different and essentially unrelated institutions.

After 1968, the entry requirements to the écoles normales were raised: to the Baccalauréat (traditionally a secondary examination). There was a continuing shift away from early recruitment towards a pattern of student admission after the Baccalauréat. Once student teachers passed the Concours, they either enrolled in a four-year course if they entered without possessing the Baccalauréat, or enrolled in a two-year course for students who already hold the Baccalauréat upon entry. In a four-year course students were prepared in the first two years for the Baccalauréat focusing on general education in preparation for that examination, then they could continue with a further 2 years of concurrent training. In addition, course students were required to attend one month’s teaching practice in each term or each term of the third and fourth years (Committee on Higher Education 1963b).

The entry of students to the école normale was possible through a Concours, a competitive examination. In 1973, a significant step was taken in the abolition of the Concours for entry to the école normale before the Baccalauréat. The two-year course as a simple Baccalauréat plus two years was lengthened to three years. After completing their Baccalauréat within the école normale, a fourth year of
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study and practice of extremely focused professional training was given. Teachers whose backgrounds were in secondary education taught these students. A minority of students were recruited after completing a general education leading to the Baccalauréat in the Lycée. The qualification standard for students was to succeed in a competitive examination to be qualified to be recruited in the école normale for a two-year course of professional training. When students were admitted to training they were paid and at the end of this training the novice teacher was appointed to a first post in the same place where training was given (Judge et al 1994).

In an attempt to raise the academic quality of primary teachers, the Diplôme d'Etudes Universitaires Générales were established in 1973 for école normale students. Prospective primary teachers needed a minimum qualification of 2 years post Baccalauréat (DEUG). Then, holders of DEUG could enter the competitive examination and successful students were allowed entry to an école normale to follow a two year training course. This model was criticised by students, as it was considered not equal to a mainstream university DEUG. A formal university DEUG was required to enrol on primary training courses and then students preferred to take their first degree as a Licence to enter the école normale (Heafford 1997). The école normale’s only mission had become that of an establishment to serve the needs of university graduates seeking a career in primary teaching.
Another aspect of the division between primary and secondary teachers was indicated in the level of salary they received. It was determined according to the level of academic qualifications and the number of hours of work per week. Holyoake (1993) expressed this aspect of the division and other dissimilarities between the two cultures of teachers as follows:

Instituteur had the lowest minimum qualifications (DEUG), the highest number of hours (27) per week and the lowest pay scale. At the other end of the range is the agrégé [2] (who has even higher academic qualification than the professeur certifié), who has the lowest number of hours per week (15 compared with 18 for the professeur certifié) and the highest pay scale. The instituteur had always been thought to need the longest period of professional training, both practical and theoretical, whereas the latter's qualification were entirely academic and the period of practical training was very much shorter. The instituteur not only had, obviously, to teach more than one subject, but also had to cope with the whole of the ability range: extra subject and professional training for such teachers was, therefore, thought necessary, especially as they had lower academic qualification and, in any case, they had to cope with many who were poorly motivated and had learning difficulties. The agrégé, on the other hand, might argue that his or her responsibility was to the subject; this might mean that the favoured method of instruction was the brilliant cours magistral directed at a homogeneous, academically motivated élite. If the class could not cope that was their problem. If the agrégé was concerned about the presentation of his subject, as well as its content, he would hardly be likely to seek help in the form of professional training from teachers whom he considered less clever or at least engaged in a dubious, non-academic discipline such as teacher training (La didactique) (p.224).

During the socialists' rule, in 1989, the structure and organisation of teacher training were radically reformed. The Institut Universitaires de Formation de
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Maîtres were created as an institution of higher education with a university character, but they were not an integral part of any university. Each education region in France was to have its own institute. The pedagogical requirements of teacher training were left for each individual institute to determine. All the écoles normales were abolished together with the CPRs. Their building was used to house the new IUFMs. The new system was piloted first in three education regions and then all the regions’ institutes were established within only a year. The government’s aim was to promote the ‘emergence of a professional culture common to all teachers irrespective of specialists, disciplines and levels of teaching’ (Ministère de L’a Education National: Circuler No. 91 202, 2 July 1991 quoted in Asher and Malet 1996, p. 273).

The IUFMs offered a two year training course for both primary and secondary teachers. The entry requirement was a Licence (a university first degree). The course took two years. The first year of training emphasised the preparation of the theoretical part of the CAPES teaching qualification. It was a university taught course ending in a competitive examination (Concours) to gain the qualification to enter the second year of the course. A quarter of the first year was devoted to teaching practice and to reflection on that practice. The second year focused on educational theory and professional training in the classroom. The new reform emphasised the practicalities of teaching. The traditional models of practice were replaced by systems in which schools play an increased role in the training and assessment of students. Prospective teachers were required to spend 6 hours a
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week of practical work in a school under the supervision of a teacher educator (tuteur), followed by the production of a professional dissertation in which students reflect on a particular problem relating to their practice. A further 6 weeks of collaborative teaching practice in another school was required where an experienced teacher was responsible for the supervision of trainee teachers (Asher and Malet 1996; see also Asher and Malet 1999; Heafford 1997 and Brisard and Hall 2001).

The establishment of the IUFMs generated controversy. The opponents of the new system criticized the hasty action and the rush to generalize the new institutions throughout the country. Sufficient time for assessing the creation of the new system was not carried out (Bonnet 1996). Bonnet also explained that the reason for expanding the new scheme in haste might be a defensive plan to avoid party political controversy. Asher and Malet (1999) noted that:

the IUFMs have swept away the distinct and separate cultures represented by the primary school instituteurs, traditionally charged with delivering a broad basic education, and their secondary sector counterparts, the professeurs, responsible for higher-level subject specialisms. Teacher training has been placed under the overall supervision of universities, and both primary and secondary teachers, who now share the title professeur, receive their training in the same institution instead of their respective Ecole Normale and Centre Pedagogique Régional (CPR) (P. 72).

To develop a common professional culture among teachers, a common programme (formation générale) of educational and professional studies was established. All trainee teachers whatever the sector in which they intended to
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teach were provided with training sessions on the organisational, sociological and historical aspects of the education system. Then a phase particular component for teachers intending to specialise in primary or secondary teaching was provided (Asher and Malet 1996).

The *Instituts Universités de Formation des Maîtres* (IUFMs) were created in France to fulfil certain aims. These aims were to increase recruitment and to unify the training and professional status of primary and secondary school teachers. In addition, both kinds of teachers were to provide a new training programme which aimed to promote teaching as a profession and enhance its image and status. A graduate level of qualification for all future teachers was required (Brisard and Hall 2001). Currently, both primary and secondary teachers have the same training structures and they train according to similar training programs (Bourdoncle and Robert 2000). In France that appeared to be the way to build close relations between primary and secondary school teachers and to raise the professional status of the primary ones. Currently teacher training in France is:

going through a process of rationalisation that in France involves moving from a dichotomous model, based on charisma on the one hand and routinization on the other, to an increasingly professional model, common-at least in part-to both primary and secondary school teachers (Bourdoncle and Robert 2000, p80).

The creation of IUFMs in 1989 in France has theoretically unified the status and training for all prospective teachers at both primary and secondary schooling. It unified the training and the titles of both kinds of teachers. Asher and Malet (1999) mentioned that the reform of teacher training has been radical as traditional
systems and institutions have been phased out. They claimed that the creation of IUFMs and the trivialisation of training curricula concerned with classroom practicalities have threatened universities. Asher and Malet (1999) argued that:

"In England, just as in France, the reform of ITT has come about through the imposition of the will of central government and is a reflection of its particular interpretation of the educational and social world (p. 74)."

"The instituteur and the professeur still lived in different worlds and their professional training was again being kept apart from the university" (Judge et al. 1994, p. 93). From his own French experience (Judge et al. 1994) Lemosse wrote critically expressing his discomfort with the traditional and the current system of teacher training. He noted that:

"Many European countries, and some even to this very day, have long drawn a line between the primary and the secondary sectors, the mass of the people and the learned minority. As the story of my own experience revealed, instituteurs and professeurs were still in separate worlds: not only were the latter considered to be more than a notch above the former, but they did not receive the same salaries, their teaching loads were different, they did not join the same unions and they went through very contrasted forms of training. This was so true that it was not until 1991 that the two species of teachers were given the same name (professeur) and trained in the same Institutes of Education (though rarely in the same classes and sometimes not even in the same buildings) (p. 98)."

Two major problems have been identified in the new system: the gap between the theoretical and the practical elements of the course; and the types of modules that were presented, *formation générale* and *formation commune*. The setting up of a competitive examination at the end of the first year of training prevented any
practical application that is related to subject knowledge. The first year of training was criticised for being highly academic. The modules of the second year of training were criticised by trainee teachers for being irrelevant to the realities of the classroom and to students' expectations and needs. In addition, the common elements of the programme were not successfully integrated. These problems could be explained in terms of the staff appointed in the IUFM and the tradition of academic orientation in secondary teacher education. Most IUFM staff came from former écoles normale or the CPR. They provided a type of training, which did not agree with the new model of reform. The inherited vision of considering pedagogies and basic educational disciplines in a low position and the belief that secondary teachers required no practical training meant that:

the collaboration of the university, the IUFM and the schools, in a common, professional preparation for elementary, secondary and vocational teachers at post graduate level after 1989 was a small revolution indeed (Brisard and Hall 2001, p. 193).

Holyoake (1993) criticized claims that primary and secondary teacher training programmes were currently identical and that the focus in secondary training had been shifted from subject to professional studies. He said that the common course covered only 10% or less than this, within two years. In addition, the shift of emphasis from subject to professional studies did not exist. Formerly, secondary teachers were required to hold the Licence and the Concours for CAPES. Currently, the Licence qualification is still the same, but the difference is that the Concours still has to be passed but at the end of the first year in the IUFM. During
the first year prospective teachers follow a course, which occupies nearly three quarters of the timetable. It aims to enhance the quality of training in preparation for Concours tests most of which is still subject based.

Holyoake (1993) also examined the arguments of intellectuals in France who have opposed the new reform. He argued that the pedagogical argument and the political one are moving through each other. In pedagogical terms the reform was seen by some intellectuals to trivialise secondary education by ‘modelling’ it on primary education in which teaching methods (pedagogy) requirements are considered to be more important than the content of subject matter. They opposed two things, first, a shift of values to more practical training, and second, the actual aim of the reform. They believed that the aim is not to make teachers perform more effectively, but to transform the profession and the educational system. It means many pupils could move through the educational levels successfully. In their beliefs, this would destroy secondary education as it should be an extension to the primary one. As for the political argument, the reform in teacher training is seen as a political process. Its aim is to attack the cultural values of the Right by the Left (Socialist Educationalists). The French Right Wing accused the socialist government of seeking to undermine the educational levels that are traditionally associated with the privileged.
Traditionally, divisions between the two groups, elementary and secondary, were indicated where teacher education takes place. Elementary teachers did not require a university degree whereas secondary ones did, but without any need for pedagogical training. This reflected the idea that primary school teachers were responsible for delivering a broad basic education, while secondary teachers were responsible for higher-level subject specialisms. The separate culture was maintained also in the use of different titles for primary and secondary teachers. The consecutive graduate model of teacher training was the only and dominant one to prepare secondary school teachers. On the other hand the concurrent model of teacher training was for preparing primary school teachers. Currently, a graduate model of teacher training was common for both types of teachers.

The new structural shift aimed to unify the training and professional status of primary and secondary school teachers and to promote teaching as a profession and enhance its image and status. The new reform had theoretically unified the status and training for all teachers. However, traditional attitudes which were deeply rooted in French culture towards divisions between primary and secondary teachers in terms of pedagogies and basic educational disciplines still existed in the
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mind of intellectuals and political parties. As in England, according to the new reform, schools have played an increasing role in the training and assessment of students. Once again restructuring was implemented without reconceptualisation.

Initial teacher education in the United States of America in the nineteenth century

As in England and France, elementary teachers in the USA were trained in normal schools, whereas secondary level teachers were trained in colleges and universities. In 1880 colleges and universities began to establish chairs of pedagogy to meet the growing need for secondary school teachers. In 1823, the first school for the training of teachers was private, and was established in Concord, Vermont. Later in 1839 Horace Mann in Lexington, Massachusetts, created the first public normal school. The system of mass elementary education was tied to the formalization of teacher training in normal schools (Altenbaugh and Underwood 1990).

The public normal schools opened to train female teachers. In the early 1800s, a large number of teachers were men; however, in the mid nineteenth century women were recruited into teaching and dominated the field. They received lower salaries than their male counterparts. Part of the salary difference between female and male derives from the tradition of paying secondary teachers more than elementary ones (Sedlak and Schlossman 1986). Traditionally, high school teachers earned more than elementary teachers; however, in the 1940s a uniform salary was introduced. A number of factors had affected teachers' salaries, for example, gender and level of teaching. Moreover, types of school
systems had also affected teachers’ income as urban teachers earned more than rural teachers. Similar to this were levels of community, social class and regional location. Teachers in the Northeast and West were paid higher salaries than their colleagues in the South. In addition, black teachers earned salaries which were less than white teachers (Sedlak and Schlossman 1986).

Teaching was seen as a woman’s job. Many local schools recruited women because of their suitability to teaching and their acceptance of lower salaries. Gender differences in the teaching profession varied significantly by educational levels. Since the mid 19th century elementary schools teaching positions were dominated by women whereas, high schools mainly attracted men teachers (Sedlak and Schlossman 1986).

The occupation’s image and status and public perception have been affected by the growing feminisation of the teaching force. Moreover, it has been affected by the professional preparation and academic ability of future and practicing teachers. In the 1930s, only 10 percent of the elementary teachers compared to 85 percent of secondary teachers held bachelor’s degrees. Over decades states have raised the certification standards. By the 1950s, the differentiated formal training of teachers at different educational levels had been demolished. Elementary and secondary teachers required college degrees. In addition, the tradition of high school teachers possessing master’s degrees in their subject specialism was extended to include an increasing percentage of elementary teachers (Sedlak and Schlossman 1986).
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In his examination of the historical roots of the low status of American teacher education, Labaree (1995) argued that market forces have led to the low status of teacher education. He identified two market influences on teacher education that shaped the system throughout the 19th and early twentieth centuries. One came from employers (the school district authorities) and the other came from consumers (student teachers). School districts needed a large number of teachers and normal schools agreed to provide this number in spite of unpleasant consequences that could follow. The target was to offer large numbers of teachers as quickly and cheaply as possible. The result was that both the content and the status of teacher education have been affected negatively. The second influence came from student teachers. They rejected the idea of a single purpose school that could lead them to a single career. Instead they preferred a general purpose institution which could provide them with a maximum degree of choice and with access to a large number of desirable careers.

The two market influences have imposed a social-efficiency function and a social-mobility function. In Labaree's (1995) words,

The first imposed a social-efficiency function on these schools, which required them to subordinate concerns about institutional status and effective professional education to the pressing social need for teachers. However, the second market influence imposed a social-mobility function on normal schools, which required them to provide the kind of educational choices that would best serve the needs of students who were competing for desirable social positions (p. 56).
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During the nineteenth century the adopted teacher education system mainly in New England was borrowed from Europe, and especially from Prussia. The adopted approach consisted of four basic components: subject knowledge, the art of teaching, the government of the school, and practice. The normal school was considered a one-purpose institution whose only function was to train elementary school teachers. The normal school was believed to be the place to train teachers for the common schools and not to train secondary education teachers (Altenbaugh and Underwood 1990).

The early training pattern at the normal schools in New England superseded intellectual concerns. Altenbaugh and Underwood (1990) argued that:

The founders of the early schools were weak on pedagogical theory, since most were ministers or politicians rather than educators. They saw the need for morality, literacy, and a modicum of factual knowledge but demonstrated little interest in fostering creativity, imagination, or independent thought in children. “They wanted the United States to become a politically stable nation of thrifty, virtuous, hard-working citizens and saw the public schools as instruments for promoting that goal”. They never intended that normal schools would become institutions of higher learning. An elementary teacher simply did not require a liberal education (p.140).

Unlike the case in New England, the Midwestern and Western normal schools experience was significantly different. Early normal schools were considered as an extension of American secondary education. They did not differ in their curricula and functions from private and public high schools. They focused more on academic preparation than on professional training. They never become a single purpose institution and later they were to become a people’s college. High school
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teachers were educated in normal schools and teacher colleges (Altenbaugh and Underwood 1990).

Initial teacher education in the United States of America in the twentieth century

By the 1920s, a second stage of transformation of teacher education in the United States had taken place. Many state normal schools had become teachers' colleges. The significant expansion of the secondary school sector and the determination of some school leaders to provide more than training to elementary school teachers led to the introduction of a bachelor's degree in teachers' colleges. By then, the original mission of the schools no longer focused on teacher training as the central mission but it changed when other curricula, mainly liberal arts, came to dominate (Altenbaugh and Underwood 1990).

A third stage of transformation of teacher education took place in the 1960s. It strengthened the connection between teacher training and higher education. Several teachers' colleges were transformed into multi purpose state colleges or state universities that offered liberal arts and other degrees as well as education degrees. Teacher education functioned as the central mission of the new institutions. As the institutions became more multi purpose, more male students enrolled in them. It was assumed that training elementary and secondary teachers together might elevate the status of the elementary teachers (Altenbaugh and Underwood 1990).
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By the 1960s, the whole of teacher education had joined higher education. Students first had to complete one or two years of college undergraduate study, and then apply to teacher education programmes. Candidates were accepted into these programmes according to their college academic records and interviews. The entry requirement for the teaching profession for both elementary and secondary teachers became the bachelor’s degree (Judge et al 1994).

Despite the fact that the entry standards for both elementary and secondary teachers were equivalent, their course target was different. Elementary teachers had a remarkable number of courses in education while secondary teachers had only a few. The result was that elementary teachers had little knowledge about subject matter and secondary teachers had little preparation for the practice of teaching (Carnegie Trust 1986).

The initial education and training of teachers has been carried out entirely at the undergraduate level to prepare classroom teachers. However, graduate schools of education have prepared educational administrators and specialists. Judge et al (1994) noted that American teachers saw themselves as one undifferentiated professional group. They have long been classified as K12 teachers which means they could deal with six-year olds or eighteen-year olds. The concept of K12 insists that educating a child is a continuous process and any barriers that might have existed between elementary and secondary education have been demolished.

However, quite recent reform proposals (Holmes 1986) might diminish the common identity of the profession and create a differentiated professional ‘cadre’
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of American teachers (Altbach 1989). The report argued for replacing the undifferentiated approach of teacher education in which all teachers have the same rank to a differentiated approach in which a new elite category of teachers would have authority over regular teachers (Hallinan and Khmelkov 2001). The report addressed two themes, first, providing the best education for teachers to make them the best educators. The second was providing professional training to teachers to allow them deliver a high level service (Soltis 1989). The key aim to the Holmes group was to professionalise teaching by raising the level of professional knowledge that teachers receive during training. The Holmes Group (1986) called for changing the framework of education courses in universities. They suggested a structural shift in the preparation of elementary and secondary teachers.

The Holmes Group (1986) proposed to eliminate undergraduate teacher education programmes. It required that all prospective teachers should have a liberal education major and a graduate programme of teacher education. It was reported that:

The curriculum for elementary career teachers would require study in multiple areas of concentration (each equivalent to a minor) in the subject. Fields for which teachers assume general teaching authority and responsibility (The Holmes Group 1986, p. 95).

The secondary teachers programme required entering students to hold a Bachelor’s degree in fields appropriate to their teaching specialisms. In addition, prospective career teachers were required to meet the Graduate School career
teachers admission standards. In fulfilment of these requirements successful students could enter a fifth-year at graduate level. They studied their teaching specialism in the graduate level with field-based experience to show them how to deal with the problems of teaching at school. The Holmes Group (1986) proposed that:

the curriculum for secondary career teachers would include significant graduate study in their major teaching field and area concentrations in all other subjects they would teach (p. 95).

Feinberg (1989) argued that the Holmes Group recommendation that elementary school teachers should have the equivalent of a minor in each of the subjects they would teach would result in teachers having too much material and too little depth.

The Holmes Group Report (1986) recommended that the teaching profession should be divided into three different professional categories to achieve professional status. They called for changing teaching’s traditional career structure to improve both teaching quality and teacher education. They wanted to cure deficiencies in the traditions of recruitment, norms of preparation and work conditions. During times of teacher shortages, emergency certificates and weak credentials were introduced to remedy the situation. This affected the quality of teaching and the career image. To avoid such problems in future the Holmes group suggested the idea of differentiating the career. Their target was to improve the quality of teaching, and to attract and retain a competent teaching force (Sedlak 1989).
The first category was called ‘instructors’ and the other two positions were called ‘professional teachers’ and ‘career professional’. Instructors were considered to be temporary staff employed for no more than five years. They do not carry tenure, as they have not got graduate qualifications in teacher education, whereas the professional teachers and career professionals carry tenure as they have got a graduate qualification. The professional teachers need to pass certain tests to qualify for a masters degree in teaching. The career professionals were expected to constitute about 20 percent of the teaching force. They were allowed to participate in many activities in the course work with student teachers after completing the equivalent of a doctoral degree and passing professional tests in their field of specialization. They would teach the fifth-year students in the secondary programme. And they would be involved in many duties such as: classroom teaching, supervisions of teacher trainees, participation in research and in university education programmers and participation in school level decision making (Darling-Hammond 1989).

Feinberg (1989) was critical about the unclear language of the Holmes Group regarding the issue of instructors. The report referred to ‘so-called’ beginning instructors, but it did not define whether beginning meant an individual instructor who is just starting to teach or whether it meant instructors as a group who because of their status are thought to be beginners. Futrell (1989) has raised another point on the same issue. She explained how the report proposal for instructors seems to contradict the group’s argument that effective classroom practice required teachers
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who have good knowledge of learning theory and child development. She wonders how this argument could relate to the rank of teachers who have not completed or even started a teacher preparation programme. She argued that the creation of hierarchical teaching levels would inevitably create divisiveness and non-commitment to the profession of particular levels of ‘transient’ teachers.

Conley and Bacharach (1989) raised another problem with the idea of differentiated careers. They noted that when specifying different categories of teachers a link is made between these categories and certain sets of responsibilities. Therefore, the duties of teachers at the top level of the hierarchy are considered to be more professional and more important than those at the lower levels of the hierarchy. Darling-Hammond (1989) is not convinced that the creation of differentiated careers in which roles are linked to credentials, will solve the larger problem of the nature of good teaching. She is concerned about tying certain activities to a special level of teachers and preventing other teachers from being involved. She noted that:

If other “professional” teachers are barred from such activities, they will have been misnamed, for the foundation of a profession is not permission to practice autonomously, it is shared responsibility for collectively shaping standards of professional practice. Once certified, professionals must be expected to assume this responsibility. The avenues for contributing to improvement of practice are many and varied; they need not be bureaucratized and credential-bound. Rather than professionalizing teaching, this vision of a titled and privileged elite reinforces the status quo of top-down management in schools and undermines a truly professional conception of most teachers’ work (p. 46).
Similarly, Futrell (1989) expressed discomfort with the idea of differentiated career. She is critical about the Holmes proposed reward system which is in her view not rewarding teachers for what they actually do but for attaining high credentials. She is wondering what K12 teachers would benefit from having a research degree if K12 teachers are not in the research business. She is suggesting that instead of imposing a higher education standard on elementary and secondary teachers, an appropriate system for K12 should develop from the realities of its practice. She is also critical about the idea of eliminating the undergraduate degree in education. She reported how the report is silent about addressing the many difficulties that elimination may cause. These are, the fate of existing faculties of undergraduate education programme, the economic impact on small colleges with large enrolments or education degrees, and other problems.

Feinberg (1989) was critical of the Holmes Group Report in its limited conception of the professional components of a teacher training programme. Feinberg noted that the report did not mention in the list of components of the curriculum anything that relates education to the context of the larger society. He said that:

> If teachers are to be more than simply classroom technicians, they will need to develop the interpretive and normative skills required in order to understand the larger social context of their own work (1989, p. 63).

Another report presented in the same year (1986) called for restructuring of teacher education to elevate the status of the teaching profession. The Carnegie task force produced *A Nation prepared: teachers for the 21st century*. In their
vision, prospective teachers required a bachelors degree in the arts and sciences as a prerequisite for the professional study of teaching. They clearly expressed their beliefs as follows.

Four years of college education is not enough time to master the subject to be taught and acquire the skills to teach them. The undergraduate years should be wholly devoted to broad liberal education and a thorough grounding in the subject to be taught. The professional education of teachers should therefore take place at the graduate level. An alternative might be to combine the undergraduate program and a graduate degree program, awarding both the bachelor’s and the graduate degree. In either case, the states and higher education institution should abolish the bachelor’s degree in education (p. 73).

They went so far as to say that:

Elementary teachers need such solid undergraduate preparation as much as secondary teachers. Elementary and secondary teachers impart our common culture, heritage and values to our children. It is terribly important that they be fully prepared for this task. Elementary teachers are typically responsible for a much wider range of subjects than secondary school teachers, but this cannot excuse a less than rigorous grasp of the material for which they are responsible. Elementary teachers must be able to demonstrate a substantive understanding of each subject they teach. This may mean that elementary teachers will have to organize themselves differently and teach fewer subjects (p. 73).

The report recommended developing a new professional curriculum in the graduate school leading to a Masters degree in teaching. This would include an internship and residencies in the schools similar to the medical profession.

Sedlak and Schlossman (1986) explained that the proposed reforms to raise certification standards and shift the professional education of teachers to the
graduate level have little historical evidence to support the view that this might increase the attractions of the profession to desirable recruits. Traditionally, raising certification standards has been accompanied with remarkable increases in teachers’ salaries and this is what may help to enhance popular respect for teaching profession. Labaree (1995) argued that raising the certification standards for future teachers could raise the level of entry but it does not guarantee to elevate the status and prestige of the career itself. Labaree argued that the elevation of the normal school status and the place of teacher education within universities have undermined the quality of the professional education of teachers. However, it provided prospective teachers with their demand for higher credentials. Therefore, the content of teacher education was less important than its institutional form, and preparing teachers effectively was less important than giving them the status of a college graduate.

Labaree (1995) argued that the market forces that shaped and influenced teacher education in the 19th and early 20th centuries are still exerting pressure on teacher education in recent times. Recent reform efforts in the 1980s and early 1990s left market forces to handle the appropriate and effective methods of training teachers. Authority for teacher education reform was handed to state and local educational institutions. Most recently, teacher education reform has become obligatory for the national and the state or local educational bodies (Hallinan and Khmelkov 2001).
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The study by Fullan et al. (1998 cited in Hallinan and Khmelkov 2001) found that the shift of professional education to graduate level was implemented in less than half of the colleges and some undergraduate courses were extended to include a fifth year of study. The outcome of this shift resulted in reduced enrolments and made many colleges move back to the undergraduate level of preparation.

The new shift requires more expense to support the transformation of the system from the traditional approach to the new one. However, Hallinan and Khmelkov (2001) predicted that the teacher shortage that will strike the nation through the next two decades might stop the new movement and hold it back from achieving its target. At the same time Hallinan and Khmelkov (2001) noted the more successful element of the Holmes Group, that is, the establishment of professional development schools. They summarise the key aims of PDSs as that of being an exemplary model for prospective teachers, which give them opportunities for practice and reflection. Also, it provides the opportunity to practising teachers and university staff to work together in research for the benefit of both preparing future teachers and school restructuring.

In the United States, as in England, schools have become more involved in the preparation of teachers. The Holmes Group designed a partnership model between schools and higher education working through the PDSs. A similar trend has emerged in the States, as in England, towards shifting funds away from higher education to the schools (Glenn 2001).
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In conclusion, traditionally, elementary teachers were trained in normal schools whereas secondary level teachers trained in universities. Despite this fact, geographical factors played an important role in determining the type of normal school and its relation to secondary school. The normal school in New England was the place to train elementary teachers for the common school whereas the Midwestern and Western normal schools were considered as an extension of American secondary education, which could train elementary and high school teachers. However, a shift from normal schools to university was considered to elevate the status of these schools and the status of their trainees.

Elementary teachers' status has been affected by growing feminisation of the teaching force, professional preparation and the academic ability of teachers. Although American teachers were seen as one undifferentiated professional group, new reform proposals called for replacing this approach with a differentiated one, which might create new constraints and problems.

The new reforms called for restructuring teacher education to elevate the status of the teaching profession. Elimination of the undergraduate programme and the shift of higher education to schools were considered of great interest. However, it is argued that raising the certification standards could raise the level of entry but it does not guarantee to elevate the status and prestige of the career itself.

In a similar manner to England, the structural shift of teacher education from normal schools to university was considered to elevate the status of the teaching profession. Then a shift away from university to schools was legislated. So far the
main characteristic of the system was restructuring which did not accompany reconceptualisation. As has been argued, the content of teacher education was less important than its institutional form, and preparing teachers effectively was less important than giving them the status of a university graduate. Moreover, market forces were left to handle the appropriate and effective methods of training teachers.

**Similarities and differences between England, France and the United States**

The United States achieved higher rates of access to high school before England and France. Until the early 1960s English universities still served the elite. In France, secondary teachers' academic preparation was left to the university. They were holding the *agrégé* or the *certifié*. The common view was that the more a teacher knew the less the training he or she needs. Yet, when secondary teachers were required to spend a year of training in the *Centre Pédagogique Régional*, the focus was on the subject matter taught by academic staff in university. The situation was the same for secondary teachers for the *certifietes*. Most recently, the problem of putting a great deal of emphasis on theory over practice was still obvious in the new unified system of teacher education at the IUFMs.

Judge (1989) explained how secondary education in the States was different from secondary education in much of Europe. He said that in much of Europe
Most secondary schools were sponsored as the colonies of higher education. Their principal function was to prepare their most gifted students for the university, from which their teachers came, and to prepare for examinations designed by the university. They served a minority, defined in either intellectual or economic terms, and represented an educational and social culture very different from that of the elementary schools. In the United States, on the other hand, the secondary school has been an extension of the common elementary school (p. 335).

In contrast with America, France has a different classification of educational levels. In the nineteenth century, the secondary school in America was considered as an extension of primary education, whereas France viewed the primary level as an alternative to and not a preparation for entry to the secondary stage. The French had seen that the primary level belonged to the ordinary people and the secondary level to the elite. Secondary teachers had enjoyed the closeness of the work of the departments in university to the work in the lycée. They were also not required to have training in pedagogy. On the other hand, primary teachers were distant from this culture. As they were placed in the école normale, pedagogy was considered essential for them, as their business was to teach small children.

Similarly, in England, universities were the places to train secondary teachers whereas teacher training colleges delivered the training of primary teachers. In contrast with both cases in France and England, the American situation was different. They preceded France and England in developing a unified system for all teachers. In England, by the mid 1960s new changes in secondary and higher education were introduced. There were calls to end the selective patterns of secondary education and replace them by a pattern of comprehensive education.
similar to the States. A new university degree, the BEd, was introduced in colleges of education.

In England, changes in secondary schools did not require the creation of a new rank of teacher, because there was no formal or legal difference between the qualification of primary and secondary teachers. However, in the early 1960s when France invented changes in secondary school by introducing the college, a new classification of teacher was established who were educated neither in university, nor in the *école normale*.

Unlike the situation in America, France and England exercise control over the university. Centralization is very clear in the French and English case but in America the role of the local community is more important than the role of federal government.

In the three cases the shift of non-university institutions of teacher education to the university has been considered to elevate the status of non-university institutions and their trainees; also, the elevation of the status of teaching profession was expected to take place. Across the three cases it has been found that the main characteristics of the system has been restructuring which was not accompanied with principles and purposes. So far restructuring has represented change but not improvement.

In France traditional attitudes towards primary and secondary teachers still have an echo. A IUFM lecturer suggested that:

> nothing short of a cultural revolution would be needed in order for ancient traditions and prejudices to be put aside
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so as to arrive at a clearly defined and cohesive pattern of initial training preparing teachers to meet the challenges of mass education (Boumard 1994, p. 418 quoted in Asher and Malet 1999, p.74).

In the case of America and France the structural shift eliminated the undergraduate programme of teacher training and raised the certification standards for future teachers to join teaching profession. Both countries wanted to elevate the status of the teaching profession. However, the structural shift could raise the level of entry but it does not guarantee to elevate the status and prestige of the career itself. In England and America, the market forces were left to handle the appropriate and effective methods of training teachers. In England as Cowen (2002) has noted, in the 1960s universities were used to elevate teachers and teacher education through placing teacher education in them and elevating its qualifications, and a similar situation has taken place in recent years through a so-called new professionalism. According to Furlong (2001), the new professionalism for the new generation of teachers in England needs to depend not only on delivering practical training that is competence-based.

Teacher education reform efforts in some other overseas countries

In many countries throughout the world, developed or developing, primary school teachers were trained differently from their counterparts in secondary education. They had separate institutional training: the education of secondary teachers was set within universities while primary teachers were trained in non-university institutions.
Many attempts were launched globally to unify the education of the two groups in the same way. However, some countries were further ahead of others in their efforts than others. For example, in the nineteenth century, the UK established a daytime training school affiliated with universities to educate both kinds of teachers together, while in France this trial came a century later.

Yet, in the USA teacher training until the end of the nineteenth century was located in normal schools and teacher colleges. Nevertheless, high school teachers were educated in these institutions and ‘their conditions of employment did not differentiate them sufficiently to justify a claim to separate consideration’ (Efthimiou, 1999, p.71). Later in the 20th century the model was upgraded to schools of education.

In Greece such efforts to join the two groups in close relation dated back to the mid 1880s. During the nineteenth century and until the late twentieth century there was a dualistic system of teacher education. Reorganization of the training structure located the education of both teachers in universities for four years of study (Efthimiou 1999).

Similarly, in Japan post-war period settlements and the problems of the pre-war system resulted in the shift of teacher training from state teacher training colleges to the higher education institutions. The current teacher education system was shaped through two main principles. First, initial teacher education must be located in higher education institutions. Secondly, any institution in higher education would provide the course in conditions of the Ministry of Education.
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approval and the satisfying of legal requirements. Currently, teachers' certificates are awarded in terms of the level of schools, primary schools (6 – 12), junior high schools (12 – 15) and senior high schools (15 –18), years old (Ota 2000).

For a long time in New Zealand, an important goal was to achieve a graduate profession. In 1991 teacher education was shifted from the former teachers’ college to the school of education (Alcorn 1995). A merger between the university and the former teachers college based on a belief that university is the most effective place to carry out the professional education of teachers. Traditionally, New Zealand inherited the division between primary and secondary schooling. In the late 19th century the mass of the population did not require more than an elementary education. Secondary education was available to a small number of students. Yet, when New Zealand secondary schools moved towards an American model of comprehensive secondary schooling that opened the gate for a wider range of pupils, the division between primary and secondary education remained. In the late 19th century the Education Boards were responsible for the training of teachers in normal or training schools. Elementary teachers were treated poorly:

Pupil teachers who could be as young as fifteen were an overworked source of cheap labour who could easily be neglected by head teachers. The range of subjects they were expected to cover with low resources was wide (Alcorn 1995, p. 23).

Openshaw (1998) argued that in spite of official claims that the mergers between universities and colleges of education would develop new approaches to teacher education, the result on the ground is different. He identified two main
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Factors that shaped the culture of teacher colleges of education after the second World War. The first was the need to train classroom technicians for the common primary schools at minimum cost. The second was the impact of social and cultural visions on teacher trainees as they were mainly young and female. However, the current reform with the new merger seems to ignore past constraints and controls that characterized the culture of the former colleges of education. The government continued to affirm controls of the past. Openshaw sounded an alarm to people seeking to influence policy of teacher education of continuing ignorance of history as this might mean that past dilemmas would remain in new reforms and influence today's teacher education institutions.

In Australia, elementary teachers were trained in teachers' colleges while secondary teachers were trained in university. During the 1970s, colleges of advanced education replaced teachers' colleges. They provided high quality of vocational education but not research. In the 1990s, a structural shift of colleges of advanced education into universities has taken place. Nowadays the concurrent system of teacher education has been eliminated and a graduate certificate is required to enter the teaching profession. In addition, the amount of school experience for trainees had increased. Moreover, the subject matter base in the programme of future primary teachers has strengthened (Tisher 1995). Tisher argued that most changes to the system of teacher training reflect a structural approach rather than a 'revolutionary' reconceptualisation of teacher education. There is no change in content or in process.
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In 1945 Canada began the shift of elementary teachers from normal schools to the university and it was completed for all the country by 1970. However, it is argued that:

the transfer of teacher education to the universities was hampered both by its history in the normal schools and by the attitude commonly found in universities that anybody could teach, that only a knowledge of subject matter was necessary to be a good teacher—whether in the school system or at the post-secondary level. The emphasis on practice in the normal school versus the interest in research in the university did not facilitate a smooth transfer (Sheehan and Fullan 1995, pp. 90-91).

Unlike these efforts to upgrade the traditional model of primary teacher training in these countries, in a number of others, mainly developing, the normal school still serves as a model of primary teacher training. With particular reference to policies for teacher education in developing countries Beatric Avalos (2000) noted that primary school teachers in a number of developing countries still train in non-university institutions. In a number of the Latin American regions like in Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, and Nicaragua the normal school still serves as a model for primary teacher training. However, a process of shifting to higher education level began to take place especially in Brazil and Colombia. Unlike this, Bolivia, for example, currently is shifting normal schools into higher normal schools to train teachers for all stages. Opposite to this, all secondary school teachers in Uruguay receive their training at non-university institutions, as is also the case of most secondary school teachers in Argentina.
In fact, the shift of primary teacher training from normal school or college of education or whatever the name given to the non-university institutions, to university setting had clear reasons. In France, it was the way to build close relations between primary and secondary school teachers and to raise the professional status of the primary ones. In New Zealand, university students were considered to be more academically capable than were their college counterparts. Therefore, the merger of college of education with university would result in the college' students having the same academic status (Openshaw 1998). Also, in Greece primary school teaching was considered to be a moral and religious dependence, while secondary teacher training for high school level was considered a moral and an intellectual and literary basis. The move to university would guarantee equality of status (Efthimiou 1999).

Indeed, the move to professionalisation of teaching was especially important in America. By the nineteenth century, the notion of the professional began to emerge in the USA. The professional training of teachers during that time characterized some features, the idea of teaching as a woman's work, the belief of teacher education as a moral domain rather than an intellectual or literary one and the consideration of teachers' responsibility as mainly moral. The concept of professionalism involved the remedy of such dominant beliefs. During the twentieth century the belief in professionalisation led to different traditions of teacher education, one for classroom teachers and the other for school administrators (Efthimiou 1999). In recent reform initiatives the notion of
professionalisation was proposed to elevate the status of the teaching profession. A hierarchy of teaching levels was proposed to achieve that aim. With reference to England, recently and under the Labour Government, teacher professionalism claimed to become modernised in terms of enhancing the reputation, incentives and conditions of successful teachers, rather than in the sense of the tradition of teachers’ autonomy and their control over the curriculum (McCulloch 2001). The recent study of Furlong et al (2000) explored the impact of the policy of initial teacher education on the practice. They suggested that the government change in policy of the 1990s shifted teacher professionalism from being focused on knowledge, autonomy and responsibility to a new model in which common standards have reduced teachers’ autonomy. They argued that the changes introduced throughout the 1990s have changed the nature of teacher professionalism as they introduced a practical form of professional preparation. In particular, changes in course structure, course content and personal responsibility for teaching have influenced the forms of professionalism that student teachers develop. The role of higher education has been reduced and schools have taken over significant responsibilities. Student teachers spend a longer time in schools and teachers have been given remarkable responsibilities for the supervision and assessment of student teachers. Rassool (1999) argued that the new professionalism introduced recently under New Labour is limited to the creation of standardised knowledge to produce competent technicians who are regulated by ways of knowing and doing.
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Throughout the world, as in the USA, primary teachers were mainly women. But in South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, and the Arab States this was not the same (Avalos 2000). Similarly, in Greece teaching was a man's work joined with the upgrading of their social status, from village agricultural class to town middle class. In fact, many attempts have been launched to enhance the teaching profession. In Greece, for instance, it was in (nearly) the mid 20th century when reformers tried to 'redefine' and 'restructure' teacher training programmes to raise teachers' status (Efthimiou 1999).

In many countries around the world, the different social status of teachers referred to their separate ways of training and the age of students they teach. This confirmed a different institutional identity for primary school teachers and secondary ones. The training of the former in non-university institutions and the training of the latter in university were tied with their professional identity, training and status.

Similarly, to a great extent, this interpretation has strong echoes in Egypt. In fact, teachers' status in the Egyptian society has suffered a great deal. The teaching profession has an inappropriate appreciation of the Egyptian society. Many factors have undermined teachers' status. For example, the type of schooling, the colonial policy and the inconsistency between the state education policy and the policy of teacher education, have all participated in lowering teachers' status. These issues will be considered in the case of Egypt in the next chapter.
Chapter Five

The nature of initial teacher education reform: the Egyptian context

In the previous chapter I discussed how the three main cases I referred to and some other cases have inherited divisions in the place and the way they trained teachers. In addition, I showed how these divisions are rooted in types of education and subsequently how this affected teachers. As in other countries including England, France and the USA, Egyptian teacher education for elementary and secondary teachers inherited two divisions: the type of institution and the curricular content. These divisions are rooted in types of education: mass elementary education and elite secondary education. This chapter investigates the roots of division in teacher training in Egypt. These divisions relate to a variety of routes to initial teacher training. It examines the unification of the system in the late twentieth century and the tensions in relation to processes of diversification. Finally, I will discuss the new state reform initiatives and explore their consequences.

Teacher education policy has contributed to the divisions between teachers. It was based on piecemeal changes rather than a comprehensive reform. Teacher training has undergone many changes. These changes emphasised structure and they lack consideration of the principles and values of training teachers. Teachers themselves were neither consulted nor involved in the changes in the education system and their training.
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Initial teacher education in the nineteenth century

In Egypt, the status of teachers has been affected by a dual system of education, which was created in Muhamad Ali’s rule (1805-1849): religious education in El-Azhar and secular education in modern schools. Early in the nineteenth century the creation of a new Egyptian education system was associated with Muhamad Ali’s rule. He aimed to modernise Egyptian society by modernising education. Muhamad Ali introduced a modern secular education, which was influenced by contact with French culture during their invasion of Egypt (1798-1799). Muhamad Ali introduced a system of state schools to train individuals for his army and state officials for his administration (Jarrar and Massialas 1992; see also Vatikiotis 1991). He organized study missions to foreign countries to train the personnel to staff his new modern education system (Benhamida 1990).

As with Napoleon’s strategy in France when he showed little interest in mass education and focused his efforts on the secondary sector to provide the administrative and military elite, Muhamad Ali followed the same path. He de-emphasised mass education and was concerned instead with the newly created modern school system. He offered specialist teachers in subject matter for the modern school system whereas he left mass elementary education to Al-Azhar sheiks to handle (Mohamed 1994).

During Muhamad Ali’s rule there were two systems of education, the traditional religious education in ‘kuttab’ (Quranic school) and the modern secular education. The religious schooling provided education for the masses, while the modern state
schools provided a borrowed secular, European-style education for the elite (Faksh 1980). Szyliowicz (1973) pointed out that the modern state school system for the elite was divided into primary, secondary, and higher levels. Szyliowicz noted that Muhamad Ali emphasised the importance of higher institutions to train state officials and officers. The educational system formed a pipe line into state service.

During Muhamad Ali’s rule, a systematic model of teacher education was not established. Muhamad Ali needed teachers to support his new education system but there were no specialised institutions for teacher training. The Al-Azhar, Al-Alsan (languages) and Engineering schools had trained teachers for the new secular system. Al-Azhar had trained teachers for Arabic language and religion. It had not included educational or practical preparation as the programme of study was restricted to provide trainees with theoretical knowledge in Al-Quran, Arabic language grammar, religion and mathematics. The Al-Alsan (languages) school had trained foreign language, geography and history teachers while the engineering school had trained maths, art, and science teachers. Teachers during that time were specialists in a particular discipline without professional training (Ghanama 1995; see also Ahmed et al 1989). Mohamed (1994) explained that the dual system of education had an impact on teachers in both the newly created school system and the elementary schools. Teachers of the former school system were educated in high schools and the latter in elementary teachers’ schools after finishing their studies in kuttab.

While no specialised institution for teacher training was founded in the mid 19th century, the new education policy contributed by offering teachers who specialised
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in one subject without educational and practical preparation. A first systematic model to train teachers academically and educationally emerged in 1872 when Dar-Alom school was established. Ali Mabarak, the secretary of education, laid the foundation of this school. Indeed, this was the first attempt towards the creation of specialised institution for teacher training which offered academic studies and educational studies as well.

The Dar-Alom school was established to provide teachers for the newly created school system, mainly teaching Arabic language and religion. In 1880 the Central Teachers School, later called The Supreme Teachers School, was established to train teachers for all levels and subjects. It was divided into two sections. The first one included the former Dar-Alom school and it trained Arabic language teachers and teachers of religion. The second one trained science, maths, language, history and geography teachers. The study programme included academic and educational subjects. The two schools separated in 1888 into two independent schools, Dar-Alom school and the Central Teachers School. Dar-Alom school trained teachers for Arabic language and religion whereas the Central Teachers School trained teachers for other specialities (Ahmed et al 1989). When the first university, the ‘Egyptian University’ was established in Egypt in 1908 to offer a higher standard of education in sciences and arts, a number of its graduates went on to a teaching career in secondary education. No educational or practical training was required.

In 1882, the British occupation of Egypt maintained the dual system (Mohammed 1994). The British created an educational system that mainly served middle or higher class children. No fundamental reforms in education occurred
after the education policy of Muhamad Ali. British educational policy in Egypt was essentially conservative, as they desired to maintain the strength of the existing system (Szyliowicz 1973). The British occupation not only maintained the dual system of education that was established by Muhamad Ali, but also supported the disadvantageous outcomes of that system. The British were keen to limit attendance in public schools to a few, simply satisfying the need for clerks and employees (Jarrar and Massialas 1992).

During the British occupation the status of the teaching profession declined. School fees were high; thus, ordinary people could not afford school for their children. Teacher training schools were the only ones to offer free education. Their students were not only exempt from the education fees but they were also offered salaries as well. Hence, the teaching profession was tied to working class families, as most students' parents were peasants, labourers and junior clerks. However, middle class and elite people were able to attend university and subsequently other professions (Ahmed et al 1989).

The British education policy in Egypt used teacher education institutions, especially the Central Teachers School as an instrument to control the education system. This policy ruined the education system as it acted to reduce the number of teachers who graduated from this school. In addition, it attracted poor students to join this school offering free board and lodging for them with a monthly income. According to Gohar (1989) the new regime used the Central Teachers School as a method to determine Egypt's educational capacity according to the available state
vacancies. Their excuse was that there were not enough teachers to educate people.

Since the establishment of a modern education system in Egypt a form of discrimination has been created between teachers of each level and according to their level of status on the educational ladder. This discrimination was clear in terms of teachers’ salaries. Secondary school teachers had higher salaries than elementary teachers. Yet, a discrimination between Arabic teachers and teachers of other subjects was also obvious. While the salary for Arabic teachers was two Egyptian pounds per month the teachers of other subjects earned on average five pounds per month (Ahmed et al. 1989).

Cook (2000) referred to Dr. Syed Ismail Ali’s book Concerns of Egyptian Education (1989) focusing on Ali’s argument of how Egyptian society was divided into two distinct halves as a result of the dual system of education that was created in Muhammad Ali’s rule (religious-secular). Ali argued that the dual system of education produced and implanted two different cultural styles in individuals. Cook (2000) noted that the British occupation reinforced this division and created a political elite that favoured all that was western.

**Education and society in twentieth century Egypt**

Following Egypt’s declaration of independence in 1922, and the appearance of the new Egyptian constitution in 1923, the Ministry of Education tried to unify education at the elementary level (Cochran 1986). In this period, there were two
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state education systems. The first was an education for the limited period of six years in elementary compulsory schools. It aimed to provide free education for the masses and to prepare children for practical life through increasing their interest in practical subjects. Second, there were primary schools for four years, which led to an academic secondary, and higher education. Primary schooling was reserved for an elite in which boys and girls were educated separately and fees were charged. The instruction in elementary and primary schools was different. While instruction and facilities in elementary schools were limited, it was notably superior in the primary schools as the elite enjoyed better facilities of all sorts. Further, opportunities for graduates to continue to advanced education were much greater for primary students than for elementary ones (Szyliowicz 1973).

In 1943, an important step was implemented to make possible the unification of primary and elementary education, when fees were abolished in the primary schools. However, this plan was not implemented until the 1952 revolution when the Egyptian government legislated a new primary school system and abolished the former elementary school system.

In 1953, the government passed law No. 210 to unify primary schools and extend the compulsory education span for a further two years. The structure became a primary school for six years from the age of six to twelve. Also, for the first time the preparatory school became a rung on the educational ladder for three years, from the age of twelve to fifteen. Preparatory school was a free middle school between the free compulsory primary school and free but selective secondary school. The function of this school was the same as that of the primary
school; it could be a transitional stage for some students who were able to continue their education in secondary schools, or a complete education for others who were less able to continue further studies (Hyde 1978).

During the period 1952 to 1954 El-Qbani was the minister of education. He was known as the policy man of ‘quality’, as opposed to Taha Hussin, the former minister of education, known as the policy man of ‘quantity’. El-Qbani’s view of secondary education was that it is an instrument to prepare individuals to lead the state in future, thus, the standard of secondary education should not be reduced. Unlike Taha Hussin who suggested secondary education for all the masses, El-Qbani saw it as being only for the elite (Morsi 1999).

Cochran (1986) pointed out that in the period from 1952 to 1970 the Egyptian educational system reflected the political philosophy of Colonel Gamal Abdul Nasser, known as ‘Arab socialism’. Nasser emphasised the right of education for all the masses. School enrolment at all levels was expanded and the two state systems of ‘elite’ and ‘mass’ education were abandoned in favour of one system of mass education. According to Faksh (1980) only 45% of children of primary school age attended school in 1952; the proportion increased to 65% in 1960, and was followed by a further increase in 1967 to 80%.

Nasser and the Free Officers wanted to reconstruct the whole nation socially and politically. They viewed education as the cornerstone for national integration and for building the new socialist democratic state. In addition, Nasser established an official policy of guaranteed employment for the graduates of all faculties. His
policies of free education and guaranteed employment have influenced the nation’s
capability to implement educational reforms (Toronto 1992).

After Nasser’s death in 1970, Anwar Sadat, the next president, used the Open
Door policy to improve the education system. He invited foreign investors to push
development in all areas. However, this invitation highlighted two cultures: one
for the minority of wealthy Egyptians and foreigners in Egypt and the other for the
masses. The education system was influenced by this divided culture: the masses
were educated in overcrowded state schools, which suffered from a lack of
facilities, equipment and teachers, whereas wealthy students were educated in
better private schools. Many problems in Egypt, economic, political, social and of
course educational, have been linked to the Open Door policy which was blamed
for causing inequality in income distribution. However, Amin (1990) has a
different explanation for there being so many problems in Egypt. He attributed
economic, social, cultural and political problems in Egypt to the change in social
structure and to a rapid rate of social mobility. Among other factors, Amin
attributed the rapid rate of social mobility to the rise in the rate of inflation. The
sources of income have been changed as a result of inflation. A good example for
this could be the teachers who gave private lessons for their own benefit. More
recently, there might be some factors such as the economic shift to the free market
and the challenges of globalisation that have contributed to current social crisis in
Egypt. The market norms have been established in which too much consumption
and the spread of material values rather than production and social integration have
become common.
Initial teacher education in Egypt during the twentieth century

Ghanama (1995) noted that the period from 1900 to 1952 had shown diversity and duality in the routes leading to teaching at the first stage of education. Each route had its own philosophy and programme for trainee teachers. Ghanama explained that this diversity was linked to a wide range of systems of education at the first stage: kuttab, elementary schools, primary schools, Al-Azhar institutions and foreign schools. In 1900, the state started to be concerned with preparing elementary teachers. Al-Sanya, the Female Teacher Training School, was established in 1900, followed by the Female Elementary Teacher Training School in 1903. The Male Teacher Training School for Elementary Education was established in 1904. Candidates were admitted after gaining an elementary school certificate or after finishing their studies in Kuttab. The program of study lasted for two years, later it was increased to three years (Ahmed et al 1989).

In 1929, the Higher Institution of Teacher Education was established in response to the demand to improve the level of secondary education, which was affected by teachers' low standards. In 1928 the Egyptian government invited two foreigners to be consultants in education to help with education problems in Egypt. They were Dr. Clipared, the director of the Jan Jack Rosé Institute of Pedagogy in Geneva, and a British expert in education. In response to their recommendations, the higher institute of education was established (Hagi 1991).

The new higher institution was divided into two divisions. The first was to prepare secondary school teachers from university graduates in art and science for
two years. The second was to prepare primary school teachers who had held a secondary education certificate for three years. In 1938, the primary division was closed and the years of study in the high division were shortened to a year and trained both primary and secondary teachers together. This single year was preceded by an initial two years of professional studies within students’ university subjects (Ghanama 1995). This higher institution joined Ain-Shams University when it was first established in 1950, and then it was made into a faculty of education in 1956.

In 1953, female and male Teacher Training Schools were established to achieve stability in the system. Student applicants first gained primary certificates and were then upgraded to a preparatory certificate as students were required to study for five years. In the first three they were provided with a general education similar to what was being taught in high schools. A pedagogical training was provided over the remaining two years with in-depth specialization in the subject specialism. In some of these schools, student teachers were provided with free accommodation. In the training centres there were schools in which students could gain work experience. (Ahmed et al 1989 see also Ghanama 1995). In 1988, decree number 24 declared the abolition of teacher training schools (Ministry of Education (A.R.E) 1988).

Due to a lack of interest by university graduates in joining the Higher Institution and the shortage of qualified teachers, the Ministry of Education in 1952 re-established the Central (Supreme) Teachers School under the new name Teachers College. It was restricted to training secondary school teachers for four
years after having the secondary certificate, whereas primary school teachers were trained in Teacher Training Schools. The course combined academic, educational and practical preparation (Ghanama 1995, see also Mohamed 1994).

The Committee of Educational Science and the Teacher Education Sector, in its sixth session in December 1967, presented a suggestion to the Higher Supreme of Universities that asserted:

The need for the joining of Faculty of Education and Teachers College in one faculty at Ain-Shams University (The Higher Supreme of Universities 1969, p. 4).

In the late 1970s, the teachers college joined the faculty of education at Ain-Shams University (Ghanama 1995). The same Committee also discussed the principles of educating teachers and it insisted that:

Teacher education should follow one route in order to unify the system of teacher training. This principle should be applied for all teachers whatever the type and the level they trained for. Therefore, the approach to unify routes to teacher education under the university is necessary and can not be avoided in order to abolish divisions between teachers and to unify them under one unified loyalty (The Higher Supreme of Universities 1969, p. 2).

This recommendation appears to reflect the intention to structure the system of teacher education. It limits teacher education to the acquisition of a qualification. It seems likely that the university qualification is the ‘magic wand’ that will abolish division between teachers. Perhaps, what is absent from this was the importance of establishing a particular philosophy of teacher education.

In 1977/78 the Ministry of Education in Egypt adopted a new policy of “basic education” as an alternative to universal “primary education”. The government in
Egypt was interested in basic education as a response to recommendations and calls from international originations. Economic circumstances left the Egyptian government unable to provide the necessary requirements for the primary level and so replaced it with basic education (Dahawy 2001).

The government passed law no. 139 in 1981 to restructure the education system. Basic education differs from primary education in that basic education is not seen as one part of an academic system leading ultimately to university. The curriculum in basic education connects work to learning. It is linked to ‘real life’, and stands alone for those students who do not progress to later stages of education. Basic education can cover only a certain number of years. In practice basic education systems usually cover nine years (Ghany 1999).

In the Egyptian context, basic education is a programme of studies, grades one to nine. It is divided into two cycles: a primary cycle of five years and a preparatory cycle of three years. However, changes in educational structures were carried out without considering the importance of changes in teacher training. The practical aspects of teacher training did not change in accordance with the new system of basic education. The content of teacher training programmes did not change in line with alternation in the education system (Dahawy 1985). Teachers for the first cycle of basic education trained in non-university Teacher Training School while teachers for the second cycle of basic education trained in university faculties of education.

Many studies have demonstrated the severe lack of qualified teachers and poor quality of teacher training. The inadequate curriculum for preparing teachers for
basic education caused problems for many teachers. They did not understand the concept of basic education and how to implement it inside schools (see for example, Algayar 1979; Tayaa 1982; Razik and Zaher 1992; Jarrar and Massialas 1992; and Rstom 1993).

The Committee of Teacher Education and Professional Development that was formed by a Ministerial Decree in 1980/1981, agreed on what had been suggested by the Committee of Educational Science and Teacher Education Sector (later called the Educational Studies and Teacher Education Sector). They agreed that faculties of education would participate in the training of primary school teachers and departments within these faculties were recommended to be established to train kindergarten and primary teachers. In 1982, Helwan University was the pioneer in establishing a department of teacher training to train teachers for the second level of basic education within its faculty of education. Ain-Shams University established a department to train kindergarten teachers within El-Females Faculty (Ahmed et al 1989).

Unification of initial teacher education routes as opposed to diversification of the system

In 1988/89, ten years after the introduction of basic education, the Egyptian government established a new policy for all teachers to graduate from universities. This approach required all prospective teachers to receive four years of university education. The main aim was to abolish the dual system of teacher training and unify it under the responsibility of universities. Therefore, in 1988/89 the
government established departments to train teachers in basic education within university faculties of education.

In 1988, the Ministerial decree no. 966 on 6 September declared the establishment of a department of primary education in each faculty of education in Egypt (Ministry of Higher Education (A.R.E) 1988). The system of teacher education was unified under the university. However, the restructuring was not accompanied by changes in the teacher education programme. Many teachers of basic education did not receive preparation in pedagogy (Razik and Zaher 1992). There was no agreement between the teacher education programmes about the concept of basic education. Faculties of education had not changed their aims and study programmes to agree with the new educational system of basic education.

However, in the same academic year and in contrast with the declared state policy the Ministry of Education established five Specific Faculties outside the scope of the university and supervised by the Ministry of Higher Education. The aim was to train the specific types of teachers for all levels in the specialisations needed (music, art, home economics, commerce, agriculture, industrial and so on). In 1993/94 the number of Specific Faculties of Education became seventeen faculties as well as two Faculties for Kindergarten (Bureau of Cultural and Educational Affairs of Egypt in Canada 1995). The existence of two different routes for training teachers to teach in the same school or level of education, without any co-ordination and cohesion between them, has again created a strange dual system of teacher preparation for the basic stage. In late 1998, Faculties of Specific Education joined universities directly and came under their control.
Another route for teacher training for the basic stage actually exists in mainstream faculties of education. Unlike graduate teachers from basic education and others from some departments within Faculties of Specific Education, this system allows its graduates to teach for some time in preparatory school (the second cycle of basic education), and they can then get promoted to teach in secondary schools. Additionally, university graduates from faculties of Arts, Science, Dar-Alom, Physical Education, Home Economics and so on, can teach in the basic level and the secondary level. It is important to note that recently the kindergarten level in Egypt (from four to six years) became compulsory and was added to the compulsory education level. Accordingly, there are multiple routes of initial teacher training in Egypt and teachers for each level (kindergarten, primary, preparatory and secondary) are still trained separately even if they are going to teach at the same level. In addition, there is a lack of co-ordination among all these faculties and departments of teacher training (Ghanama 1995).

In spite of the unification of teacher education routes, faculties of education still differentiate between the styles of training for primary and preparatory teachers. There is confusion about primary education departments. This confusion is maintained: there is no agreement over what to call these departments (primary or basic education). Decree no. 966 for 1988 declared the establishment of a department of primary education in each faculty of education. However, decree no. 967 in the same year declared the establishment of a department of basic education in the faculty of education at Ain-Shams University (Mohamed 1994). Later, in 1995, Ministerial Decree no. 1485 on October 1995 declared the
unification of the name from primary/basic education departments to the primary education department (Ministry of Higher Education (A.R.E) 1995). This division would demonstrate the unclear vision of the purpose for establishing these departments within faculties of education.

El-Bahwashi (1993) argued that there is discrimination and differentiation between primary and preparatory teachers in the style of teacher training, admission and promotion. Unlike preparatory and secondary education teachers, primary ones are trained in a separate department. Their entry standard is lower than other department standards. Unlike preparatory teachers, primary ones cannot get promoted to teach at the secondary level. El-Bahwashi called for the abolishment of the duality of teacher training in basic education. It has been said in President Mubarak’s Document of Education: A Vision to the Future (1992)

It is important for us to admit that we have for a very long time ignored teachers, and have condoned the unacceptable conditions in which they are living... Society over the years has pretended that its teachers receive adequate compensation, and teachers at the same time have pretended that they are doing their work. This mutual pretence has brought about a catastrophe. This situation has to be addressed. The financial status of teachers needs to be improved, because when individuals are unable to meet their basic needs, they will not be willing to devote the necessary effort to their teaching. It is also important for us to pay attention to improving the social standing of teachers. We need to give them the social incentive to feel enhanced pride in their career, and to believe that they are indeed involved in the most honourable of human activities-the vocation of God’s Messengers and Prophets (Baha El-Din 1992, pp.40, 41).

In fact primary teachers could only train in the university concurrent model while preparatory and secondary teachers were free to choose either the concurrent
or the consecutive models. Currently, basic education teachers are trained following one of three main routes. The first of these is the Department of Primary Education in faculties of education. The second is training in the faculty of education of Helwan University, which trains teachers for the second cycle of basic education from grade five to nine. Unlike the first model of training it trains teachers to be specialists in two disciplines and trains them for one vocational field such as home economics, agriculture, commerce or industry. Both models provide a course for four academics years to get a Bachelors Degree in Science and Education or in Arts and Education (Mohamed 1994; see also Helmy 1996). The third consists of Faculties of Specific Education, which train specific types of teacher in fields like art, music, home economics, technology of education etc. At the end of four years, students are awarded a Bachelors Degree in Education in one of the previous specialisms.

In spite of the fact that in the past the dualistic system of teacher education separated the training of primary and secondary education teachers, currently, multiple systems of teacher education have been introduced to discriminate and distinguish between teachers for the same level (basic education), and secondary school teachers (El-Bahwashi 1993). Instead of going forward after the establishment of the Higher Institution of Teacher Education in the late twenties, the system presently is going back. The Ministry of Education not only recreated the scenario set up in Mohammed Ali’s time but it actually moved to a more complicated one.
In fact, the problems are escalating. On one hand, basic education has undergone significant changes, and on the other, teacher education has continued to use nearly the same approaches of teacher training which do not reflect any innovative initiatives to update changes in primary education. In a hasty decision, the Ministry of Education declared the reduction of the basic education cycle from nine to eight years, thus decreasing the number of years in the primary school level from six to five. Law no. 139 passed in 1981 was replaced by law no. 233 in 1988 to implement the plan. In 1999 law no. 23 modified some of the Education Law articles issued by law 139 in 1981 to re-introduce the ninth year of basic education.

Before that, in 1993, ministerial decree no. 71 was passed to restructure primary education and divide it into two levels. The first level included the initial three years of primary schooling and the second included the remaining, at that time, two years. This decision was a response to the recommendations of the Conference for Developing Primary Education that was held in 1993. Recommendation no. 21 of the Conference insisted on the need to develop the teacher education system of primary schooling which would train specialist teachers for kindergarten and specialist class teachers for the first three years of primary schooling to teach reading and writing skills, maths, religion, educational activities and vocational skills. The system would also train subject specialist teachers for grades four and five of primary education and also to teach in preparatory schooling.

Helmy (1996), indicated that no uniform approach has been established between faculties of education regarding the training of primary student teachers.
Chapter Five: The Egyptian context

There is no clear decision on whether students should be trained to be a class teacher for the first three years of primary education and subject specialists in the remaining two years, or trained to be a class teacher for the whole primary level. Helmy insisted that the regulations for the establishment of departments of primary education have declared the duty of the faculties of education to train two types of student teachers: a class teacher for the first three years; and a subject specialist for grade four and five of primary schooling. However, faculties of education have been silent in this regard. Usually, teachers have a general education in their first two years of the study programme, then a specialist education during the third and fourth years. Teachers are trained to be generalists, teaching from the first grade through to the end of primary level.

A study by Metwaly (1996) revealed that the system of training teachers for educational activities such as music, sports, and art, has major deficiencies and needs re-consideration in the preparation style and training routes. Razik and Zaher (1992) noted the lack of standardized coursework at the basic education stage. Jarrar and Massialas (1992) noted that basic education teachers and administrators were insufficiently trained.

A study by Omran and Abdel-Hakim (1999a) shows the lack of uniformity, and differentiation between departments of primary education in terms of the style, type, number and the required hours of modules. In addition, there was the gap between the theoretical and practical aspects of the programme. The results revealed student teachers' opinions about their training. Student teachers were dissatisfied regarding their practical training. They indicated that the practical
preparation they were provided with did not qualify them for the teaching profession. The study emphasised the lack of student teachers’ awareness of the importance of vocational subjects and their wish not to teach these subjects after entering the profession. The co-authors believed that these results reflect the fact that positive attitudes towards practical subjects were not fostered.

They noted that there were some factors that created differentiation and lack of uniformity. Among them were the absence of clear purposes of departments of primary education, the absence of a unified education policy and clear philosophy when formulating plans for these departments, the lack of facilities to provide practical preparation, and finally, the gap between the study programme and practice.

With particular reference to faculties of specific education, Hagi (1991) noted that entire faculties were established without any planning. The Ministry did not provide the required staff members and it did not offer the appropriate space for these faculties. Old buildings that belonged to teacher training schools were provided to accommodate the newly created faculties of specific education. Some faculties overcame the staff shortage by delegating members of other universities. Omran and Abdel-Hakim (1999b) revealed teacher trainers’ opinions about the same matter. Teacher trainers expressed concern about the low standard of specific teachers in primary schools. They noted that there is dissatisfaction and non-acceptance of working as subject-specific teachers.

Hegi (1995) explained the differentiation and non-agreement between faculties of education, in terms of the absent role of the Committee of Educational Studies.
and Teacher Education Sector. This is because it did not declare or issue any guiding documents to faculties of education with regard to the principles that should be considered in the setting of faculties' regulations and the study plan in the different departments. There was no framework of the content of the study programme and no agreement whatsoever about it.

Abou-Haggar and Diab (2000) noted that graduates of the entire teacher training institutions have been strongly criticised by public opinion (mass media and parents), and by academics who are themselves responsible for teacher education. The criticism concerns different aspects, such as the unsatisfactory standard of teachers' knowledge in their subject specialism. Teachers are perceived to have limited ability in creating learning experiences that make aspects of the subject matter meaningful for the students.

Ebied (1993) argued that reform and development do not work by altering the format but by dealing with the core of the problem. Therefore, the consideration of the teacher education problem within the frame of the concurrent or the consecutive model is worthless as it is a focus on the format, and not about how to produce an effective programme to train teachers. Ebied (1993) noted that the academic, educational and the work experience are separated. They have developed in parallel and they have never met. The academic component is considered to be immature as a programme lifted from specialist academic faculties' programmes. Some syllabuses used in faculties of arts and sciences are also used for student teachers in faculties of education. The professional
components have a repetitive emphasis on theory with little focus on teaching skills.
The Educational Structure in Egypt Before 1981/82

Source: Dahawy (1985) Figure 2

Primary Stage

1 2 3 4 5 6

Preparatory Stage

1 2 3

Flight-Year School

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

General and specialized secondary school

1 2 3

University Faculties

1 2 3 4

Higher Institutes

1 2 3 4

Technicians’ Training Institutes

1 2

Further studies for workshop teachers

Technical Secondary (Skilled Workers)

1 2 3

Five-year technical school (technicians)

1 2 3 4 5

Teacher Training Schools

1 2 3 4 5

Teacher Training Schools (special education)

1

Vocational Training Centres

1 2 3

Al-Azhar University

Secondary Stage

1 2 3 4

Primary Stage

1 2 3 4 5 6

Preparatory Stage

1 2 3

Primary Stage

1 2 3 4 5 6

Preparatory Stage

1 2 3

Secondary Stage

1 2 3 4

Al-Azhar University

(A)
The Educational Structure in Egypt After 1981/82

Source: Dahawy (1985) Figure 3

- Basic Education Stage
  - Eight-Year School
- General and specialized secondary school
- University Faculties
- Higher Institutes
- Technicians’ Training Institutes
- Further studies for workshop teachers
- Five-year technical school (technicians)
- Teacher Training Schools
- Teacher Training Schools (special education)
- Vocational Training Centres
- Al-Azhar University

Primary Stage
- Preparatory Stage
- Secondary Stage
  - (Al-Azhar Educational System)
Amendment from Dahawy (1985) Figure 4

The Educational Structure in Egypt After 1987/88

Basic Education Stage

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Eight-Year School

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

- Primary Stage
  1 2 3 4 5 6

- Preparatory Stage
  1 2 3

- Secondary Stage
  1 2 3 4

- Vocational Training Centres
  1 2 3

- General and specialized secondary school
  1 2 3

- Technical Secondary (Skilled Workers)
  1 2

- University Faculties
  1 2 3 4

- Higher Institutes
  1 2 3 4

- Technicians' Training Institutes
  1 2

- Further studies for workshop teachers
  1 2

- Al-Azhar University

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New reform initiative: possible consequences

Years later, after teacher education has moved into universities, how far has this influenced teacher education and the status of teachers? With reference to Western countries, Wideen (1995) points out that the move of teacher education from normal schools to the university setting tried to fulfil certain promises. It was assumed that some improvements would be realised; the setting up of university faculties of education could contribute to examining schools’ problems; the teaching profession could attract better students from the top of the academic ladder and the education of student teachers could be better than before. Additionally, for example, in the USA there was the assumption that the institutional upgrading of teacher education represents improvement in the quality of teacher education and teaching as well (Labaree 1995). However, problems in teacher education, leading to dissatisfaction, have been linked to the shift of normal teacher training schools to a university setting. Wideen’s (1995) examination suggested that this move ‘provided a classic example of administrative restructuring without a reconceptualisation of what it meant to prepare teachers’ (p.8).

Currently in Egypt, a further restructuring of the teacher education system has been suggested. Two alternatives have been recommended to reform teacher training in Egypt. An extension of the concurrent system of teacher education from four years to five has been recommended by some educationalists (Sallam 1995 and see also Hegi 1995). Hegi suggested the creation of this new model of the
concurrent system of teacher education by extending the study programme to be five years. He claimed that this model is in agreement with the current approach for training teachers, which emphasises extending the length of the course. Hegi referred to American experience in Austin College, the University of Kansas School of Education, and the University of Virginia Curry School of Education, as a role model to be followed because they are using a five year programme instead of four to train teachers.

The Conference for Developing Primary Education (1993), in recommendation no. 23, called for

The need to consider in the development of teacher education system that teachers should be recruited permanently unless they spend an internship as the same way in preparing physicians and the same way in preparing teachers in many developed countries.

This view reflects limited justification in the sense of considering the practices of developed countries in order to reform teacher education in Egypt.

The second alternative intends to replace the current faculties of education with Higher Institutes of Teacher Training. This is to abolish the concurrent system and to make the consecutive model of teacher training the dominant one. This decision was reported in the Al-Ahram and Al-Akhbar press towards the end of 2001. The new proposed reform is part of the government strategy to enhance higher education. In 1997, the Ministry of Higher Education established a higher education reform strategy commission which included a wide range of areas. After a eighteen month period of consultations a consensus on the reform was given. In
February 2000, a declaration for action on 25 strategic reforms including a project to develop initial teacher training was agreed at a National Conference. The reform objective is to improve the quality and efficiency of the higher education system in Egypt through institutional restructuring, legislative reforms and establishment of independent quality assurance system (http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2002/04/12/000094946_02033004305220/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf).

The reform was a government initiative with technical assistant and input provided by the World Bank which aims to

Improve the market orientation of the higher education sector by improving quality and relevance and enhancing sector efficiency. The project specifically aims to help the Government restructure and change the higher education system so it produces the type of graduates needed to underpin a private sector-led, export-driven economy, competitive in a global market (http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2002/04/12/000094946_02033004305220/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf p.2-3).

In 2002, the World Bank approved a loan of $50 million to improve higher education in Egypt (http://web.worldbank.org/WSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:20040415~menuPK:34468~pagePK:40651~piPK:40653~theSitePK:4607,00.html). It was suggested that the project should be implemented within a five year period. In April 2003, the minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research declared the beginning of the implementation of the five years plan for developing higher education in Egypt (http://www.eun.eg/a/03/04/9/3.htm).
Indeed, the system of teacher training in Egypt has undergone many changes which have emphasised structure. It is clear that the system does not follow any clear philosophy or policy with regard to any developments or reforms. It does not even provide any uniformity concerning changes in the education policy. The education policy itself has no agreement with regard to the use of the terms, basic education or primary education. In fact, this hesitation over these terms affected teacher education; however, the university has been silent in making an effective response. The policy of teacher training is based on piecemeal changes rather than comprehensive reform. Therefore, the policy for teacher training at the initial level is separated from the policy for teacher training at the secondary level (Mohamed 1994).

The policy of teacher training has supported the division between teachers of each stage. It is based on a narrow vision rather than a comprehensive one. Thus, a clear integrated relationship has not been found between the training of primary teachers and their counterparts in secondary education. Accordingly, the view of each type of teachers has been determined on this basis: preparatory school teachers have higher status than primary teachers and secondary teachers have higher status than both of them (Ahmed et al 1989).

At the present time, the system is moving towards further structural change without considering the core problem of educating teachers. Some Egyptian educationalists were called to implement changes imported from other countries because, in their view, these countries are 'developed' and so should be followed.
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Their research has been silent about the extent to which these countries are successful in their reforms; what is the surrounding debate? They may have ignored the fact that these other countries have problems in their systems and have major controversies. In fact, if Egypt wants to benefit from them it should emphasise learning from their experience by avoiding the mistakes they may have fallen into. This will mean not importing uncritically from these countries but developing interpretations of how to learn from their experience.

In the previous chapter I discussed how the three main cases I referred to, England, France, and America, and some other countries such as Australia, have restructured the system of teacher education without reconceptualisation of how to prepare a teacher. In this chapter I showed the state’s new intention to restructure the system of teacher training. It seems to be that Egypt is imitating what is currently happening in some other countries, more especially, the USA and France, without considering controversy and the extent of success of these reforms. However, lessons about teacher training reform could be learnt by an examination of the educational practice of other countries not with a view to import their structures uncritically, but in order to predict better the possible consequences and outcomes of particular policy decisions.
Chapter Six

Initial teacher education policy in Egypt

I propose in this chapter and the following two chapters to explore the views of policy makers and teacher trainers, who are involved in the training of prospective teachers on issues of teacher education policy, the role of teachers inside and outside teacher training centres, institutions of teacher training and teachers’ professional and social status. I will investigate these issues based on questionnaires and structured interview. Also, I explore the views of practising teachers on the same issues. I use structured interviews to explore teachers’ opinions.

A questionnaire was employed to explore the opinions of policy makers and teacher trainers on initial teacher education in Egypt. A scaled questionnaire with this type of sample was considered the most practical instrument. It gave the opportunity to explore the opinions of many informants in the field. It could be distributed to many participants from different backgrounds, specialisms, institutions and cities. This eventually could increase the chance to get more responses. However, in the present study the questionnaire was administered in the same way as an interview.

In fact, I employed a questionnaire to provide a basis for my data based on a wide range of informants’ opinions who represent a variety of specialisms, institutions and different cities as well. Also, it was hoped to help in identifying a
sample of interviewees. An interview was constructed to build on the questionnaire and to gain more information. Structured interviews were employed with policy makers, teacher trainers and practising teachers. It was similar to conducting an open ended face-to-face questionnaire in the circumstances of researching in Egypt.

The empirical research devices were designed to cover three important issues in initial teacher education in Egypt. These were first, the policy of initial teacher education, second, teachers’ roles and institutions of teacher education, and thirdly, teachers’ social and professional status. In this chapter I first explore and discuss the opinions of policy makers and teacher trainers about the policy of teacher education in Egypt based on questionnaires and structured interviews. I aim to know in general participants’ opinions of the policy of teacher education in Egypt, and whether the policy statement is consistent with actual practice. Then I aim to know in particular their opinions of the policy which unified the route to teacher education in 1988, and whether this policy agrees with educational practices. Additionally, I aim to explore participants’ views on the present situation in teacher education in Egypt in which many routes to enter the teaching profession are available, and the reasons for their establishment. Then I explore practising teachers’ opinions about the various routes to teacher education.
Findings and discussion based on the questionnaire

Evaluation of teacher education policy from the point of view of policy makers and teacher trainers

- Clarity of the policy of initial teacher education

In this chapter I explore participants' views on the first issue, which is the policy of initial teacher training in Egypt. To begin with the first dimension, I asked policy makers and teacher trainers to choose from three alternatives (agree – agree to some extent – not agree). Also, I asked them to explain their responses if they could. The first statement was: 'The policy of initial teacher education in Egypt has become clear'. The following table shows participants' response to the statement.

Table 11: Participants responses to the statement 'The policy of initial teacher education in Egypt has become clear'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Agree to some extent</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Not agree</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11 shows that many participants chose the second alternative agree to some extent. Nearly one third of participants' responses expressed their agreement with the statement. Similarly, nearly the same number of participants expressed their non-agreement with the statement. The first group, who noted that the policy of
teacher education in Egypt is clear, mentioned few reasons for choosing this
response. It is important to note that few participants have written some sentences
to explain their responses and points of view. From their explanations I attempted
to illustrate my interpretation. I use code references of letters and numbers instead
of participants’ names to represent their responses and explanations. I used
numbers as a reference to teacher trainers and policy makers and alphabetic letters
for practising teachers.

Two participants holding the position of educational experts and policy makers
23 and 37 agreed with the statement. 23 suggested that:

This policy is clear because it required all teachers of all
levels to be trained at university or higher education. Additionally, teacher education has been required to be
controlled by university. Moreover, teachers at all levels
are required to be qualified professionally to enter the
profession.

This view reflects a strong belief about the importance of university or higher
education in giving teachers status and qualifications. According to this view, this
is the norm to assess the quality of teachers.

Some professors of education, for example participant 2, a professor of the
foundations of education at an urban University, viewed the policy of teacher
education as clear because of its stability in unifying the route to teacher
education. In their belief moving the training of teachers to university has unified
the route to enter the profession. They also viewed this policy as clear in terms of
written statements and practices as well. Similar to this point of view two assistant
professors, for example participant 3, an assistant professor of the foundations of education at a Faculty of Education, in an urban university shared the same idea. She noted that:

This policy is clear because it aimed to train teachers of initial level like other teachers of higher levels. I do believe training teachers in universities is better than training them in the former non-university institutions.

An assistant professor 4, a doctor of foundations of education at the Faculty of Education, in an urban University, argued that:

This policy is clear because it aims to limit candidates' number to enter faculties of education. It also adopts the present trend in Egypt for privatisation.

This view is telling a different story from what one would expect. To agree that the policy of teacher training has become clear, does not mean this view is with the policy, however, it might be against it. This view tells us that the policy is clear because it attempts to achieve what it aims for. By using the term privatisation, this view could reflect that the policy of teacher training is working in line with the present economic policy in Egypt, in particular, the economic shift towards the free market. The adoption of privatisation means market forces might take control over the system.

Some lecturers shared the same viewpoint of agreement with the statement. For example, participant 5, a doctor of psychology of education at a Faculty of Education in an urban University noted that:

The policy of teacher education is clear because of the need for all types of teachers to be university trained. The present policy of teacher education has determined routes
Chapter Six: Initial teacher education policy in Egypt

to teacher education such as faculties of education, faculties of specific education and so on.

It appears that they related the clarity of the policy to the determination of the number of routes to enter the teaching profession. In contrast with this point of view a very few participants stated that this policy is clear only as a written statement. However, in their view it is not consistent with reality.

Clearly, this group of participants but not participant 4 views the policy of teacher education in Egypt as clear for one particular reason, which is the unification of the place of teacher training at university. Having all teachers trained at university, in their belief, is an indication of the clarity of the policy and accordingly their agreement with it. Unifying the certificate level or teacher qualifications is the main trend for them to determine the clarity of the policy. They also believe that elevating the certificate level unified the training of all types of teachers because it is taking place at university. However, some participants expressed the view that this policy is only clear as a written statement and it is not clear in terms of the reality. This means policy as a theory is positive but the practice is different. The policy suggests something but it has not been implemented in practice.

The second group and the largest one at the same time chose the second alternative (agree to some extent). In spite of only a few responses of explanation I have got from participants, I attempted to find my way to the purpose of interpretation. What made it so difficult was that every participant had a different explanation from the others. For example, two educational experts and policy
Chapter Six: Initial teacher education policy in Egypt

makers shared the choice of the same answer, but each one of them had a different explanation. The first one, participant 15, an education expert has a different point of view. He noted that:

This policy is clear to some extent because it is unsettled on the appropriate system of teacher education. Whether the concurrent or the consecutive. It is a controversial issue, however, there is a general tendency to abolish the concurrent system and replace it with the consecutive one in which faculties of education will become higher institutions of teacher education.

The second one, participant 33, an education expert for secondary education noted that:

The policy of teacher education has become clear to some extent because it differentiates according to the type of authority in each teacher training institution in Egypt. There are fourteen authorities in Egypt that are participating in the education of teachers.

Other participants related their explanation to other reasons. For example, participant 35, related his explanation to the contradiction in the policy of teacher education. He gives an example of the recruitment of unqualified teachers. The written policy required all teachers to be qualified; however, in practice unqualified teachers were recruited. Another participant, 6, a doctor in the Faculty of Kindergarten in an urban University, said that:

There is no clear philosophy of teacher education in Egypt and there is no stability of this policy. This helped to reflect negatively on teacher education.

Others viewed this policy as changing from time to time; however, they believe that it is changing to be better than before. Some doctors of education related their satisfaction with the policy to the unification of the place of teacher training at
universities. Participant 7, a doctor of foundations of education urban University, noted that:

The policy of teacher education is to some extent clear. This is in particular after the abolition of teacher training schools in 1988 and the joining of faculties of specific education and Kindergartens to universities in 1998.

Others viewed this policy as clear to some extent because of the absent role of this policy in unifying routes to teacher education. They stated that teachers for all levels come from different routes of training in which each route has carried a different policy.

Despite the different explanations of participants, they mainly reflect concern about structural aspects of the system. Most participants’ explanations reflected this trend very clearly. These include the notion of concurrent and consecutive systems of teacher education, the unification of the place of teacher education in universities and the recruitment system of teachers.

Finally, the last group of participants expressed their non-agreement with the statement. That is, they do not agree that the policy of teacher education in Egypt has become clear. Like to the last two groups of participants, some participants in this group gave few words to explain their responses. Some noted that this policy has not become clear because of the diversity of routes for entering the teaching profession and the difference in teacher education programmes according to each institution and the lack of any particular authority to co-ordinate between different routes to teacher education.
Some others, mainly professors of education, related their non-agreement to the division in teacher education policy in terms of the adoption of the concurrent or the consecutive system of teacher training. Participant 8, a professor of the foundations of education at an urban university, wondered whether or not this situation would continue! She wondered, in particular, why teachers who were trained in the concurrent system have no chance to be appointed. Participant 9, a professor of foundations of education at an urban university noted that:

There is no agreement on a particular policy for teacher education and there is a tendency to borrow from other countries' systems of teacher training.

Some participants tied the clarity of the policy to its stability. Thus, a variety of routes to teacher training and continuing changes in the system of teacher education have no longer stabilized the policy. Finally, participant 29, a researcher noted the absence of a clear relationship between faculties of teacher education and the society's needs of teachers made the policy unclear. Another reason he mentioned was the recruitment of unqualified teachers instead of qualified ones such as graduates of faculties of commerce, agriculture and so on.

In a similar way to the last group, the present participants showed a trend in their responses. They mainly focus on structural aspects of the system. Again the concurrent and the consecutive systems were referred to many times. The recruitment system was also mentioned with other individual views.
Chapter Six: Initial teacher education policy in Egypt

- Theory and practice of initial teacher education policy

The second question followed from question number one. I asked participants if they agree or agree to some extent or did not agree with the following statement, 'The theoretical aspect of teacher education policy is consistent with the practical aspect'. Table 12 shows participants' responses to the statement.

Table 12: Participants' responses to the statement 'The theoretical aspect of teacher education policy is consistent with the practical aspect'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
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<th>Agree to some extent</th>
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<th>Not agree</th>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36.9</td>
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Table 12 shows that many participants chose to agree to some extent with the statement. A smaller number chose not to agree with the statement and finally a few participants expressed their agreement with the statement. It is important to note that six participants out of the ten who agreed with the statement have not given any explanation to their responses which made it more difficult for the purpose of interpretation. Of the other four participants, two of them explained their responses. For example, participant 2 noted that:

There is no contradiction between policy as a theory and as a practice. This is related to the common uniform of laws and regulations among faculties of teacher education, and also the practice of them in reality.

For the other two participants I failed to catch any meaning from their explanations.
Chapter Six: Initial teacher education policy in Egypt

The second group of participants and the largest number as well has expressed their agreement to some extent with the statement. A few of them have explained their responses. Participants have given different explanations for their responses. Some viewed and evaluated the policy of teacher education in relation to some factors, for example, the extent of consistency between theory and practice of teacher education programmes, the system of recruitment, teacher quality, the lack of resources and so on. Some participants tied the situation of teacher education policy to the level of teacher training programmes, blaming them as the main cause of making differences between policy as theory and as practice. For example, participant 22, a doctor of foundations of education at the Faculty of Education, in an urban University, argued that:

There is a low standard of teachers’ programmes in institutions of teacher education in which these programmes distorted the proposed aims of teacher education policy. Thus, the reality has become so different from the policy text.

Other participants tied the position of teacher education policy to the system of recruitment. For example, participant 23 related this gap to the recruitment of unqualified teachers in the teaching profession. In her view the policy text is saying something different from what is actually enacted in practice. The best proof in her opinion is the recruitment of unqualified teachers into the teaching profession. Some participants tied the position of teacher education to the quality of teachers. Participant 24, a lecturer of foundations of education at an urban university, acknowledged the gap between policy and practice. He attributed this gap to a shortage of qualified teachers in some specialisms, which led to the
recruitment of unqualified teachers. In his belief the policy in theory aims to provide professional training to all teachers at university level. However, teacher shortages in some specialisms led them to ignore the policy text and under these circumstances the practice of the policy has become different. Similarly, participant 29, argued that:

The theory of teacher education policy is consistent with the practice to some extent. The poor quality of teachers contradicts with the policy aim. Present teachers have a lower standard than the previous generation of teachers.

Some others related their explanation to the lack of resources. In their view the reality of the policy is not as consistent with theory as it should be. They give an example of that reality in teacher education faculties such as the absence of laboratories and computers in these faculties.

Finally, and in contrast with the former views, some participants expressed different reasons. In their view, some aims of teacher education policy have become established such as the shift of teacher education to university and the unification of the place of teacher education at universities. In their view, teacher education policy in theory is aimed to unify the route to teacher education. Therefore, faculties of specific education and departments of primary/basic education were established to replace non-university institutions. Thus, the theory of teacher education is consistent with practice to some extent.

Clearly, apart from the last participants' views, I realised that participants' explanations are giving a different meaning from what they actually chose. Their explanations reflect that they are not happy with the policy of teacher education.
Their explanations are not consistent with the alternative they chose. Because they chose “agree to some extent”, one expected that they would say some positive things about the policy and some negative things as well. However, these participants’ explanations were wholly against the system. Many participants noted explicitly the gap between theory and practice in the policy of teacher education. Nevertheless, they related this gap not to the policy itself but in my view, to actions that are out of policy hands such as the lack of resources and the recruitment of unqualified teachers. Some of them saw this gap as a result of lack of resources, which led to the inability to implement the proposed written policies. The policy text provided ideal things on theory; however, when it comes to be done in practice the lack of resources obstructed the work to be done. Some others claimed that the proposed aims of teacher education policy have been destroyed by the use of programmes of teacher education whose standard was too low. Thus, if the policy aims in theory aim to achieve something, the application of this policy in terms of teacher education programmes could produce a different reality in practice.

The third and final group of participants expressed their non-agreement with the statement. Some participants were wondering whether there was any policy to agree with practice! Some others view policy in theory as different from the reality in educational practice. In their views, the policy of teacher education in theory required all prospective teachers to take their training in universities; however, in practice untrained teachers were invited to enter the profession.
Some other participants noted different explanations to their dissatisfaction with policy of teacher education. Participant 6 believed in a gap between policy of teacher education and its practice. His clue was teachers themselves. He argued that:

Teachers’ performance in schools and the way they do their work were an indication of the quality of what they have got during their training. What teachers have in their training is different from what they practised in schools.

Some participants go further to note that there is no link between policy in theory and the actual application of this policy inside faculties of education. Due to this there is a lack of coordination between the different faculties of teacher education. They also claimed that the gap is very obvious between the theory of the policy and its practice as it is reflected in the different regulations of teacher education. Finally, some participants viewed the non-agreement between the theory of the policy and its practice in terms of the failure of the policy to introduce new ways for teaching prospective teachers.

- **Unifying the route to initial teacher education under 1988 policy**

Participants were asked from their point of view if they agree or agree to some extent or do not agree with the following statement ‘The policy of unifying the place to teacher education in Egypt has achieved its aims’. The following table shows participants’ responses to the statement.
Chapter Six: Initial teacher education policy in Egypt

Table 13 Participants responses to the statement ‘Policy of unifying the place to teacher education in Egypt has achieved its aims’

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Table 13 shows that few participants have chosen to agree with the statement. A larger number of participants expressed their agreement to some extent and a similar number signalled their non-agreement with the statement. Some participants, who agreed that the policy of unifying the place to teacher education has achieved its aims, have shared the same explanation. In their belief raising the certificate level and the unification of the place of teacher training have helped to achieve policy aims and it also helped to unify the route to teacher education. This is, in their opinion, more especially for teachers of initial level as the moving of the place of teacher training to university has elevated their educational standard and gave them a superior and proper academic and professional background.

The second group expressed their agreement to some extent with the statement. As usual only a few participants have given some explanation. The main concern of this group was focused on teachers qualifications as a proof of their quality, in particular the university academic qualifications. Participant 6 explained that:

The policy of unifying the place for route to teacher education has achieved its aims to some extent because of the existence of non-education faculties, which train teachers such as Faculty of Science, Faculty of Arts and Faculty of Dar-Alom and others.
Some participant raised the issue of recruiting unqualified teachers instead of qualified ones which contradicts the policy intention to provide the teaching profession with trained teachers. Participant 4 noted that:

The policy of unifying the place to teacher education needs more support. It also needs to fill gaps in its application. It should be operated to achieve further unification of routes to teacher education.

Some participants focused on the quality of teachers. For example, participant 22 noted that:

In theory the policy of teacher education intended to unify the route to teacher education to provide high quality teachers in terms of academic, educational and practical quality. However, the practice is pointing to many criticisms of teachers and generally to the level of education system.

The last group of participants expressed their non-agreement with the statement. They have written few words to explain their responses; however, these words were quite enough to reflect their view. Participant 8 explained that:

apart from unifying the place of teacher education at universities, the routes of teacher education are still not unified yet.

Participant 14, a professor of foundation of education at a Faculty of Education, in an urban University, noted that:

Until now there is no single unified route to teacher education. Also, there is no integration between the existing routes to teacher education.

Some participants argued that there is no policy to unify routes to teacher education and there is no obligation to implement this policy until now in Egypt.
Participant 29, argued that:

This policy failed to achieve any aims and the proof of this is a variety of routes to teacher education in which every route has a separate aim from others.

Participant 44, a researcher at an urban university, attributed the lack of achievement of policy to the following factors: the underdevelopment in methods of teaching, the traditional programmes, the underdevelopment in teacher trainers, and the huge number of future teachers in faculties of education with a lack of resources and proper places to educate them.

Clearly, all participants are satisfied with the unification of the place of teacher education at universities. For some, this unified the route to teacher education. Yet, for others unifying the place does not mean unifying routes to teacher education. In their view, having one place to be responsible for teacher education should be associated with unifying the route to teacher training. The reality shows that there are many routes to teacher education.

Overall, regardless of the type of alternative that participants have chosen, all three groups focused in their responses and explanation on structural issues in the system. None of them expressed any interest in evaluating policies of teacher education in terms of the appropriate philosophy of teacher training. They placed too much emphasis on one aspect of policy role, which is the structural aspect. They only paid attention to the place of teacher education, the level of certificate, the course length and the type of system. Nevertheless some participants noted the influence of teacher training programmes on the policy of teacher education. They speculated on how low standard programmes might affect teachers’ quality.
Findings and discussion based on structured interviews with policy makers and teacher trainers

In the former section, informants expressed their views on the policy of initial teacher education in Egypt. They did this in terms of the clarity of the policy, the extent of consistency between policy as statement and as a practice and the policy which unified the place to teacher education. In this section, the findings of some questions from the structured interviews will be shown and discussed. The aim is to gain further information and insights.

Interviewees were asked about their opinions of the policy, which unified the place of teacher education in Egypt. All interviewees shared the view that the state policy that unified the place of teacher training under university control was very positive. Informants' responses reflected their satisfaction with the state policy, which unified the place to teacher education. This is because it helped to elevate teacher status and it helped to achieve higher quality in teacher training. Also, it increased the efficiency of teacher training programmes. In their view, this helped to raise teachers academic standards. For example interviewee 7 noted that:

It is a positive policy, which has significant impact on all aspects of teacher education. It elevated teachers' social status, in particular primary and kindergarten teachers.

In the same vein, Interviewee 9, a researcher claimed that:

This policy provided teachers with the academic qualifications which qualified them for doing their duties.
Chapter Six: Initial teacher education policy in Egypt

I then followed this question by asking interviewees about the extent of consistency between this policy as a theory and as a practice. Most of the interviewees shared the view that policy statements are inconsistent and in opposition to educational practices. In their opinion this contradiction is due to the reality of having a variety of routes to teacher education. They explained that policy as a theory unified the route to teacher education; however, in practice many routes to teacher education were established. In contrast with this view interviewee 47, a professor of comparative education, at an urban university, noted that:

A variety of routes to teacher education are acceptable because it aims to produce specialist teachers and also these routes provided university education. According to this, teachers have become qualified. Generally speaking, there is no contradiction between producing qualified teachers and the diverse centres of teacher education, simply because all routes are providing qualified teachers.

Policy makers and teacher educators were then asked how they evaluate the current system of teacher education in Egypt in which a variety of routes are available, such as Faculties of Education, Specific Education (Kindergarten) and others. More than half of the interviewees shared the view that the present situation of many routes to teacher education is important because it services the need for training specialist teachers. Interviewee 55, a dean at a Faculty of Education at an urban university, suggested that:

Diversity is beneficial because it considers the different specialisms. In particular, specific areas such as
Chapter Six: Initial teacher education policy in Egypt

kindergarten and specific educational need teachers trained in those fields.

Similarly, interviewee 2 said that:

This diversity is for richness. This is strongly required because of the nature of each educational level and the different specialisms.

Other interviewees, however, opposed this idea. For example, interviewee 14 proposed that:

The current system of teacher education in which many routes are available leads to differences in teachers' standards. This inevitably affected teachers' quality and the quality of the education process in schools.

I then asked interviewees from their point of view, why many routes to teacher education were created in Egypt? Although the overall thrust of many interviewees was to note that a variety of routes to teacher education were to meet the need for a specialist teacher, and diverse specialisms, there was a group of interviewees who felt differently. For example, some attributed this to the lack of clear vision of the people who are responsible for legislation, and the lack of a clear philosophy. Others believed that this was due to confusion in the decision making process as there was a lack of educational planning, different educational policies and differences in points of view among policy makers. Interviewee 43 an educational expert, noted that:

A variety of routes to teacher training were a result of confusion in the decision making and differences in educational policies. This policy was implemented in spite of the absence of consultation from educational policy makers and educational research centres.
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Findings and discussion based on structured interviews with practising teachers

Practising teachers were interviewed about their opinions on the existence of many routes to teacher education in Egypt (for example, departments of basic education, faculties of specific education (kindergarten), and others). Interviewees expressed their opinions about each route to teacher education. A few interviewees were satisfied that there are many routes to teacher education. They explained that this diversity is important in terms of providing the required specialist teachers for each educational level and in each subject. As a result teachers should show superb quality in teaching. In their view, each type of faculty provides specialist teachers in particular fields. For example, faculties of specific education provide specialist teachers in music, art, home economic and information technology. Another example is faculties of Kindergarten, which provide specialist teachers who are able to deal with early years education. Faculties of education are specialists in training preparatory and secondary teachers academically and professionally whereas departments of basic education are specialists only in training primary level teachers. Accordingly, diversity in routes to teacher education is healthy in elevating teachers’ quality.

In contrast, many interviewees expressed dissatisfaction at the existence of many routes to teacher education. An Arabic teacher, interviewee A, working in preparatory school suggested that:

The existence of many routes to teacher education leads to the creation of division between teachers and the
establishment of different cultures among them. I do believe that only one route to teacher education is the most appropriate thing. Furthermore, I suggest the need to unify teacher education programmes throughout all faculties of teacher education.

Another Arabic teacher, interviewee B, working in a primary school noted that:

Faculties of education have a severe deficiency in training teachers, and departments of basic education are following the same path without curing mistakes. I do believe that faculties of specific education are below the standard which qualify them to build generations of teachers well.

Some interviewees noted that these different routes to teacher education do not pay any attention to the academic standard of teachers and they do not provide proper teacher training. In addition, they do not show any concern to train and provide good quality teachers. Owing to this, these routes do not link what student teachers have in teaching centres and the reality in schools.

The majority of interviewees who are dissatisfied with the current situation, regarding the standard of these faculties, shared the view that faculties of teacher education are the only acceptable and appropriate route to train student teachers. A very few expressed the same appreciation for departments of basic education, but with caution.

In relation to interviewees' opinion towards faculties of specific education, a few viewed them as being as important as other routes to teacher education. In their view this route is needed, but only if the trainee teachers in faculties of Kindergarten were restricted for female trainees, and male trainee teachers were restricted to other faculties of specific education. This is because female teachers are perceived to be the best to deal with early years education, while other
faculties of specific education are important to provide specialist teachers in particular areas. Another point of view was expressed to indicate that specific education faculties provided unqualified teachers. In contrast, many interviewees were against faculties of specific education. They rejected their existence as a route to the teaching profession. Also, they objected to the way these faculties were created if they can be part of departments within faculties of education.

Interviewees provided opinions about other routes to the teaching profession. Many of them pointed out that other non-education routes to teaching profession are unable to provide well-qualified teachers. In their views, graduates of non-educational faculties should not enter the teaching profession. However, there were few interviewees who argued that non-educational faculties are qualified to train teachers but only if they paid attention to the practice of teacher education. In their view, faculties such as Arts, Dar-Alom and Al-Alson are training teachers academically better than all other routes to the teaching profession. Also, they believe that there is no difference between non-educational faculties and other routes to teaching profession, simply because student teachers are not gaining any benefit from faculties of teacher education.

In fact, teachers expressed their opinions very clearly about routes to teacher education. Although some teachers were totally satisfied with the present situation of a variety of routes to teacher training, the majority expressed dissatisfaction. Many teachers viewed faculties of education as the cornerstone of the teacher education process in Egypt. Although some teachers expressed satisfaction with one or two routes to teacher education, their agreement was based on the
fulfilment of some conditions. It seems that a minority of teachers favour the current situation of teacher education in which many routes are available to enter the teaching profession. However, a majority of teachers would be happy if there was one main route to teacher education, such as faculties of teacher training. They suggested that there was no need to create a variety of routes to teacher education as these routes could have been established inside faculties of teacher education.

In sum, although policy makers' and teacher trainers' explanations were limited, they were useful in determining why participants chose particular responses. I realized that when participants chose the alternative, 'agree to some extent', they explained certain criticisms of the policy. These criticisms demonstrate that there are some aspects of the policy which they are not satisfied with. This could mean that more participants are not happy with the policy. This would not have been indicated without participants' explanation.

I realised that participant responses are not straightforward. They reflect participants' caution in responding to the questionnaire. It seems that their position required them to act in this way. Therefore, they may have preferred to be on the safe side and pick the alternative which suggests moderation. However, participants' responses and explanations in other questions reflect contradiction in to their opinions. For example, when participants were asked about consistency between policy statements of teacher education and policy practices, only ten of them argued that the policy is consistent with practice. However, when participants were asked in a previous question about the clarity of the policy,
twenty four participants argued that the policy of teacher education is clear. These responses do not match with each other.

In fact, when participants were asked for their point of view about the 1988 policy which unified the place of teacher education, a few were positive towards this policy and the majority raised criticisms against the policy. This actually appears to contradict results from interviews as more interviewees expressed their satisfaction with the 1988 policy. In fact, they were satisfied with the principles in which it aimed to unify the place and certification of teacher education for all types of teachers. This explains why the majority of interviewees indicated that the 1988 policy is inconsistent with practice. The policy is ideal in principle but it contradicts the practice.

Although six interviewees out of eleven were happy with the present situation of teacher education in which many routes are available, five interviewees attributed the creation of different routes to deficiencies in the policy of teacher education. Throughout the rest of the questionnaire responses, participants show a similar trend. Every time participants chose to agree to some extent with a statement, their choice if accompanied with an explanation reflects many criticisms. This in my view reflects a general trend of dissatisfaction. Firstly, this is dissatisfaction with the policy of teacher education in Egypt. Secondly, it suggests dissatisfaction with current situation in which many routes to becoming a teacher are available. Similarly to policy makers and teacher trainers, many practising teachers showed dissatisfaction with a variety of routes to teacher education. They expressed some criticisms of particular routes to teacher education.
education. The explanation of policy makers and teacher trainers suggested dissatisfaction with current practices of teacher education. Practising teachers appear to have the same feeling.
Chapter Seven

Institutions of teacher education in Egypt and teachers' roles

Following on from the previous chapter I aim in this one to gain further information about teacher education in Egypt. In this chapter I attempt to uncover the opinions of policy makers, teacher trainers and practising teachers on institutions of teacher education in Egypt and teachers' roles inside and outside these institutions. First I will discuss the views of policy makers, and teacher trainers about institutions of teacher training in Egypt and their opinions on teachers’ roles inside and outside teacher training centres. This will be followed by the views of practising teachers on the same issues.

Evaluation of current practices in teacher training centres and future proposals

Findings and discussion based on the questionnaire

Moving back to the questionnaire to explore the viewpoints of policy makers and teacher trainers about particular routes to teacher education, I asked them if they agree, agree to some extent or do not agree with the following statement: ‘Faculties of specific education have achieved the aims that they were established for’. Table 14 shows participants’ responses to the statement.

Table 14: Participants’ responses to the statement ‘Faculties of specific education have achieved the aims that they were established for’

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<thead>
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<th>Agree</th>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>58.1</td>
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<td>22.1</td>
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Table 14 shows that the majority of participants chose to agree to some extent with the statement while about one fifth of them agreed and a further one fifth disagreed. It is interesting to note that four participants out of seventeen who suggested that faculties of specific education have achieved the aims they were established for, are working in these faculties. One of the staff members, participant 25, explained that he agrees with the statement because these faculties are serving the Egyptian community and the proof of the success is the surplus in the number of their graduated teachers. He believes that these faculties has been successful in offering the required number of teachers in specific areas and that is a very clear proof of their success. The second staff member, participant 17, argued that:

faculties of specific education were able to fill a gap in the field of teacher training. For example, faculties of education do not prepare the specific type of teacher who is able to teach practical subjects. Therefore, faculties of specific education have helped to fill this gap.

I realised that three participants who agreed with the statement were educational experts and policy makers. Participants 23 and 15 shared the explanation that faculties of specific education were successful in covering all areas, which are not available in faculties of education. They also noted how these faculties provided the required number of teachers in different specialisms at a time when a shortage of teachers in particular practical areas was found. Participant 37 noted that faculties of specific education have achieved the aims that they were established for because they elevated the certificate level of a particular type of teacher and gave them a university degree as their training has become of university standard.
Participant 2, explained that:

Faculties of specific education have succeeded in providing the needed number of qualified teachers, however, the quality aspects have some limitations. In spite of these limitations, in my opinion, it is better than lifting unqualified teachers to enter the teaching profession.

It was interesting to discover that seven participants among those who agreed that faculties of specific education have achieved their aims, are either working in these faculties or policy makers. They evaluated these faculties mainly in terms of a quantity standard. The main indication for specific faculties’ success, from their point of view, was their role to provide the required number of teachers in different specialisms. However, I believe that a surplus of teachers cannot be considered a proof of success, especially when some other participants asserted that graduates of these faculties have not had the opportunity to enter the teaching profession. This situation might rather be considered an indication of lack of planning when establishing these faculties.

The largest group of participants expressed their agreement to some extent with the statement. Many of them proposed that these faculties have succeeded in providing teachers to teach practical subjects such as home economics, information technology, music, art and others. They suggested further that faculties of specific education have helped to provide the profession with specialist teachers at a time when teacher shortages in some practical subjects were very common. These faculties have succeeded in preparing qualified teachers with higher certificates in some specific areas.

Participant 16, a professor at a Faculty of Kindergarten at an urban university, argued that no link between the academic part of the programme
and the practicum was established. There is a clear gap between what trainee teachers are provided with in these faculties and what they encountered in school reality. Participant 16 argued that these faculties have some limitations such as a lack of resources and shortage of staff members, which restricted their abilities to achieve the aims they were established for. Participant 18, a professor of foundations of education at an urban university, argued that these faculties succeeded only in terms of quantity to provide the profession with the required numbers of teachers.

Participant 28, a professor at a Faculty of Education, in an urban University, noted that faculties of specific education to some extent have achieved the aims they were established for. He goes on to explain that:

The decision to establish these faculties was inappropriate as it was created to achieve certain targets. The first target was to provide places in universities to some students who finished their secondary education and have got low scores with which any other faculty will not accept them. Secondly, the social pressure of some groups of individuals in the society, especially parents, to offer places in universities to their sons who have low academic achievement standards.

Participant 33 followed the same point and argued that:

These faculties were established in order to gain personal agendas and intentions. Thus, faculties have achieved to some extent the aims they were established for.

Participant 29 argued that faculties of specific education still depend on delegating staff members of other faculties such as fine arts, applied arts and others. He explained that:

Faculties of specific education mainly depend on representatives of non-educational staff members from
other faculties to train student teachers. As a result, the academic part of the programme is not functioning to the requirements of teachers’ needs in the actual field. I mean the academic subjects such as photography will be totally taught academically and far from the way to apply it into teaching practice. Therefore, I recommend the need for paying more attention to the practical part of the teacher education programme. Additionally, the aim of establishing these faculties to provide qualified teachers to teach in the initial level, was not achieved. This is because teachers who graduated from these faculties are looking to work in higher levels of education to avoid the low status that initial level teachers have.

Participant 19, a researcher raised another point of view. He noted that:

Faculties of specific education when they were first established were under the authority and control of the Ministry of Higher Education, but faculties of education were always under the control of universities. Accordingly the organization and regulations are different in each one of these two authorities.

He believes that this is what created a split between the preparation of academic subject teachers and that of specific or activities teachers. In the same vein Participant 9 argued that:

These institutions are lacking significant financial and technical support. Moreover, there are no clear aims and particular philosophy, which determine the function of these institutions. Additionally, some graduates from these faculties have a low academic and professional standard.

Thus, a number of participants criticised many aspects in these faculties. Their explanations reflect disagreement with the policy of teacher education in particular with the establishment of these faculties. Interestingly, even though the questions did not suggest criticisms, participants expressed them.
When I referred to the explanations of the third group of participants, I realised there was no significant difference between them and the explanations of the former group. Participant 22 argued that:

Faculties of specific education have not achieved the aims they were established for because they have helped to provide large numbers of unemployed. These faculties have not received proper preparation for their establishment and have not been provided with what they need in terms of equipment, finance, administration and staff members.

Participant 12, a professor at Faculty of Education at an urban University, shared the same point. She noted that:

Unemployment among graduates of these faculties is the obvious proof of these faculties' under achievement.

Finally, participant 26, a former professor in one of the faculties of specific education at a rural University, noted that:

In the light of shortages of resources and of staff members it was possible to establish departments such as kindergarten, music, art and others inside faculties of education. The decision to establish these faculties was inappropriate and alternatives were possible.

From what has been said one can conclude that the group who agreed with the statement has given support to their answer of the success of specific education faculties in terms of quantity. I think this evaluation is not enough, as other aspects such as quality should be considered. Some participants considered the surplus of teachers and unemployment as an indication of the failure of these faculties. Participants who praised faculties of specific education noted certain reasons such as the elevation of teachers' certificates, the unification of the place of their training and the provision of qualified
teachers. However, if other participants mentioned that these faculties depend on delegating staff members from academic and applied faculties who definitely have no idea about training teachers, what could be the consequences? Also, participants indicated that the elevation of the level of certificate did not change teachers' attitudes towards teaching and teachers of initial levels. Specific teachers, as some participants pointed out, are looking for teaching in higher levels of education to avoid the low status of teachers at the initial level.

Following the previous statement I asked participants to choose from three alternatives (agree – agree to some extent – not agree) to give their view on this statement 'Departments of basic education have achieved the aims they were established for'. The following table shows participants' responses to the statement.

Table 15: Participants' responses to the statement 'Departments of basic education have achieved the aims they were established for'.

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<td>25.6</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 15 shows generally a quite a similar trend to responses in table 14. The number of responses to the second alternative (agree to some extent) is quite similar to responses to the previous statement. Responses to the first alternative (agree) and the third alternative (not agree) are quite different from responses in the previous statement. More participants chose to agree with the statement than in the previous one. It seems more participants are satisfied with basic education departments than with faculties of specific education.
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All participants who chose to agree with the statement shared the same explanation. From their point of view departments of basic education have achieved the aims they were established for, because they were created to provide qualified teachers for the initial level of education. They provided university education to primary trainee teachers after their training in non-university institutions. Participant 36, a researcher, argued that:

These departments helped in elevating primary teachers' standard and in providing a good quality of teachers. They also helped to demolish the division between teachers and elevated their social status.

Participant 15 argued that:

These departments provided university certificates in which primary teacher certificates were elevated to the university standard. Teacher education was unified under the university umbrella for all types of teachers.

Additionally, participant 2 argued that these departments provided the required number of teachers in spite of some quality limitations. Participant 5 noted that:

I do believe that primary or basic education teachers are more qualified academically and professionally than the previous generation of teachers who have a non-university education.

The second group of participants, who expressed their agreement to some extent with the statement, has mentioned some different explanations. Participant 7 suggested that:

Departments of basic education were created to achieve a certain aim, which is providing equal opportunities to all trainee teachers to have a university education, and that this is what will lead to the elevation of teachers' social status. These departments helped to unify the route to teacher education and to offer a university education to all types of teachers. They provided the
qualities of teacher education in Egypt

qualified teachers academically and professionally. They helped to raise teacher training in terms of elevating it to the university standard.

Another issue raised by participant 33 was the lack of resources, both technical and financial. He noted that teacher candidate numbers in these departments are significantly higher than their capability and ability to accommodate them.

Some participants argued that these departments achieved the aims they were established for in terms of quantity only. They believed this was consistent with the aim these departments were established for. However, they claimed that these departments suffer from a severe deficiency, in the sense of old fashioned teacher education content, which does not agree with the new information era. Finally, participant 22 raised another issue. In her view

The aim to elevate the teacher education standard to the university is a good decision, but the means by which it has been carried out has undermined the validity of this decision.

The final group of participants, who chose not to agree with the statement, has noted a variety of explanations. Participant 12, noted that the actual situation in these departments is the obvious proof of their failure to achieve the aims they were established for. She pointed out that:

These departments are not prepared properly either in terms of providing proper human resource and equipment. Therefore, I do believe that the former non-university institutions of teacher training were better in training teachers than the present university institutions. I think that if the former non-university institutions were developed we would have better institutions than the present one.

She provided evidence for her choice and said that:

The low moral standard of primary teachers is the obvious evidence of the underachievement of
Participant 35 raised an important point when he argued that:

The decision to establish these departments has created barriers between student teachers in basic education departments and with students teachers in the general department. It also created division between teachers of initial level and other higher levels in their recruitment.

Similar to this view, participant 13, a doctor of foundations of education at an urban university, noted that:

The outcome of these departments (teachers themselves) mostly expressed feeling of unhappiness when joining them. They have not had the opportunity to choose the department to join. They are obliged to enter departments of basic education according to their score in the secondary education exam. The higher the score the higher the chance to choose the department to enter, such as the general department whose trainees teaches at the secondary level. But, the lower the score the lower and impossible chance to choose the preferred department. The only choice remaining is the department of basic education.

Participant 32, a doctor at the Faculty of Education, in an urban University noted that:

Faculties of education (general department) are the only institutions to train teachers and to qualify them to enter teaching profession. I do think that these faculties have achieved only some of the aims they were established for.

Finally, participant 21, a researcher, attributed his non-agreement to inefficiency in application. He noted that teacher educators themselves need training and professional development.

In a similar way to previous statements other participants' responses showed the same trend. The same notions were mentioned from the unification
of the place of teacher education, and the elevation of the level of teachers certificate to raising teachers’ status. However, neither the elevation of teacher certificates nor the university education prevented trainee teachers from expressing feelings of dissatisfaction when they were obliged to enter departments of basic education.

Findings and discussion based on structured interview with policy makers and teacher trainers

Policy makers and teacher trainers were asked about their opinions of the concurrent system of teacher education. In response to this, they reported a wide range of views. Five interviewees out of eleven expressed their dissatisfaction with the concurrent system of teacher education. They attributed this opinion to the imbalance between the academic part of the programme and the educational and practical part. However, the other interviewees were happy with the concurrent system of teacher education. Nevertheless, they suggested some changes in the system which could enhance it. For example, they suggested the need for strengthening the academic content of teachers’ specialisms: providing opportunities for teachers to deepen and strengthen their specialisms. It is clear that this group of interviewees had based their judgment on their belief that trainee teachers in the concurrent system have too much material and too little knowledge of subject matter.

It was interesting to realise that some interviewees based their judgment on a particular belief in this system for a particular group of teachers. Interviewee 55 argued that:
This is the right system for kindergarten teachers. The situation in faculties of kindergarten is different. The nature of curriculum in this level is different from the nature of curriculum in other levels. Children in this stage learn through a wide range of activities. They are learning through playing. So that trainee teachers do not need to have in-depth education like other teachers in secondary schooling.

Similarly, some interviewees reported their dissatisfaction with the consecutive system of teacher education, because of the imbalance of the academic part of the course and the practical one. Another reason for opposition was that:

This system is not acceptable at all because of the surplus of graduates from the concurrent system (interviewee 2).

Others were supportive of the system, but they also recommended linking the concurrent and consecutive systems of teacher education. Also, they suggested the need to pay more attention to the practical part of the course.

In relation to these two questions I wanted to extend one of them, and ask two more questions to gain more information about the academic and pedagogic aspects of the concurrent system. Interviewees were asked about their opinion of the duration of work experience in teacher training in Egypt. Almost all interviewees reported a deficiency in the practicum part of the course and the need to reform it to achieve balance between the theoretical and practical part of the programme. In their view it also needs effective partnership between universities and schools. A few mentioned that the practicum lacks rational norms for evaluation and reviewing. Interviewee 7 noted that:

I do believe that the practicum is not a successful part of the programme. Student teachers are always complaining about it. It does need radical changes to
guarantee the effective partnership between universities and schools and the link between theory and practice as well.

Similar to the last question, when interviewees were asked about their opinion on the academic part of teacher education in Egypt, the majority reported a deficiency in the academic part of the programme and the need to review it to achieve balance between objectives and the application of these objectives. In their opinion the state needs to consider the quality of teacher education rather than focusing on increasing the number of applicants. Interviewee 2 noted that:

There is no deficiency in the sense of quantity; however, there is a remarkable deficiency in terms of quality. There is no link between what student teachers have been taught in faculties of education and the way they could operate this education in schools.

Some others related the cause of deficiency to the nature of the programme, which is different from that which is taught in academic faculties. Interviewee 7 noted that:

The academic content in faculties such as Arts and Science is strong, however, in faculties of education it is trivial and superficial.

In the belief of this group, the extension of the course length could eradicate the lack of academic content. Others noted the need to develop the system in order to keep it undivided from the reality of society and the rapid changes in the world.

Further to the last question, interviewees were asked about their opinion of the new proposal in Egypt to abolish the concurrent system of teacher education. Almost all interviewees reported their opposition to this proposal.
Interviewees reported different reasons for their disagreement. These are some of them.

Faculties of education are the only institutions whose main target is to prepare teachers. In terms of teacher education the concurrent system is better than the consecutive one. Therefore, it is essential to keep it, not to abolish it (Interviewee 14).

These calls are to serve individual intentions and agendas and do not care about the future of the education process (Interviewee 6).

The proponents have their own hidden personal motives. The educational reality requires the need of faculties of teacher education for the initial part, and then comes the role of higher education institutions (Interviewee 2).

A few reported their agreement with the new proposal. They believe that

I do agree with these calls, but for Faculties of Education only and not for Faculties of Kindergarten and Specific Education. Elimination of undergraduate study would result in teachers having more academic information in the subject they teach. I think that students should have their first degree then a graduate study in education at Higher Institution of Teaching. This is not applying in Faculties of Kindergarten and Specific Education because they are skills based faculties (Interviewee 55).

I do believe this decision would lead to the elevation of the academic standard of teachers. Currently, this system is implemented in all faculties of teacher education at the postgraduate level (General Diploma-Special Diploma) (Interviewee 7).

Interviewees' responses therefore indicated criticisms of the official policy. They severely criticised the new state reform. Interestingly, interviewees who expressed satisfaction with the concurrent or the consecutive systems of teacher education, linked their satisfaction to changes in these systems. Their opinions
suggested changes but not the changes that the state has proposed. They wanted changes in both systems of teacher education, but not to abolish one of them.

**Evaluation of teachers’ roles inside and outside institutions of teacher education in Egypt**

The second theme I wanted to explore was teachers’ roles inside and outside teacher education institutions. It was interesting to discover that almost all policy makers and teacher educators who were interviewed shared the view that teachers have absolutely no role in the making of teacher education policy. Also, it was felt by some that teachers’ opinions were listened to, but were rarely implemented. Interviewee 55 noted that:

> We do consider teachers’ opinions. However, we look at their opinions in the sense that if they are practical we could consider them and if they are not, or difficult to implement we do not consider them.

This view did not surprise me, as it seems consistent with interviewees’ responses which identified the people who are responsible for policy making of teacher education in Egypt. All interviewees noted that this is the responsibility of the Ministries of Education, Higher Education, and Scientific Research, and the specialist National Committees. Others reported the role of Educational Centres and educational experts. A few noted the role of intellectuals. Clearly, no mention has been made of any role of teachers or any involvement in a matter that they are deeply concerned with.

Similarly, when interviewees were asked for their point of view about the priorities which are considered when developing a policy of teacher education, many interviewees saw that it develops according to the opinion of a selected
group of individuals who are concerned with it. A few noted that it developed according to the results of educational research which shows contemporary international experience in developing teacher education policy.

Similarly, nearly all interviewees reported the absence of teachers from teacher education programmes. Only one participant noted that:

I consider student teachers' opinions at least in the faculty I work in as a dean. I usually administer a questionnaire at the end of every academic year to know student teachers' opinions and the staff members' views in teacher education programme. Then, enhancement is implemented in the light of questionnaire results.

Another significant discovery was that the majority of interviewees reported that teachers rarely attend conferences or forums in which issues of teacher education are discussed and they wondered whether any conferences were held by the teachers' union in which teachers can participate. A few noted that sometimes teachers have participated and they were able to show their views. Participant 7 noted that:

Teachers participated in conferences for developing education in Egypt. They also have shared in the national conferences to develop teacher preparation, training and welfare. They mentioned problems which they encountered at work.

Similarly, the majority of interviewees reported the absence of teachers from educational research. They noted that teachers are not involved in doing research, and if they were, it was in order to get promotion. A few noted that teachers only participate by answering surveys and questionnaires. Interviewee 7 noted that:
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At the present time, it is an unrecognisable role. Only researchers working at educational research centres are responsible for carrying out the educational research.

Some interviewees' views reflect particular perception of what teachers' roles involved. Teachers' roles seem to be separated from involvement in doing research, simply because this is the researchers' duty in research centres. Yet, if teachers have any role to play it is to participate by answering questionnaires and surveys for the researcher's purposes.

Similarly, when interviewees were asked about teachers' participation in social and political work in Egypt, the majority of interviewees reported limited participation of teachers or the absence of it completely. A few mentioned that teachers' participation is restricted to their membership in one of the political parties and in the teachers' union.

Overall, a majority of interviewees expressed their dissatisfaction with both the undergraduate level of teacher education and the graduate one. Data demonstrated that even when interviewees expressed their satisfaction with one of the systems of teacher education or both of them, their satisfaction was subject to the making of some changes to develop the systems. Additionally, a majority of interviewees were dissatisfied with the academic content of teacher education programmes and the practicum as well. Although interviewees were dissatisfied with both types of systems, they all opposed the new state proposal to abolish the undergraduate system of teacher education and to rely solely on the graduate level.

In the following part of this chapter I explore practising teachers' opinions on their roles inside and outside teacher education centres and their
opinions about training in these centres. I aim to compare policy makers and teacher trainers opinions with practising teachers opinions on the same issues.

**Evaluation of institutions of teacher education in Egypt and teachers roles from the point of view of practising teachers**

In this part of the chapter I explore teachers' views on their training, problems that they may encounter during and after training, and their recommendations to enhance the sector of teacher education in Egypt. Teachers were asked several questions to explore their opinions on the training they received. I will begin with teachers’ opinions on their participation in some areas. This will be followed by teachers’ opinions on their training.

To begin with, interviewees were asked about teachers’ roles inside teacher education institutions and outside them. I asked practising teachers if they currently participate in in-service programmes of teacher education or if they participated in pre-service programme of teacher education. The following table shows interviewees’ responses to my question.

**Table 16: Aspects of teachers’ participation in teacher education programmes (pre-service and in-service).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number (N=29)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No participation</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>72.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited participation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual pro-active participation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambiguous answer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A significant number of interviewees indicated that they have no role or participation in teacher education programmes. Some interviewees simply explained that this was the case as no one had asked them to be involved. For example, Interviewee C, a preparatory physical education teacher, explained that:

Generally speaking, in Egypt teachers' participation in teacher education programmes is 'zero' and they have no opinion.

Interviewee D, an Arabic language teacher working in preparatory school, explained how he was deprived the opportunity to participate. He noted that:

Teachers have no role or participation in teacher education programmes and this in my opinion is what led to the current education failure in Egypt. On some occasions calls from people in authority suggested the need to have this role. The minister himself holds conferences via videoconference and many teachers throughout Egypt could see it. However, these conferences have become known as The Mayor's Wedding.

This expression 'the Mayor's Wedding' in Arabic means criticism of the minister of education. It is used to indicate the worthlessness of videoconference meetings. A similar view was expressed by interviewee E, a maths teacher in primary school. He noted that:

It seems that teachers have no role in teacher education programmes. I do believe that teachers in Egypt are treated as instruments to implement decisions, which the Ministry and local authorities require of them. Simply, to order teachers about what they must do and what they must not do.
A very few teachers identified limited participation. Interviewee F, an English language teacher in secondary education, although he attended videoconference sessions, he was dissatisfied. He explained that:

I attended some videoconference sessions about teacher education programmes. However, I did not gain any benefit. These conferences to me are lacking the content and the distance of education in real situations. Organisers of these meetings usually talk about what teachers should do.

The two other interviewees who identified their limited participation in teacher education programmes explained their role in terms of teaching to their colleagues. As information technology teachers, they were required to teach some courses about computers to their colleagues. It was their belief that they are helping illiterate teachers who do not know how to use computers.

There were two interviewees who voted their individual pro-active participation in teacher education programmes. A philosophy and an art teacher working in secondary schools explained how they tried to participate indirectly in teacher education programmes. They mentioned their attempts to develop teaching methods in the sense of using discussion with students rather than forcing them to remember information. They were keen to develop their knowledge and to be updated in their specialist subject.

Following the last question, interviewees were asked about aspects of their participation in conferences and forums of teacher education. The following table shows interviewees' responses.
Table 17: Teachers aspects of participation in conferences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number (n=29)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No participation</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>58.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating by attending and listening</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating by expressing opinions and discussing some issues</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17 shows that most interviewees commented on their lack of participation in conferences and forums of teacher education. Interviewees gave a variety of explanations. Some preparatory school teachers simply said that they did not participate in any conferences or forums about teacher education. This answer is somewhat ambiguous. I have got a feeling from teachers' responses that there were conferences and forums about teacher education but they did not go and become involved in these meetings. I think being unable to detect what teachers actually mean by their answer is one of the limitations of using a structured interview. If teachers were open in talking to me, as they were open in writing their responses by themselves, I would have gained more information.
As indicated in the previous responses, some interviewees working in primary, preparatory and secondary schools noted that they did not attend any conferences or forums about teacher education. Again this answer is ambiguous. It could either mean they did not want to be involved in these events in spite of them being held or that they did not attend because there was no such gathering to attend. However, other teachers' explanations sorted out this vagueness. Interviewee Y, an Arabic and religion teacher wondered whether there were any conferences! And he asked, where are these conferences? Is there any announcement about them? He said that he never heard about them, simply because there was no announcement to inform teachers about these events. Participant R, a secondary school maths teacher said that he did not participate in forums about teachers, simply because he was never invited to such meetings.

Interviewee T, a secondary teacher made the same point and added that not only were they not invited but also they have been marginalized and ignored by people who organized such events. Interviewee G, a female secondary school teacher and a Masters and PhD graduate, said that:

There is no sort of teachers' participation in conferences and forums about teacher education. Teachers do not know about these events and if they were informed this came very late.

Although a very few teachers were involved, they expressed severe criticisms. They claimed that even though they attended many conferences and forums they never get any benefit from them. For example, interviewee D noted in strong language that:
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I do believe that, the fact of being teachers, our opinions have no aspect of respect. Therefore, I do not attend such conferences. Also, if I did, I drink tea and recall my good times by talking to my friends of teachers.

Interviewee E in tough critical language also pointed out that:

I attended some of these worthless meetings. They do not go beyond being forums and meetings for training. The only target to be achieved from these events was to benefit the organizers. They gain money for organizing and administering these events.

Although a few teachers were involved in these events, they were critical. For example interviewee C in a similar critical opinion said that:

These events are very few. However, when I attended I participated by expressing my concern about teachers’ position in the Egyptian society. I suggested the need to give teachers the status they deserve socially, professionally and financially. Unfortunately, my suggestions have not gained attention or response.

Interviewee H, a physics preparatory school teacher, related his answer to attending meetings for in-service professional development. He said that:

Sometimes in these events for in-service training, we discuss the prescribed curricula. On some occasions we are not allowed open discussion but instead we should listen, obey and remember information to pass the training and gain a certificate showing that I attended the training and passed.

Interviewee F said that:

My participation is limited to listening. Also, I sometimes give answers to some questions that arise in these meetings. However, all these were just talking and nothing more than talking in the air.
Some other interviewees identified their participation in terms of discussing some issues about teachers and also showing their opinions. They discussed possibilities of elevating the educational process and teachers' standards. Also, they raised issues about teachers' status in society socially and financially. Additionally, they discussed the teachers' role in establishing a better society and effective partnership between them and families.

Following a number of questions about teachers' participation in some areas, they were asked about aspects of their participation in the social and political work in Egypt. Table 18 shows participants' responses to the question.

Table 18: Teachers' participation in the social and political work in Egypt.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number (N=29)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of participation</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual participation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in political and social work</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual participation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in social work</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>41.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Six teachers out of ten of those who expressed limited participation simply said that they did not participate in either social or political work. Only four teachers of those ten gave some explanation for their lack of participation. Participant N, a philosophy secondary school teacher noted that the reason
behind his lack of participation in social or political work was that he did not have any political or social concerns. Participant L, an English language secondary school teacher mentioned a different reason. He said that because of the long school day he never had time to participate. Interviewee B noted that:

The reason I did not participate in the social and political life, is the demolition of teachers' social status. I think one of the critical factors to destroy this status is the media. It distorted the image of teachers, which led to creating a spirit of hate between teachers and society.

Interviewee I, a secondary school teacher, pointed out that:

I did not involve myself in pro-active participation in the social and political work in Egypt because I try to avoid any penalties. The law, which allows politician to participate in the political life and prevents such involvement to non-politicians, obstructed me from making any participation.

Only five teachers mentioned their participation on both of the two levels, social and political work. The social participation mainly involved raising money for widows and orphans or being involved in social work inside schools. The political involvement of teachers, either being members in a political party or their participation, was restricted to giving their votes in elections. For example, participant M, a primary maths teacher said that he is a member of the Democratic Party (the dominant party) and a member of the Committee of Public Relations of this party in his own city. Participant D mentioned the same sort of participation as an active member in the Cultural Committee of the Democratic Party. Participant P, a female Arabic language teacher working in preparatory school noted that she discussed with her students issues in connection with political parties in Egyptian society. She tried to educate students and help them comprehend the role of political parties.
She also discussed the criteria that could be used to judge the best party and the best member.

Interviewee E noted that he is participating in terms of being a Mosque Speaker. He explained the role he has to represent in social and political life because of his position. An art secondary school teacher explained how she attempted to encourage students to express their opinions by drawing current events in Egypt.

Another group of teachers showed their participation in social work in terms of being members of charity organizations. Some teachers participated in a number of social and charity organizations. They aimed to share in providing services to people in their areas, especially caring for poor people and orphans. Some others said they participated in social and public events at the level of their families and friends.

The final question in investigating teachers' participation in some areas was about the role they play in educational research. Table 19 shows teachers' answers to my question.

Table 19: Teachers' role in doing educational research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number (N=29)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No role</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>55.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual participation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General answers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Many teachers expressed their lack of engagement in any educational research. Twelve teachers out of 16 from those who expressed no role simply stated a few words to explain their answers. Two or more words were reported such as 'nothing', 'no', 'I do not do', 'I did not do any role', 'I do not make any research', 'I am never involved in doing educational research' and 'I have not done such educational research'. Only four teachers gave more details to explain their answers. For example, interviewee H noted that:

I do not have time to do research, either educational or any other type of research.

Interviewee I said that:

I did not engage by any role to do education research simply because no one asked me to do.

A very few teachers pointed to their individual involvement in research. They do research as part of an Educational Diploma Course at postgraduate level. Teacher F noted that he did research about teachers' problems in rural areas in Egypt.

Teachers were asked about their suggestions to develop teacher education in Egypt. Table 20 show teachers' suggestions to improve the system.
Table 20: Teachers’ recommendations to enhance teachers’ education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recommendation</th>
<th>Number (N=29)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Improve teachers’ financial and social status.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear policy, purposes, framework and content.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide real in-service training</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasising student teachers practical experience</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruiting only, qualified teachers for entering teacher profession</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teachers gave a variety of suggestions to develop the system of teacher education in Egypt. Many of them recommended the need for providing effective in-service teacher education. In their view this would help to develop and refresh teachers’ knowledge and introduce them to the latest knowledge in education.

Another group of teachers recommended the need for enhancing the social, professional and financial standards of teachers in Egypt. Interviewee I pointed out that:

One of the most striking problems that is facing teachers in Egypt is the low social positions. I suggest the need to enhance the social status of teachers. This would encourage them to devote their time to showing excellence in their specialisms. Teachers’ attitude
would be changed from basically searching for money to develop their academic standard.

Some other teachers recommended the need for increasing teachers’ salary.

Another group of teachers recommended the need for establishing clear policy, purposes, framework and content for teacher education. For example, Interviewee D explained that:

I do think stability and clarity of state policy towards the type of teachers they want, is very important. Changing and confused policies of teacher education are the secret of its real corruption.

Interviewee F noted that:

Teacher education needs to be considered in its clear determined framework, purpose and content and not as non-practical and general purposes.

Similarly, interviewee E said that:

I suggest that determining purposes of teacher education and putting teachers as a cornerstone in the education process are very critical. Could you think if laws and regulations were formed without making efforts to make teachers comprehend them? As a result teachers will avoid working with these laws and regulations. I do believe teachers should be included and involved in the education process. Surveys should be administered to know teachers’ opinions about any changes in education policies.

Another group of teachers suggested the need for increasing the emphasis on student teachers’ practical experience in schools. Some teachers expressed one final suggestion. They called for the need to limit teachers’ recruitment to qualified teachers. They, also, called for a good selection of student teachers, providing good training and offering resources. Interviewee H suggested the need to depend on qualified teachers only and to depend on teachers’ institutions as the single route to teacher education.
The striking trend throughout the responses to the previous questions was the severe lack of teachers' involvement in many areas. Nevertheless some teachers showed individual commitment to be involved in some areas. The absence of teachers in many areas is not deliberate on their part, but is something that is out of their hands. Many individual teachers showed a desire to participate in social work. Their load of work did not prevent them from helping in social work. It would appear that teachers' rights to have a political and social voice have been marginalized. Additionally, teachers' academic rights in their education and training have been ignored. In spite of this teachers' responses indicated their awareness and commitment. I think teachers are missing an opportunity. They need to have the opportunity and regain trust in their abilities. Teachers were not satisfied with being marginalized and they criticized the authorities for being so obstructive and authoritarian.

Practising teachers showed similar opinions to policy makers and teacher trainers. The majority indicated the severe lack of teachers' participation in many aspects that related to teacher education. In fact, teachers provided clear information and explanations for their answers. In contrast to policy makers' and teacher trainers' limited responses and explanations in the interview, practising teachers gave enough material and information which explained their answers. I think teachers felt freer in expressing their complaints on paper.

The second theme I discussed in the interviews with practising teachers was their opinions of the training they got. It is important to note that interviewees
Chanter Seven: Institutions of teacher education in Egypt
came from a variety of backgrounds. The following table shows the faculties that teachers graduated from.

**Table 21: Teachers' faculties' background.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculties of Education</th>
<th>Number (N=29)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faculties of Specific Education, Physical</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>55.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and Art Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other non-educational Faculties (Arts -</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce - Dar-Alom)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I discovered that many teachers chose faculties of teacher education because of their personal desire to enrol in them; also, they chose them for personal desire and because of the score they got in high school exam. A few teachers showed that they entered faculties of teacher education without a personal preference. They were forced to enrol in these faculties because their score in high school exam qualified them only to enter these faculties. The following table shows teachers' attitudes to entering faculties of teacher education.
Chapter Seven: Institutions of teacher education in Egypt

Table 22: Teachers' attitudes to entering faculties of teacher education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number (N=29)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal desire</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal desire and high school score exam</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school score exam only</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-teacher education graduates</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nearly all teachers who showed a personal desire to enter faculties of education expressed the same desire to join the teaching profession. Participant L pointed out how keen he was to enter the teaching profession. In spite of his achievement of a BA Degree in philosophy, he entered the faculty of education to be qualified for recruitment in the teaching profession. He explained how he tried to be a teacher but his previous degree did not help him to enter the profession.

By contrast, art secondary school teacher J explained how she preferred to enter the faculty of specific education because she preferred to enrol in an art faculty. She wanted to study art in more depth and to improve her talent and knowledge as well. She revealed her lack of desire to enter the teaching profession and to be a teacher. Instead she wanted to be a commercial designer; however she never got the opportunity. Both groups of teachers, either those who chose to enter faculties of education because of personal preference and their score in their high school exam, or those who only chose to enter because of their exam score in high school, gave the same reasons for entering the
teaching profession. The last group added that they entered the teaching profession because it is the fastest way to be recruited and to find a job.

When teachers were asked for their opinions about the training they had, nearly all teachers expressed dissatisfaction. The imbalance between theory and practice was the main point that teachers raised. In their view, theory in the sense of academic subjects was the dominant aspect of the programme and it did not function with practice. This is because practice was mainly driven by educational theory and it was separated from school reality. Interviewee E for example pointed out that:

Teacher education programmes significantly focus on theory. It is lacking the coherence with reality in schools.

He goes further to indicate how his training affected his work.

When you work at any field here in Egypt, the first lesson you are expected to get in your newly practical life is that you should forget what you had got in your academic education and to start learning from the reality.

Similarly, participant M pointed out that his training had no impact on his work. He mentioned how he was influenced by real experience in the educational environment and by practising education. Interviewee K, a vocational secondary school teacher, has a tough opinion about his training experience. He pointed out that:

The content of the course is vague and it is not the expected course to train the new generation of teachers. The academic part of the course had a significant difference in terms of old fashioned and non-updated curricula; and the distance between these curricula from what teachers do in reality.
Interviewee I, a colleague of teacher K, confirmed this point. Both teachers are vocational subject specialists and working in a city far from the capital.

Teacher I added that:

I wanted to have special buildings to the department I trained in. Also, I wished that teacher trainers be from my city university and not delegated staff from other universities.

He added that:

We never had have perfect training on practical or vocational aspects of the course, because of insufficient spaces to practice.

In relation to the nine teachers who have no degree in education, the reaction was different. Many of those teachers entered the teaching profession because they have not got other opportunities. For example, life circumstances can force anybody to do something against his or her wishes and the suitability of the teaching profession to women or the need to increase their living standard persuaded them to become teachers. Those teachers who have no degree in education expressed their dissatisfaction with faculties they graduated from, and criticised them for their distance from reality and from teachers’ work because these faculties have no connection with education and training teachers. Teacher D noted that he had no desire to enter the teaching profession yet life conditions forced him. He has a first degree in Arts. He chose a faculty of Arts for personal desire. He wanted to work in the press, but state conditions and the system of recruitment made, as he put it in Arabic, ‘the wind comes against ship’s wishes’. He expressed satisfaction with his education at the faculty of Arts. In his belief the way he was educated was superb, but that was to create writers and not teachers.
To gain more information about teachers' opinions of their training, they were asked about problems that they had encountered during their training. Practising teachers pointed to the key problem they had encountered which was the gap between theory and practice. They indicated the absence of a clear link between theoretical subjects and school reality. They also mentioned the huge breadth of the curriculum, which prevented them from strengthening their specialisation. Interviewee K pointed out that:

There were no integrated courses, especially, in the academic subjects. I criticize the old and weak curricula, which do not follow the new scientific developments and the spirit of the new information era. The situation in these faculties in the sense of un-updated information to teacher training modules, make you feel that academic progress of science has stopped at the sixth and seventh decade of the twentieth century.

Interviewee I criticized teacher trainers' behaviour. He claimed that he found it difficult to understand some academic subjects because of teacher trainers' lack of concern to do their job and allowing young demonstrators to do the work they were supposed to do. He also criticized their lack of interest towards teaching practice. Some other teachers mentioned further problems in the training they had. Teacher F blamed the bureaucratic system in terms of suggesting rules about the way training should be and not providing actual needs. In his view, the programme of teacher training was separated from the social reality and appeared to be an 'imported' programme. Teacher C criticized the standard and behaviour of teacher trainers. Similarly, teacher H blamed the bossy behaviour of some teacher educators. Also he pointed out the backwardness of universities' laws and regulations.
Teachers who had a first degree from non-education faculties identified similar problems. They criticized educators’ behaviour in terms of preventing students from expressing or sharing their opinions. They also pointed out the absence of any type of training on teaching. Their studies did not fit with the reality in schools. Some of them criticized the traditional teaching methods that tutors used.

Following the last question about problems with training, teachers were asked about problems that they encountered after entering the teaching profession, for example financial, social and professional. Nearly all teachers referred to problems in their career as having three specific elements: low salaries, the low social view of teachers, and the low status of the teaching profession in relation to other ones. Some teachers pointed out that financial problems are taken as the first priority, because money is the basis of all problems. In their view, both the social and the professional status of teachers have been influenced by the financial problem. Some other teachers criticized the unacceptable and severe interference of the Ministry or the local authorities in their work. Additionally, the Ministry of Education fights against teachers as it no longer appreciates teachers’ work and it has reduced teachers’ authority. Many teachers raised an important issue. They pointed out how private lessons have a negative impact on their social status. In their view, private lessons have helped to spread a notion of non-appreciation towards teachers. Interviewee E explained that:

Teachers’ low financial status has forced teachers to give private lessons. Teachers wanted to be of equal status to their counterparts in other professions.
Teacher B blamed the media for distorting teachers' social status in society. A primary teacher noted that the period of unemployment that teachers had before gaining recruitment made the financial problem worse. Teacher D criticized the Ministry of Education for the negative attitude it has towards teachers. He claimed that the Ministry does not care about teachers' complaints or opinions. Teacher F expressed another problem. He wanted to apply what he got during his training at university, but he was faced with rejection from the education authority.

Finally teacher K pointed out some problems in terms of professional standards. In his view, there is no link between what teachers get in their training and what in reality they do in school. Also, there is no link between scientific development and what children have in school. Additionally, there is confusion in educational laws.

Teachers were asked about their recommendations to enhance teacher education institutions in Egypt. Teachers raised three main suggestions to develop teacher education institutions. These are: to unify the place of teacher education, pay more attention to in-service teacher education, and link teacher training to the reality in schools and children's national curriculum. Teacher D suggested that:

There are many suggestions to develop institutions of teacher education in Egypt, but long school days and teaching burdens let teachers have low desire to think about them. Nevertheless, my main suggestion is to develop a clear aim and vision for teacher training and to unify teacher training throughout its different institutions.
Similarly, teacher H suggested the same point and added:

The need to offer support to teacher training faculties and to depend only on them in training teachers. Also, I suggest the need to make teachers involved in research by requiring them to do annual research in their fields of specialisation.

Another group of teachers suggested the need to link teacher education institutions with the society. Teachers F recommended that:

Teacher education institutions should be aware of society and teachers' needs. These institutions must determine teachers' problems and the way to deal with them. It should liberate them from the separation from the Egyptian society and also stop borrowing ideas from foreign literature.

Some teachers recommended the need to develop the content of teacher education curricula to be consistent with modern times and implement all that has been written and suggested 'on paper'. Many teachers suggested the need to organize well-planned in-service training for teachers. In their view, teachers must be involved in their training and in the formation of programmes. In a similar vein many teachers suggested that institutions of teacher education should pay more attention to teachers' practice. In their belief this would develop teachers' skills to apply the theory of education into their school reality. Some others recommended the need to provide sufficient equipment and resources to teacher education institutions and the need for well-qualified teacher trainers.

In spite of teachers' real desire to enter faculties of education and to join the teaching profession, they encountered problems during and after their training, which made them hate their career. It seems that teachers were happy to have teaching as their career but the sort of problems they had, influenced
their attitude towards the profession. They were marginalized in their training. Teacher trainers disappointed them. The programme itself let them experience homesickness. It separated them not only from school reality but also from society.

To sum up, in some respects policy makers and teacher trainers expressed similar opinions to practising teachers. Policy makers and teacher trainers were dissatisfied with teacher education programmes in terms of imbalance between theory and practice. Practising teachers demonstrated similar views. They were dissatisfied with the training they had. On the other hand, unlike policy makers’ and teacher trainers’ responses, practising teachers were clear about deficiencies in their training and the causes of these deficiencies. These are gaps between theory and practice, teacher trainers’ tough behaviour towards student teachers, and opposition between teacher training in universities and educational practices in school reality.
Chapter Eight

Social and professional status of teachers in Egypt: back doors

Having examined opinions of teacher education policy, institutions of teacher education and teachers' roles in the previous two chapters, I propose in this one to explore the opinions of policy makers, teacher trainers and practising teachers with regard to teachers' social and professional status in Egypt. I discuss findings from the questionnaire and interviews. I will begin with policy makers and teacher trainers' opinions. Then practising teachers' opinions will follow.

Evaluation of the role of teacher education policy in promoting teachers' status

Findings and discussion based on the questionnaire

The third issue I raised in the questionnaire was the social and professional status of teachers in Egypt. Policy makers and teacher trainers were asked to choose from three alternatives (agree – agree to some extent – not agree) to the statement of ‘Policy of teacher education in Egypt has contributed to enhance the social and professional status of teachers’. The following table shows participants' responses to the statement.
Table 23: Participants responses to the statement. ‘Policy of teacher education in Egypt has contributed to enhance the social and professional status of teachers’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Agree to some extent</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Not agree</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 23 shows a different trend in responses from what has been seen in previous statements. Unlike previous responses, more participants expressed their disagreement with the statement and few chose to agree with it. Participants 23, 37 and 15 expressed their agreement with the statement. In their view, the unification of the place of teacher education for all types of teachers and the elevation of teachers’ certificates have contributed to enhancing the social and professional status of teachers. They believed that giving student teachers university education status has helped in enhancing their social and professional status. Additionally, teachers’ academic and professional standards have developed due to the move of their training to universities.

Participant 2 suggested that in particular the equality of teachers’ salaries has helped to enhance their social status. Participant 36 noted that the attention paid to the initial levels of education in recent years, especially at kindergarten and primary levels, has helped to raise teachers’ standards. Moreover, raising teacher training to university level has elevated teachers’ status. Participant 4 argued that:
Chapter Eight: Social and professional status of teachers

Teachers' social status has risen not as a result of the policy of teacher education, but because of the private lessons, which teachers give to students. These private lessons helped to raise more money for teachers and accordingly it raised their social status. I do believe that the Ministry of Education has helped to make the problem of private lessons worse due to the educational policy that it implements.

Participant 4, as indicated earlier has a unique opinion which distinguishes him from other participants. He believes that teacher social status has been raised not as a result of the state policy but because of the money teachers get from giving private lessons. He goes further and claims that the method of treatment that has been implemented to sort out the problem of private lessons has made it more complicated. Overall, his response suggested criticism of the policy of teacher education.

The second group of participants expressed their agreement to some extent with the statement. A few of them gave some explanations. Some participants viewed the unification of the place of teacher education at universities and the abolition of non-university institutions as important factors that contributed to enhance the social and professional status of teachers. In their belief giving student teachers university status has contributed to enhancing their position and it has helped to give them proper training, especially basic education teachers.

Participant 24, expressed another point of view:
On one hand, the policy was keen to increase teachers' salaries, and on the other hand it made teachers look like 'criminals'. It damaged the image of teachers. In spite of increasing teachers' salaries it is still not enough to give them proper social status. This forced teachers to give private lessons to increase their income. Ministry of Education 'criminalizes' this behaviour of teachers and it is always in confrontation with teachers to make them stop giving private lessons.

Participant 7 followed this point and noted that private lessons are an important factor in limiting the role of teacher education policy in enhancing the social and professional status of teachers. She also added that the professional status of teachers in the past was clearer and higher than it is for the present generation. She suggested that the policy of teacher education in enhancing teachers' social and professional status needs more time to show its impact. She noted that the time is still too early to take a definite judgment in this regard, because the field is full of teachers who have a non-university education.

Participant 32 noted that society's opinion of teachers is very negative. This is due to teachers who give private lessons. Society looks at them as criminals. Participant 14 noted that society's opinion of the teaching profession in general is still significantly very low.

The third group of participants consisting of nearly one half of the sample suggested that the policy of teacher education in Egypt has not contributed to enhancing the social and professional status of teachers. Some participants noted that besides the policy of teacher education, there are some other factors that have
Chapter Eight: Social and professional status of teachers

affected the social and professional status of teachers. They identified the following factors: the opinion towards the social and professional position of teachers has been influenced by the areas that teachers specialise in and the education level they are teaching to. Participant 42, a professor at a Faculty of Kindergarten at an urban University, related this factor to the inherited attitude in society, which differentiates between teachers in terms of the age of children and the level of education that teachers teach to. She noted that:

The wrong conception of the initial level of education still has an impact on teachers. Therefore, many student teachers ‘run away’ from joining primary/basic education departments in faculties of education and prefer to enter the general department, which qualifies them to teach in secondary schooling.

Participant 5 was clear in his explanation and related the cause of lowering teachers’ status either professionally or socially to the policy of teacher education itself. In his view this policy has helped to establish division between teachers. This is what helped to create feelings of discrimination between each type of teachers and a feeling of disability and low position as well. Participant 35 pointed out that the division between teachers has become worse after the establishment of primary/basic education departments in faculties of education. Participant 29 noted that:

The image of faculties of specific education, especially in rural areas has been formed by these faculties’ poor quality in many areas. Negative image towards faculties of
specific education lowered their status. As a result, student teachers who enrolled in these faculties and teachers who graduated from them have acquired the same status.

He goes further to blame the admission policy for accepting or rejecting new applicants who wish to enrol in faculties of teacher education. He criticized the undetermined norm of admission to each department in faculties of teacher education.

There is no clear definition of the required skills and competences of each type of teachers, which should agree with the requirements, and purposes of each department in the faculty.

Some participants pointed out the failure of the policy to contribute to the development of teacher status. This is due to the actual situation, which indicates that primary teachers and kindergarten teachers are still in a lower position than other types of teachers. Participant 17 related the policy failure to the reality of the situation in the actual field. In practice teachers are carrying a heavy load of responsibilities and their income in comparison to other professions is very low. Participant 22 argued that:

In spite of the policy intention to elevate teachers' status, however, the method of implementation has undermined the validity of the policy. Applicants to faculties of education have no right to choose the department to enrol in. However, this depended on their score in the high school exam. If candidates have a high score they can enrol in the general department in which they qualify them to be secondary teachers. Yet, if they have a low score the only department that can accept them is the primary/basic education department. As a result division between
teachers has been created to differentiate between each type of teachers.

It is clear that participant 22 did not deny the positive intention of the policy, but she blamed the way it was put into practice. This opinion reflects the fact that sometimes one could put fabulous ideas on paper; however, these ideas could be impracticable to be implemented or they could be carried out wrongly. According to the opinions of participant 22 she criticises the policy of admission in faculties of teacher education. This policy created division between teachers. The admission policy does not allow candidates either to choose the level of teaching or the department of training that they are interested in. In my view, when specifying a particular academic level for enrolling at faculties of education a link is made between the types of teachers and certain levels of academic achievement and responsibilities. Therefore, the academic and duties of teachers in the general department are considered to be higher and more efficient than those in the basic education department.

Finally, participant 6 noted another cause for the deterioration of teachers' status. The economic factor has an impact on this status. He believed that the social and professional status of teachers in Egypt is very low. As a result of this, many teachers have tried to gain more money by using legal and illegal methods, such as private lessons to improve their status. They are forced to act illegally and to give private lessons to be able to afford life requirements. He recommended the
need to reconsider teachers’ salaries and increase them to prevent teachers from acting illegally and to elevate their professional and social status. These criticisms are quite similar to the opinion expressed by the previous group of participants. Both of these opinions reflect criticisms of the official policy. Generally speaking, participants identified factors, which they attributed to the diminishing policy role in enhancing the social and professional status of teachers. These were: the issue of private lessons, society’s attitude towards teachers, poor programmes of teacher training, non-university certificate teachers and discrimination between teachers.

However, some participants claimed that these factors are created by the policy itself. They argued that the policy created division between teachers. The establishment of faculties of specific education and departments of basic education contributed to widening the division between teachers. These centres were created without planning and they lack both human and technical resources. Due to this, they acquired a low reputation, which affected trainees. Participants also blamed the admission system which prevented candidates for expressing their wishes.

Participants were asked to choose from three alternatives (agree – agree to some extent – not agree) to the following statement. ‘The social and professional status of teachers differentiates according to each education level (kindergarten – primary – preparatory – secondary)’. The following table shows participants’ responses to the statement.
Table 24: Participants' responses to the statement. 'The social and professional status of teachers differentiates according to each education level (kindergarten – primary – preparatory – secondary).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Agree to some extent</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Not agree</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24 shows that most participants chose the first alternative (agree). A very few chose the third alternative (not agree) and a moderate number chose the second (agree to some extent). The dominant belief in Egyptian society is that the higher the education levels that teachers are teaching to, the higher the status they get. Society’s view of teachers depends on the level they are teaching to.

Participant 5 argued that:

Society has a particular view about the lower levels of education. This opinion has formed society’s attitude to teachers who teach to early years education and primary level.

Participant 35 argued that:

Teachers' status is still tied to the education level teachers teach to for example, the higher the age of students the higher the teacher status, and the lower the age of students the lower the teachers' status. The social status of secondary school teachers is higher than any other types of teachers.

Some participants followed the same point and indicated that the inherited attitude of considering secondary school teachers as better than primary ones still has a
high currency. In their belief, that is what created a division between teachers. Also, the different type of preparation, for each type of teacher, has had an influence which has helped to create divisions between kindergartens, primary, preparatory and secondary teachers. Participant 22 gave a similar explanation. She attributed the division between teachers to the importance of the level of education in parents’ views, the level of certification that the student prepares for, and the extent of difficulty in the curriculum.

Participant 32 related the cause of difference in the professional and social status between each type of teacher to teachers’ competence. He noted that preparatory and secondary school teachers were more competent than primary and kindergarten teachers. This is because some teachers in the initial level have a non-university certificate and that affected the view of other teachers who have a university education. Also, he pointed out that differences in the professional and social status between teachers made primary and kindergarten teachers join the profession without real desire.

The second group of participants chose to agree to some extent with the statement. A few of them gave some words to explain their answers. Some participants said there are some differences in the professional and social status between teachers and this could be related to the lack of awareness among some social groups in the Egyptian community of the value of teachers of initial level.
Participant 34, a doctor at a Faculty of Kindergarten, noted an important point. In her view there are differences to some extent between teachers in their social and professional status. The general attitude of the low standard and position of kindergarten and primary teachers in relation to other levels of education is still obvious. This is the case not only among people, but also among teachers themselves and among student teachers as well.

Participant 24 chose to not agree with the statement. He explained that differences no longer existed because of the unification of the place of teacher education and the unification in teachers’ salaries. However, the impact of the inherited cultural attitude in Egyptian society still has an impact on teachers’ status because it is difficult to change.

Participants identified some factors that were attributed to establishing social and professional divisions between teachers. These included: the inherited social attitude towards teachers, the different nature of teacher training, teachers’ negative attitude to each other and students’ negative attitude to teachers. Some participants attributed the creation of these factors to policy failure.

In fact, participants who agreed that the policy of teacher education has contributed to enhancing teachers’ status, still focus their explanation on showing how university education has a key role in this contribution. The same trend which was identified in previous responses is still the same. They mainly place an emphasis on the role of policy in structural terms, such as raising teacher education.
Chapter Eight: Social and professional status of teachers

to university level, giving student teachers university education status, and increasing teachers’ salaries.

In spite of these developments, many student teachers avoid joining primary/basic education departments and faculties of specific education. Although the role of policy succeeded in restructuring the system of teacher education, attitudes have not changed. Some participants attributed this problem to inherited attitudes in society, and others pointed out the failure of policy to change the inherited attitude despite restructuring efforts. They believe that policy itself contributed to create discrimination and division between teachers. They related policy failure to the decision to establish faculties of specific education with no consideration of good planning.

Additionally, policy itself has encouraged teachers to act in their own way to raise their social and economic position. In the view of participants, the policy of teacher education has forced teachers to use their own tactics to elevate their social and economic status. The only way teachers found was private lessons.

Overall, the division between teachers has been emphasised by a large group of participants. It is widely believed that both Egyptian society and the policy of teacher education are to blame. The policy failed to change people and teacher attitudes in spite of restructuring efforts. Now, the question to be raised is, how could policy play an effective role?
Findings and discussion based on structured interviews
The impact of current policy practices on teachers’ status

Policy makers and teacher trainers were asked from their point of view if the diversity of routes to teacher education has an impact on the social and professional status of teachers. A few interviewees did not agree with this idea. However, the majority of interviewees felt that the variety of routes to teacher education has affected teachers’ social and professional status. The following are excerpts from some interviewees’ comments:

Traditionally, when non-university teacher education institutions were founded, the impact was negative. Currently, presumably a positive impact should be obvious. However, some problems such as low teachers’ salaries, private lessons, and the assessment system obstruct teachers from gaining proper social status. (Interviewee 7).

I do believe that diversity in routes to teacher education does not influence the professional and social status of teachers. However, it offers a competitive atmosphere in the education field and it improves teachers’ competency. (Interviewee 6).

Then, I asked if there is any role for policy to play in order to elevate teachers’ status. Clearly, interviewees seemed to have no answer to my question. For some the elevation of teacher status is not the business of teacher education policy.

There is no relation between the policy of teacher education and the professional and social status of teachers. What I do believe is the role of media and other organizations, which are able to direct public opinion. Mass media should promote ideas to link teachers with family and with schools. (Interviewee 55).
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For others, the role was clear. They believe that it is apparent from the increase in the number of students who enrolled in faculties of education that teacher status has risen.

Definitely, the professional status of teachers has risen if compared to other professions. There is an increase in the number of students who have been attracted to enter the profession and this is a proof of the elevation of the professional status of teachers. The narrow view of the profession and the link of it with the economic position are the main reasons to lower teachers' professional status. I do believe teachers' different roles in schools and out of schools might raise them in the sky with their faith in the work they presented. (Interviewee 2).

In fact, none of the interviewees were able to give an appropriate answer to the question. This is perhaps because they cannot see any effective role of the policy to be reported. I can understand this view from what they have said. The following excerpts reflected interviewees' opinions.

Although the state has increased teachers' salaries, the social and professional status of teachers is still very low.

In particular when they are compared to other professions. (Interviewee 14).

If it were a successful policy that carries on purposes to achieve and working in a frame of democracy and clear visions, it would have elevated the professional and social positions of teachers. (Interviewee 6).

This policy has an important role to play. I do believe that it is the time to start developing the policy of teacher trainers. (Interviewee 7).
Chapter Eight: Social and professional status of teachers

It was interesting to realise that, when interviewees were asked about their recommendations to enhance the professional and social status of teachers, their suggestions were traditional. Most interviewees recommended the increase of teachers' salaries. For others respecting and enhancing teachers' image are important to recommend. However, none of the interviewees mentioned or recommended the need to have new approaches to teacher education. They themselves reported how teachers are marginalized in terms of their simple rights which include having a voice in the development of education policies and a voice in social and political life. However, none of the interviewees recommended that they should have these rights. Furthermore, although interviewees reported the absence of teachers from educational research and from conferences and forums in education, they did not mention any recommendation regarding these matters. In the responses there was no mention of teachers' role in the society and how this role could change people's attitude towards each type of teachers. It seems from their comments that they believe the social and professional status of teachers could only be enhanced by increasing their salaries.

Similarly, when interviewees were asked about their recommendations to develop the policy of teacher education in Egypt, their suggestions seemed to be general. Although some interviewees recommended the need for teachers' participation in the making of policies, they never say how! For others the important thing they recommended was the benefit of other countries' experiences.
in developing teacher education. I do believe strongly in the idea of looking to other countries' experience in the sense of enhancing my home system. This is an aim of this thesis. However, I believe that we should not borrow other countries' ideas without critical investigation.

It appears that interviewees knew how great the problem is and they actually admitted that there is a problem. However, in my view their priorities are inconsistent with the size of the problem. The majority of interviewees reported the need to develop the policy of teacher education in the light of academic educational research, which was based on other countries' experience. In their view, borrowing other countries' ideas will solve our problems. However, investigating the problem from representatives of the field and investigating critically other countries' ideas, are not mentioned.

In fact, interviewees' responses to my question about their suggestions for developing institutions of teacher education in Egypt have followed the same trend of giving general ideas. Interviewees reported the need to benefit from other countries' experience. They suggested the need to increase the course length to five years. A very few recommended the elimination of the concurrent system and the establishment of higher institutions of teacher education. Additionally, they suggested the need for developing teacher training curricula and the use of the latest technology.
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Interviewees' suggestions mainly pay attention to the external framework of teacher education. Their suggestions reflected their interest in developing the system in terms of structure. They addressed structural features in the system which should be developed such as course length and the increase of certificate level. None of the interviewees pointed out the need to look at the core of the system. No mention has been made of the need to develop new approaches to the way teachers are trained. None of the interviewees reported the need to reconceptualise teacher education. Structural aspects of the system were more important than establishing a philosophy of teacher education. I am wondering what type of teachers we train, if the policy itself marginalizes the role of teachers and restricts it to just transferring information to children. If teachers have been taken away from any involvement in progressive activities in the society, how could we think that only the elevation of their certificate would raise their positions? If these factors are considered I believe teachers must play a leading role in developing teacher education. This can only happen if the policy pays attention to developing new approaches to teacher education.

Evaluation of current policy practices from practising teachers' point of view

The third theme I explored in the interviews with practising teachers was the social and professional status of teachers in Egypt. I explored teachers' views on issues surrounding the social and professional status of the teaching profession.
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Egyptian society's view of teachers and teachers' opinions themselves were among issues raised in the interviews. Finally, teachers' suggestions on how to enhance their social and professional status were considered.

To begin with interviewees were asked about society's opinion of them. Teachers from all levels expressed the negative attitude that society has towards them. These are some excerpts from teachers' comments:

The society looks at the teaching profession as the job that anyone can do. (Interviewee A).

Teachers no longer occupy the same higher social status and respect of people as they had before (interviewee I).

The society's view of teachers is unfair. Teachers are carrying the burden to build the whole society. Therefore, teachers should have equal social status to other professions (interviewee H).

The society looks badly on all types of teachers. It considers them as the pirates of the new era. Also, it considers them as people without conscience (interviewee G).

From teachers' comments, it is clear that the image of the teaching profession in society is very negative. It seems that the present opinion of the teaching profession and teachers has become much worse than before. This indicates that the elevation of teachers' certificates and the move of the place of their training to university are inadequate because they have been implemented without considering a philosophy of educating and training teachers. The following
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Excerpts show the main cause for the deterioration of the status of teachers and the teaching profession.

In the past teachers had high social status, but at the present time teachers' status has declined. The Ministry of Education is the main agency responsible for decreasing teachers' status. It made teachers look like criminals. The minister of education always criticises and condemns them on the press and the media. This is what made people looking negatively at teachers and consequently made the entire society follow the same trend (interviewee K).

The entire society looks at teachers in a disrespectful way. Even the education authority carries the same feeling. It treats teachers like criminals and pirates. The minister of education was believed to save the society from the unfairness of teachers (interviewee D).

Some teachers attributed the reason behind this view of society to teachers who give private lessons. They indicated that the society believes teachers live in luxury, but the reality is something different. In fact, not all teachers give private lessons and they mainly depend on their single salary. Participant M believed that society looks in particular at primary teachers as occupying the lowest position in society. Participant S, a preparatory teacher pointed out that:

Nowadays the society's view of teachers is declining for the worse. As a result I feel shame to introduce myself to anyone and to say teaching is my job.

Some teachers noted a single word to express society's view towards them like 'exploitative', 'opportunist' or 'materialist'. Interviewees were asked to describe from their point of view, the way that society looks at teachers socially and professionally. Interviewees have expressed a variety of opinions, but the majority
believed that society’s view towards teachers, especially students’ parents, depends on the level teachers teach to and the age of children. The higher the education levels, the higher teachers’ status and vice versa. Interviewees provided a description about each type of teacher from society’s point of view. For example teacher H said that:

The society views each type of teachers differently, for instance kindergarten teachers are seen to take care of young children that someone can leave his child with them and pay for this service. Primary teachers are seen as comprehensive teachers. For preparatory and secondary teachers they are known as private lesson teachers.

Similarly, teacher B expressed the same point and also indicated that secondary teachers have the best social and professional status among other types of teachers.

Teacher G pointed out that:

With regard to kindergarten level, and in spite of the importance of this stage, the society looks at this type of teachers as children like the children they are teaching to. This is based on society’s opinion of the first stage of education. It views the first level as lower standard than other education levels. People, especially parents, thought that secondary school teachers are working harder than other types of teachers in terms of building students’ academic knowledge. Generally speaking, they considered secondary education as the most important stage in education.

Participant P pointed out that society views kindergarten teachers as baby sitters, primary teachers as infant teachers, preparatory teachers as ordinary teachers and secondary teachers as respectable teachers. Participant T, a secondary teacher, said that:
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The society looks at kindergarten teachers as non-specialist and primary teachers as un-qualified. While the society considers preparatory and secondary teachers as exploitative in terms of taking money for private lessons.

Teacher K pointed out that:

The society views kindergarten and primary teachers as servants who have duties to do but have no rights to obtain. However, preparatory and secondary teachers are viewed like traders who take money for what they do.

Teacher K mentioned the reason behind the perception that kindergarten teachers have a lower position than other types of teachers. He noted that:

Society's views of kindergarten teachers differ according to the type of society if rural or urban, and the type of area if it is poor or rich area. In rural societies and poor areas the view of these teachers is low. However, in privileged societies there is appreciation of kindergarten teachers.

In contrast with previous teachers' opinions, a few interviewees offered a different view. In their opinion, society appreciates and respects kindergarten teachers. However, its view of other types of teachers is different. This is because kindergarten teachers do not give private lessons like their counterparts in other education levels. Also, it could be that children in kindergarten, primary and preparatory levels need teachers to provide the basis of their education; however in the stage of secondary education students do not need school teachers but home private teachers.

The following question was to ask interviewees for their own opinions of the social and professional status of teachers at each education level. Teachers gave a
variety of responses, but the majority believed that all types of teachers are equal. In their view all types of teachers have a positive role to play in society and they are all important. They showed respect and appreciation for all types of teachers. They view all levels of education as important and no one level is more important than others. Some preparatory teachers insisted that kindergarten and primary education are also important. In their belief, these stages should be given more attention as they constitute the cornerstone in raising children. Similarly, some primary teachers insisted on the same point. Teacher B, a primary teacher, suggested that:

It is supposed that primary and kindergarten teachers should take the higher interest of society and state as well. This is because these teachers are dealing with the most important stages of education. In general all teachers are equal and their status does not differ from one type to another. Teaching is a message and each teacher has a duty to do and messages to deliver, then the following teacher completes the role.

Teacher G, a secondary teacher, suggested that society’s view towards the professional position of basic education teachers should be changed. Some teachers emphasised the important role of teachers at all levels. They believe that teachers’ social status is not consistent with their efforts and what they give to society. From their point of view, teachers should be given proper social status that suits the role they play in society. They insisted that society needs teachers at all levels because they are role models to children. They also recommended the need to raise teachers’ salary and incentives at all stages in order to elevate their social
status. They recommended the need of the Ministry of Education to give teachers the respect they deserve. In their view this should return teachers' confidence and as a result, they should regain their position in the society. Teacher D in despair noted that:

I feel shame for working in this job in spite of the honour it should carry. I am fed up of being a teacher living in society that does not give teachers what they deserve of respect. I do believe, teachers' social status is very low even if teachers tried to convince themselves otherwise.

Teacher H expressed a particular view about each type of teachers. He believed that primary teachers could be classified as teachers whose academic experiences are very low. They also could be known as class teachers. However, secondary teachers would be known as specialist teachers.

Following the previous questions relating to teachers' social and professional status, interviewees were asked whether the economic, social and political conditions have an impact on teachers' status. If so, then how did these conditions affect teachers' status? All teachers indicated their belief that the economic, social and political conditions have a direct impact on teachers' status. Some teachers gave an explanation about the way that these conditions affected their status and explained their influence. In their opinion, the social and economic conditions have forced teachers to give private lessons to raise their living standard and their social positions in society. As a result the relation between teachers and students changed. Students treated teachers without respect and they see them as being
more materialistic. Students believed that they bought teachers with the money they give to them for private lessons. Teacher J pointed out that:

These conditions have negative impact on teachers' status. For example, as long as teachers' salary is low, they need to give private lessons. This act definitely creates troubles to teachers. Taking money from students is harmful to teachers' status as it makes teachers lose respect from both students and society.

Teacher H noted that:

As a result of the negative impact that economic, social and political factors has on teachers' status, the teacher's career is badly affected. Teachers have become busy all the time either because of the load of administration work at schools or by searching on other ways to raise their living standard. Consequently, teachers have no time to increase their knowledge and education.

Teacher B pointed out that:

Certain conditions obliged teachers to do something against their wishes. This came about as a result of the minister of education's policy towards teachers. I do believe that this policy is unable to create the spirit of good work.

Thus, it is apparent that some teachers believe that the economic, social and political conditions have a direct impact on teachers' social status. Society's view of teachers has become very negative. It views teachers as exploitative and money collectors. This, in their opinion, creates a lack of respect between teachers and their students. Teacher D noted that:

These conditions strongly influence teachers' status. When poverty is dominant status is lost. Also, when ignorance is dominant the importance of science is lost. Moreover,
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when no clear policy is established the educational process is lost. All these definitely have impact on teachers social status.

Finally, teachers were asked to give their recommendations about how to improve the social and professional status of teachers. Nearly all teachers suggested the need to raise teachers' salaries and incentives. In their view this is the way to alleviate the need to give private lessons. This also would encourage teachers to do their job effectively. Teachers also recommended the need for regaining teachers' authority, which the state has reduced. Teacher I suggested the need to allow teachers' participation in all aspects of life, social and political, in the Egyptian society. In addition, there is a need to reduce the burden on teachers shoulders. Furthermore, only qualified teachers should be allowed to enter the profession.

Teacher K recommended the need to stop the tough language of some educational leaders, which usually condemns teachers. Also, there is a need to raise respect for teachers and to increase the role of the teachers' union. Teacher D suggested the need for establishing good planning and clear educational policy. Finally, teacher F recommended the need to link teacher education with society. Also, teachers should participate in research, in particular, to investigate their problems.

In fact, teachers showed a clear understanding of their problems and their comments revealed a clear vision of how to sort them out. It seems that teachers'
low salary is the most striking difficulty that teachers face. This problem forced them to use as we say in Arabic ‘the back doors’ which means illegal methods, to give private lessons. This act affected negatively their social image in society and among their students as well. The Ministry of Education and the minister of education have helped to damage teachers’ image in society. They did not try to sort out the problem from their side by, for example, increasing teachers’ salary or reducing their tough language towards teachers. They instead lowered their strong voice towards teachers and entered in a fight against them. They criticized teachers in the press and in the media. This encouraged the media to strengthen its negative attitude towards teachers. As a result, the whole society was affected by media opinion and looked at teachers very badly.

Teachers identified strategies to solve this problem. These require the Ministry of Education to stop their fight against teachers and to rebuild bridges of trust with them. Teachers’ salaries should also be raised significantly so there will be no need for them to give private lessons. This in teachers’ view will give them time to refocus on their work and will be the way to enhance it. Teachers raised an important point about the need to revise society’s attitude towards each type of teachers, especially teachers of early levels of education. The state, the Ministry of Education and the media should lead a campaign to revise teachers’ image in society. This, in their view, could be achieved if teachers are encouraged to become involved in social and political life.
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Also, student teachers should be contribute to the planning of their training. In addition, in-service teachers should be encouraged to become involved in educational research. These developments could, in the view of teachers, help them regain confidence and rebuild society's view of them. The respect they attract will no longer be dependent on the type of teachers they are representing or about the level of education they teach to. Teachers will be respected according to the role they play in society. It is a very important role as many teachers explained in their interviews.

The data from practising teachers demonstrated that state policy represented by the Ministry of Education and education authorities are mainly responsible for the declining status of teachers. Teachers argued that the policy contributed to negative attitudes forming towards teachers which reflected society's opinion about teachers. In particular, students' parents' opinion of teachers depended on the level teachers were teaching to and the age of students. In fact, some policy makers and teacher trainers accused the state policy of teacher education of creating divisions between teachers of each level and each specialism. The state admission policy to teacher education centres and the creation of poor quality departments and faculties of specific education has contributed to widening the division between teachers.
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The data from practising teachers demonstrated that teachers' status has been affected by some other factors such as their economic situation. Their explanation suggested that state policies were the main cause of the teaching profession and teachers being in a low position. In fact, low teacher salaries and economic crisis have forced teachers to give private lessons. As a result teachers' status is damaged. Parents were obliged to offer private lessons to their children because some teachers did not do their job well. Private lessons put a further burden on parents' shoulders. It takes most of the family's budget. Therefore, a spirit of antagonism has been created between parents and teachers.

Also, students' attitude towards teachers has reflected the newly created relationship between them. Students and parents consider teachers as servants for their own purposes. They are paying for this service and in response they want success for their children. Teachers themselves have no time left to develop their skills or to participate in any useful activities. The state policy has not overcome this problem. Teachers' salaries are still inappropriate. The behaviour of the authorities and their methods in dealing with the problem of private lessons have exacerbated the problem.

Indeed, the picture that policy makers and teacher trainers have given is illustrated by practising teachers' opinions. Among the factors that policy makers and teacher trainers suggested had lowered teachers' status, were the issue of
private lessons, negative attitude of society towards teachers and discrimination between teachers. Teachers sketched out the rest of the picture and explained the reasons behind these matters. They explained why some teachers have been forced to do private lessons and the consequences that followed as a result of society's attitude towards teachers. Policy makers and teacher trainers also explained the way that divisions were created between teachers and the application of poor policies.
Chapter Nine

Reflections and further discussion

I have attempted in this study to explore the nature of teacher education reforms in Egypt. I based my analysis on examining the policy statements and educational practices alongside comparative and historical perspectives.

Historical and comparative dimensions in relation to contemporary reform

A historical examination of policy statements in Egypt revealed that some reform efforts were launched in the late nineteenth century whose aim was the creation of an institute for teacher training. In 1872, the first systemic model to train teachers for the new created school system emerged through the establishment of Dar-Alom school. The study programme included academic and pedagogic subjects. However, such efforts were restricted to a particular type of teachers who were supposed to work in different kinds of schools. While a modern secular elite school system had better educated teachers academically and professionally, the elementary religious mass school system was denied such provision. Two different school systems with opposite types of preparation and places of education have been the roots of problems in the system of teacher education and have created divisions between teachers.

A form of discrimination has been created between teachers as a result of these two different school systems. This discrimination has been clear in terms of
the education level that teachers were teaching to, their subject specialism and teachers’ salaries. This has created an idea that academic subjects such as science and maths are more important than literature based ones like Arabic. Also, compulsory free elementary education for the masses contributed to preparing children for practical life through increasing their interest in practical subjects. In contrast, the opposite school system for the elite led to higher education.

In the early twentieth century despite the establishment of the female and male teacher training schools, certificate level and the place of education were different from their counterparts in the secular state school system. Primary and secondary teachers representing teachers for the secular education system were educated together in higher institutes of teacher training, whereas elementary religious education teachers were educated in different non-higher education centres. In fact, even after the unification of the dual state education systems teachers had different types of preparation, certification and place of training. Primary teachers were educated in non-university institutes and required to have pedagogical training, whereas most secondary teachers were educated in universities with a higher standard of education in sciences and arts, and no pedagogic training was required.

Despite reform efforts to unify the dual state school systems, this picture has not changed to a great extent. In 1952, the Egyptian government unified the dual systems of education; however after a short period this dual system was re-established. This resulted from Egypt’s political agenda in the 1970s and the
influence of the political nature of foreign aid on the process of educational reform.

In 1981 the government restructured the education system as a response to recommendations and aid from international organisations. This approach in itself contributed to the crisis in the education system and teacher education. Firstly, the shift of the primary and preparatory school system to what is called basic education, has led the education system backwards to nineteenth century low status elementary schooling. They shared many features: the emphasis on practical subjects, providing students with a sufficient amount of information, preparing them for participating in the work force and limiting the number of education years. In addition to this, changes in the education system were carried out without reform in teacher education. Thus, in the late twentieth century, the government restructured the teacher education system hoping that this will overcome problems in the education system and will unify teacher education systems. They thought that this definitely would elevate the status of early years education and basic education teachers. In their view, elevating the certificate level and unifying the place of education would result in teachers acquiring the same status.

However, policy in theory in this matter did not translate into practice. Teachers for each level of education are educated in separate departments. Their training is different and varies according to the level of education, the age of students and the skills that they are required to deliver in schools. Despite the unification of the place in which teacher education is delivered, there are still
many routes to teacher education. In fact, regulations in faculties of education are inconsistent with the reality of the situation in these faculties. The regulations declared that it was the duty of the faculties of education to train two types of student teachers: a class teacher for the first three years of basic education and a subject specialist for grades four and five of basic education. However, in reality, faculties of education have been silent about teachers as generalists for the whole level of the first stage of basic education.

In fact, the current structural reform of the teacher education system appears to have had certain purposes. Apart from elevating teachers' status, the new reform has suggested that the preparation period of teacher education should be extended or that the undergraduate teacher education system should be abolished. This reflected an intention to strengthen the academic education component of the teacher education programme. Also, this reflects the reformers' sense of the low quality teachers and the poor, insufficient component of the academic education programme. Although the intention of reform has changed, their proposal focused solely on structural aspects to increase the 'dosage' of academic education and then they assumed this would result in elevating teachers' quality. The proposal ignored other important elements of the programme of teacher education that could produce good quality teachers; for example to achieve a balance between the theory and practice of teacher education.

Additionally, I attempted to include a comparative dimension to my investigation by examining critically reform efforts in some countries, in particular England, France, and the United States, as these countries tend to
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capture the attention of Egyptian researchers. The critical examination identified
lessons from these countries that could be taken for granted or avoided. The
comparative perspective helped me to relate initial teacher education policy and
practice, to the international context. The comparative dimension gave me the
opportunity to discuss the issue of 'borrowing' from the experience of developed
countries without critical examination. Additionally, the historical dimension
revealed the roots of the idea of borrowing; how it arose and why it has persisted.

The historical examination demonstrated that this idea of borrowing arose in
the late nineteenth century when Muhamad Ali introduced a modern secular
education, which was influenced by contact with French culture during their
invasion of Egypt. He also sent scholarly missions to take their education in
Europe to staff his new education system. Later, the British occupation policy
succeeded in capturing the mind of Egyptians, especially the political elite and
this made them favour all that was Western. Even after Egypt won her
independence, neo-colonialism has continued to propagate the same idea of
borrowing but maybe by using different labels such as global capital or different
methods, such as aid and experts.

The comparative analysis was based on two types of units, observational and
explanatory. The observational was institutional identity, curricular identity, types
of schooling and types of certification. The explanatory was structural based
reform, uncritical borrowing. During data collection and initial data analysis I
identified the observational units to guide me through my analysis and to provide
the basis to account for the results gained. All observational units were important
in understanding reform processes in each case study, especially when the division between primary and secondary teachers lies at the heart of reform processes. Each case study was examined in relation to specific historical, cultural and political factors that shaped educational policies.

Across the case studies, the divisions between primary and secondary teachers mark teacher education reform efforts. Divisions in all the case studies were created in the nineteenth century in terms of the types of institution of teacher education and curricular patterns. These divisions are rooted in types of education: mass elementary and elite secondary education. Secondary teachers required a university degree to teach at secondary level whereas primary teachers had a non-university education.

**Institutional identity**

In all the case studies, different institutional identity between elementary (primary) and secondary teachers, the training of the former in non-university institutions and the education of the latter in university were tied with their professional identity, training and status. England was ahead of the other case studies in establishing day training colleges in the 1890s to train elementary teachers in higher education. This aimed to elevate the professional status of elementary teachers. However, this has not resulted in a unitary system of training as universities were to be engaged mainly in training secondary teachers where postgraduate courses for secondary education were developed. Egypt lagged
behind the case studies in terms of establishing a systematic model of teacher training.

France lagged behind England and the United States remarkably in providing university education to primary teachers by the late twentieth century. The Midwestern and Western USA had a unique feature that distinguished them from New England and also England, France and Egypt. High school teachers were educated in normal schools and teacher colleges as they were considered to be an extension of American secondary education. In all the case studies, teachers with degrees taught in different schools from their counterparts who taught in elementary schools. For example, in England, teachers with degrees taught mostly in grammar schools whereas teachers holding teachers’ certificates taught in primary or non-selective secondary schools. In France, teachers with degrees taught in lycées while elementary teachers taught in écoles normales with no chance to enter university. Also, in New England and unlike Midwestern and Western States, the normal school was believed to be the place to train teachers for the common schools and not to train secondary education teachers. In Egypt, elementary teachers were educated in elementary teachers’ schools while secondary teachers were educated in high schools. In all the case studies and throughout the twentieth century, several attempts have been proposed to diminish the gap between primary and secondary teachers. Initiatives to change this situation developed with the establishment of an all-graduate profession.

An example of the different institutional identity between types of teachers is very clear in the case of France, England and Egypt. In France a third category of
teachers and a new certificate was created in 1963 to adjust to structural changes in the school system. However, the place for the Agrégé and the certifié teachers was different from the place for the instituteur. In England, initial teacher training courses for junior/secondary schools were developed in 1993. Student teachers were only required to enrol for a one year PGCE. In Egypt, teachers for each level trained in separate places. In the United States, a differentiated professional cadre of American teachers was created. A new elite category of teachers has authority over regular teachers.

As in France, the elimination of undergraduate teacher education programmes with raising of the level of professional knowledge was implemented in the United States. However, elementary teachers course requirements were different from their secondary teacher counterparts. Elementary teachers were required to have the equivalent of a minor in each of the subjects they would teach. Also, specifying different categories of teachers made a link between these categories and certain types of responsibilities.

In France, the entry requirements to the écoles normal were raised. The course period was lengthened and the academic quality was raised. Later, the IUFMs were established to offer common professional identity to all types of teachers. Unlike England, France and the United States, Egypt in 1929 had a unique experience in unifying the place of teacher education for both primary and secondary teachers. The Higher Institution of Teacher Education trained both types of teachers together. However, this did not last for a long time.
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Curricular identity: teacher training or education

In all the case studies during the nineteenth century, elementary teachers needed to be trained for the children of the masses whereas secondary teachers were required to be qualified with academic education. The distinctive preparation of the two worlds of elementary and secondary teachers set them apart from each other and created a very sharp split between the two groups. Academic content for elementary teachers was limited to what was necessary for the teaching task. This indicates the inherited vision of considering pedagogy and basic educational disciplines to have a low position and the belief that secondary teachers required no practical training. The common view was that the more a teacher knew the less the training he or she needs. Social, religion, moral and literacy training was the type of preparation that elementary teachers had.

Sander (2000) attributed the shape and character of teachers' status to the emergence of systematic teacher education during the nineteenth century which promoted certain illusions of the professionals and professionalism. These are:

- the illusion of the professional being superior in his/her teaching competence to the non-professional;
- the illusion of the professional as someone who disposes of all the necessary knowledge concerning the learning needs and problems of young people;
- the illusion of the educational sciences as representing a coherent body of rational (and applicable) knowledge which could be passed on in systematic courses to prospective teachers;
- the illusion of teacher professionalism magically resulting from academic studies which are in fact separated completely and radically from the reality, problems and routines of teaching in schools;
- the illusion of the professional being capable of educating children for a working life which he/she
does not know much about—and in any case not enough; and

- the illusion of the professional as a civic servant standing above the social classes and not being directly involved politically in their antagonism; rather, being faced with nothing but the educational problems and perspectives of individuals, catering for the needs and the development of each and every child’s personality and defending the right of children to personal emancipation through school education (p. 170-171).

The original mission of the teacher training centres was to train teachers on the job. In England, for example, the apprenticeship model of teacher training was introduced to determine the idea of offering classroom technicians and skilled teachers. In New England the training pattern at the normal schools superseded intellectual concerns as elementary teachers did not require a general education. However, in Midwestern and Western states, the situation was different. Normal schools did not differ in their curricula from private and public high schools. They focused more on academic preparation than on professional training.

Later in the 1920s in the USA, the intention to provide more than training to elementary school teachers led to the introduction of a bachelor’s degree in teachers’ colleges. The original mission of the schools no longer focused on teacher training as the central mission. In the 1960s the training of elementary and secondary teachers took place in university. However elementary teachers were provided with a remarkable number of courses in education while secondary teachers were provided with only a few. As a result, elementary teachers had little knowledge about their subject specialism and secondary teachers had little preparation for the practice of teaching.
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Teacher training for secondary school teachers was voluntary and compulsory for elementary teachers. For example in France, secondary teachers required a university degree, without any need for pedagogical training. They received university academic education, specialising in one discipline. Later in the 1950s secondary teachers received practical training. Also, the 1960s in England the PGCE was made compulsory for all graduates enrolling as teachers. In Egypt and during the nineteenth century secondary teachers specialised in one subject without professional practice.

In all the case studies, secondary teachers required a university academic orientation to be qualified to teach in secondary education. In France, only secondary teachers required the traditional highly academic certificate Agrégation. Additionally, when secondary teachers were required to spend a year of training in the Centre Pédagogique Régional, the emphasis was on the subject matter taught by academic staff in university. The situation was the same of secondary teachers for the certifies. Most recently, the problem of putting much emphasis on theory over practice was still obvious in the new unified system of teacher education at the IUFMs.

In England, traditionally, teaching at secondary level required a university degree as evidence of academic qualifications. Similarly, in New England in the United States, secondary teachers trained in the university. However, in the Midwestern and Western USA normal schools did not differ in their curricula and functions from public and private high schools as they focused more on academic preparation than on professional training.
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For example, in England the BEd was introduced in the mid 1960s. The name of training college changed to college of education. This meant stronger academic emphasis and less pedagogy. However, in the 1990s a political restructuring of teacher education has taken place and transformed it to teacher training; it has become more practical than theoretical and depends mainly on competencies. Thus, the pattern of teacher training was understood to be a technical activity as course components concerned with the education as opposed to the training of student teachers have been very much reduced. Political control has undermined teacher education and it is market forces that shape it.

Similarly in France, but at an earlier time than England, an almost entirely school-based year of training for secondary teachers was provided in the 1950s; this model failed because of being mainly an apprenticeship approach to training. Later in France, the IUFMs were established to provide a common two year training course for both primary and secondary teachers. In a similar way to England, the new reform in France emphasised the practicalities of teaching. The traditional models of practice were replaced by systems in which schools played an increased role in the training and assessment of students. Similarly to France and England, in the United States, schools have become more involved in the preparation of teachers. In France the DEUG was established in 1973 to raise the academic quality of primary teachers. After the establishment of IUFMs as an attempt to unify the professional culture of both types of teachers, there was criticism that this trivialised secondary education by modelling it on primary
education. This model considers teaching methods as more important than the content of subject matter.

Nowadays, this idea of academic orientation still throws its shadow on the division between primary and secondary teachers. This time it is reflected in the idea of age-phase provision of teacher education. This means the work with pupils within a particular age-phase focuses on the delivery of certain tasks. Initial teacher training courses for each phase were different. This in my belief discriminates between standards for teachers of different age phases. It suggests that teachers who teach to young children or lower phase of education do not need as much academic knowledge as other teachers. This idea can be seen very clearly in the English case, in particular, the political decision in 1993 to develop one-year courses for mature individuals with considerable previous experience of working with young children to teach at this stage. Similarly, the same concept is being applied in Egypt. The education school system considers an age-phase to match a differentiated age-group of students. Teachers are required to teach to a particular phase in the education school ladder and to a particular age of students. Moreover, this limits the type of tasks that they are required to deliver in schools. Overall, the professional and academic ability of teachers affected the occupation's image and status.

Reform based on restructuring

Across all the case studies, the striking common pattern that evolved throughout decades in initial teacher training reform was restructuring. Several
attempts have been made in the different countries to diminish the gap between
the two groups. The major reports in England (the McNair Report 1944, the
Robbins Report 1963 and the James Report 1972) addressed the problem of
division in the teaching profession between primary and secondary teachers. They
rejected the idea that universities should concern themselves only with the
education and training of teachers of older children. All these major reports
suggested a restructuring of the pattern of teacher training: integration between
colleges and universities, which could improve the status of the colleges and the
status of teaching. Over decades, the main characteristic of the system has been
restructuring. However, this was not accompanied with reconceptualisation of
what it means to prepare teachers and how.

In France, the new structural shift aimed to unify the training and professional
status of primary and secondary school teachers and to promote teaching as a
profession and enhance its image and status. The new reform had theoretically
unified the status and training for all teachers.

In the United States, in a similar way to England, the structural shift of
teacher education from normal schools to university was considered to elevate the
status of the teaching profession. Then a shift away from university to schools was
legislated. The new reforms called for restructuring teacher education to elevate
the status of the teaching profession. As in France, elimination of the
undergraduate programme and the shift of higher education to schools were
considered to be of great interest. The argument was that the content of teacher
education was less important than its institutional form, and preparing teachers effectively was less important than giving them the status of a university graduate.

In the three cases, the shift of non-university institutions of teacher education to the place of the university has been considered to elevate the status of non-university institutions and their trainees; also, the elevation of the status of teaching profession. Across the three cases it has been found that the main characteristic of the system has been restructuring which was not accompanied by the values and principles of preparing teachers. Therefore, discussion of structuring has represented change but not improvement. In France traditional attitudes towards primary and secondary teachers still have an influence.

In the case of America and France the structural shift eliminated the undergraduate programme of teacher training and raised the certification standards for future teachers to join teaching profession. Both countries wanted to elevate the status of the teaching profession. However, the structural shift raised the level of entry but it does not guarantee the elevation of the status and prestige of the career itself. In England and America, market forces were left to handle the appropriate and effective methods of training teachers.

In Egypt, the system of teacher education was unified under the university. However, the restructuring was not accompanied by changes in the teacher education programmes. Despite the unification of the place of teacher education, there are multiple routes to initial teacher education and teachers of each level are still trained separately even if they are going to teach at the same level. Also, the style of training for primary and secondary teachers is different.
The Egyptian government has shown an interest in the reform experience of England, France and the United States. The government suggested a structural shift in the training of teachers, which is similar to that in the case studies. The new reform proposal in Egypt has suggested eliminating the undergraduate programme of teacher education. It is also interested in raising the level of professional knowledge for student teachers. This means emphasising the practicalities of teaching in which schools play an increased role in the training of teachers. Some of these ideas have been suggested in educational research that has been done by Egyptian researchers. In particular, this includes the idea of giving schools the leading role in training teachers by shifting teacher training from university to schools. For example, Hamedosh (1999) suggested this idea should be implemented in Egypt because it is practised in England. He claimed that this is a unique idea, and because of this he chose England to be included, in addition to other countries, to benefit from their experiences.

From what has been said I can demonstrate that, in all the case studies, reform of initial teacher training has been accompanied by strong debate; it is not a straightforward process that is free of controversy. It has been imposed by harsh political decisions to achieve certain aims in their agenda. The intention of reform processes across the case studies was to elevate the status of teachers and the teaching profession, by raising the certification standard for future teachers to enter the teaching profession, and by increasing the emphasis on practicalities of teaching, as a means of professionalising teaching and elevating the status of teachers and the career itself.
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The comparative analysis has shown that, for example, in France traditional attitudes towards primary and secondary teachers still have a strong effect. In the United States, research shows that recent reform resulted in reduced enrolments and made many colleges move back to the undergraduate level of education. Also, educational research predicted that the teacher shortage that will strike the United States through the next two decades might stop the new movement and hold it back from achieving its aims. In the United States the reform was silent about addressing the many difficulties that elimination may cause.

Educational practice in Egypt

The third part of my analysis was based on investigating educational practice of teacher education policy in general and particular policies of teacher education. I sought opinions of representatives of teacher education such as policy makers and teacher trainers and also practising teachers' opinions as they represent the outcome of the system. I explored teacher trainers and policy makers' opinions on the policy of teacher education in general. I sought their opinions on the extent of consistency between the policy in theory and in practice; in particular late twentieth century policies and if they achieved any aims. The reality of these policies was investigated by the examination of educational practices of institutes of teacher education. This reality was explained by policy makers, teacher trainers and practising teachers' opinions. I explored their opinions on teacher education systems and programmes. I also sought opinions on the role of teachers inside and outside teacher training centres. Teachers themselves revealed their opinions on
Chapter Nine: Reflections and further discussion

the reality of the teaching profession status, their own status and reasons behind acquiring particular image. The current analysis will complete the picture I started to draw from the historical perspective.

After I based the historical and comparative background of teacher education in Egypt and illustrated past reforms in school systems and teacher education systems, I wanted to draw on contemporary reforms. I asked policy makers and teachers trainers for their opinions of the policy of teacher education in general and if this policy is consistent with practice. It seemed at first that many policy makers and teacher trainers were satisfied with the policy of teacher education. However, when I referred to their explanations I found that they mainly criticized the policy. I also found that participants who were satisfied with the policy have signalled one particular reason for their satisfaction, which is the move of teacher education to university. Clearly, participants who criticized the policy have signalled severe difficulties in this policy such as, the absence of philosophy, the lack of stability, the absence of a unified route to teacher education and the lack of authorities to co-ordinate between different routes to teacher education.

Participants provided evidence for their criticisms, such as the inconsistency between policy as a theory and as educational practices in many aspects. For example, they mentioned the recruitment of unqualified teachers, poor quality of teachers and lack of resources. More particularly, when I asked about the specific well-known policy of teacher education, I got interesting results. Participants were dissatisfied with the 1988 policy that unified the place of teacher education; this is simply because policy rhetoric is inconsistent with educational practices.
Chapter Nine: Reflections and further discussion

Participants were satisfied with the intention and aim of the policy but they were dissatisfied with the way it was taken into practice. They provided evidence for their opinions, such as the recruitment of unqualified teachers, non-education routes to teacher education, the quality of teachers and the existence of a variety of routes to teacher education.

When I asked about participants' opinions on a variety of routes to teacher education, in which some of them attributed their existence to raise criticisms of the policy, I found interesting explanations. Obviously, many participants are happy with the concept of specialism. They supported the idea of subject specialist teachers. This is why they are happy with a variety of routes to teacher education as long as it serves the concept of specialism in particular subjects, either academic or practical. However, some other participants were unhappy with the way this idea is put into practice. They criticise the educational practices of this idea in which many routes to teacher education have been established without co-ordination between them.

Also, there were some participants who showed satisfaction with particular types of faculties of education in relation to the contribution they have made to the field. The data revealed that some teacher trainers who are appointed in these particular faculties are happy with their standard of achievement. There were also some policy makers who are satisfied with these centres. Their assessment of the success of these faculties was solely focused on the standard of quantity. Nevertheless, this progress in terms of quantity was rejected by other groups of
Chapter Nine: Reflections and further discussion

participants who were dissatisfied with a particular type of faculty of education in which a surplus of teachers has become more problematic.

Interestingly, the camp that was dissatisfied with the success of these faculties, has signalled severe and tough criticisms against the establishment of these faculties. They attributed their lack of success to many things, such as, lack of planning, social pressure, personal agendas and lack of resources. When I examined participants' opinions who are dissatisfied with some particular faculties of education, I found the same criticisms as those from participants who are dissatisfied but to some extent. The criticisms included issues of unemployment among graduates of these faculties, lack of human and technical resources, and teachers' attitudes towards these faculties. Teachers' opinions indicated these deficiencies. In particular, specific teachers signalled many criticisms about their place of training, lack of resources and inadequate training. Their training took place in other faculties' buildings and their teacher trainers were delegated from other universities.

One point I would like to emphasise is that participants who showed satisfaction with the policy in general or with a particular policy of teacher education and also satisfaction with the standard of particular faculties and departments of education, always signalled a particular reason for their satisfaction. This always focused on the unification of the place of teacher education, the elevation of teachers' certificates, the elevation of teachers' quality, and the demolition of the division between teachers with elevation of their social status. In my own view participants who were satisfied to some extent or
dissatisfied completely with the policy of teacher education have demolished the argument that has been presented by satisfied participants. Their criticisms were defended properly. Regarding the elimination of division between teachers that the satisfied group was claiming, the real situation as described by the dissatisfied group tells a different story. More barriers and discrimination between student teachers have been established, the standard of teachers itself is low and teachers’ attitudes towards these special departments and faculties are negative.

With regard to the opinion of participants towards a variety of routes of teacher education, the practising teachers’ narrative was similar to the story told by policy makers and teachers trainers. Some of them were satisfied with a variety of routes to teacher education. They signalled the same opinion as policy makers and teacher trainers. They shared the idea of specialism which increases teachers professional quality. However, most practising teachers were dissatisfied with a variety of routes to teacher education. Their assessment was quite similar to policy makers and teacher trainers as they saw the variety of routes to teacher education as the main creator of divisions between teachers.

When policy makers and teacher trainers gave their opinion about the contribution of the policy of teacher education in enhancing the social and professional status of teachers, their explanation reflected much more dissatisfaction and criticisms of the policy. As usual, the camp who always show satisfaction with the policy, gave the same reasons for defending their views about the positive contribution of the policy in enhancing the social and professional status of teachers. As before, these are the unification of the place of teacher
Chapter Nine: Reflections and further discussion

education and the elevation of teachers' certificates. They believed that giving student teachers the university education has helped in enhancing their social and professional status. Also, teachers' academic and professional standards have developed due to the move of their training to universities. Additionally, teachers' salaries have helped to enhance their social status.

The other camp that was dissatisfied with the contribution of the policy in enhancing the social and professional status of teachers identified some factors that suggested a diminishing policy role. These are the creation of discrimination between teachers and the mishandling of the private lessons problem. Also, the inherited cultural attitude in society towards teachers has played a critical role in diminishing the policy role in enhancing teachers' social and professional status. The policy failed to change society's attitude, which was inherited from the nineteenth century and in which teachers were assessed according to their specialism and the level of education to which they teach.

Despite the unification of the place of teacher education and the elevation of the certificate level of early years education and primary teachers, the policy failed to change society's opinion of these levels. Some participants attributed this policy failure to the policy itself, and to the invention of new faculties and departments of education without good planning. This resulted in a poor image developing towards these new centres. It classified teachers according to different types and according to each level of education. This classification re-established divisions between teachers. Some other participants assessed the role of policy in enhancing the social and professional status of teachers according to teachers'
quality. They were dissatisfied with the policy as they argued it had lowered teachers' quality. In particular, for early years and primary teachers, policy rhetoric claimed to enhance their position. Participants also blamed the admission policy of enrolling in faculties of education. In fact, most participants believed that the social and professional status of teachers differentiates according to each education level. This in my opinion reflects the inadequate and unsuccessful policy of teacher education.

As usual, practising teachers' opinions completed the picture that policy makers and teachers started. They shared the same opinions with some policy makers and teacher trainers that teacher education policy has contributed promoting a negative image of teachers in the society. Also, the Minister's attitude towards teachers reflected their image badly. They also believe that inherited attitude in society has an impact on teachers' image in which teachers are valued according to their level of education and their specialisms. Practising teachers also shared with policy makers and teacher trainers the view that teachers' low salaries have forced them to give private lessons. Also, they blamed authorities' handling of these issues. With reference to the problem of private lessons in Egypt, Salmoni (2002) argued that:

Educational officials embarked on a campaign in the mid-1990s to eliminate the fast-spreading phenomenon of private lessons provided to secondary students by school teachers for extra fees. Explaining their opposition, Education Ministers indicated that such lessons reduced the teacher-student dynamic to little more than a financial relationship, thus inviting pedagogical extortion. Also, officials reasoned that such tutorials focused excessively on exam-preparation, and prevented students from thinking for themselves. Yet, regime efforts in this respect
also betray a distrust of non-state actors socializing emerging Egyptian citizens (p.2-3)

Another aspect I explored was participants' opinion on the actual situation in teacher education institutes. This was to gain a complete picture of teacher education in practice. Policy makers' and teacher trainers' opinions were divided between satisfaction and dissatisfaction with systems of teacher education. However, participants' satisfaction was conditional on the achievement of changes in systems of teacher education. Also, participants demonstrated dissatisfaction with the content of teacher education programme regarding the academic education and professional training. They signalled deficiencies in the programme such as imbalance between theory and practice, trivial and superficial academic content and the lack of an effective partnership between universities and schools. Despite participants' criticisms of teacher education systems most of them opposed current state proposals for teacher training reform and the reliance on a single system to train teachers.

Practising teachers' opinions regarding their training reflected dissatisfaction and indicated the same criticisms that were raised by policy makers and teacher trainers. Their programmes suffered from the imbalance between theory and practice and the dysfunctional relationship between educational theory and the practices in the real situations in schools. Also they criticised other aspects of the programme such as old-fashioned non-updated curricula and the split of the content of these curricula from school reality. Also, teachers were unhappy regarding their work experience and their practical training on subjects related to their specialisms. Teachers pointed to their feeling of homesickness towards the
programme of teacher education. This feeling developed as a result of the separation of the programme from the social reality. Finally, teachers criticized the dictatorial behaviour of teachers' trainers.

In fact, teacher trainers and policy makers themselves indicated that teachers have no role in many aspects either inside teacher training centres or outside. They indicated that teachers are not involved in the making of policy. Their responses signalled that the educational authorities are mainly responsible for the making of teacher education policy. Also, the same situation applies when developing teacher education policy. They signalled the reliance on the results of educational research which is based on international experience in developing teacher education. Most practising teachers indicated this marginalization of their role in the making of teacher education policy. They indicated that they do not have the opportunity to be involved.

Many policy makers and teacher trainers indicated the absence of teachers in forums and conferences about teacher education. Also, practising teachers signalled this fact. They are never invited to such meetings and there was no announcement to inform them about such events. Some of these teachers have terrible experiences when they do get the opportunity to participate in these events. Having felt and experienced that their opinions gain no respect, this discouraged them from being involved any more.

Policy makers and teacher trainers also signalled the lack of teacher participation in social and political life in Egypt. Practising teachers showed individual initiative to be involved in society. Many teachers are members of
Chapter Nine: Reflections and further discussion

charity organizations and others were involved in political work such as being members of the Democratic Political Party. Policy makers and teacher trainers indicated the absence of teachers from educational research. Similarly, practising teachers also indicated their lack of involvement in educational research. However, they give reasons for this action. These are school burdens and the lack of recognition of their role by authorities. Teachers also encountered problems in their work. These are, a lack of autonomy, their battle with the Ministry of Education and low salaries and social status.

Another issue I would like to bring into the discussion is policy makers’ and teacher trainers’ interests in developing a policy of teacher education. In fact, most participants show significant passion to develop the policy of teacher education in the light of international trends and other countries’ experiences. Most of them argued for developing the policy of teacher education according to academic educational research results, which were based on other countries’ experience. Also, their suggestions paid sole attention to the structure of teacher education such as extending course length, and a few called for the increase of the certificate level.

Moreover, a few participants consistently valued the policy and system of teacher education according to a single fixed norm. This is the unification of the place of teacher education. They claimed that this unified the educational place and status of teachers. However, in my view most participants’ opinions and explanations demolished this argument.
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In my opinion, teachers gave good examples which show their understanding of their problems and they made efficient suggestions to overcome these problems. It seems that particular circumstances have forced them to use their own tactics to overcome difficulties. They did not find the authority to stand behind them or to try solving their problems. They even lost the trust in the authority as this authority does not care about their opinions and rarely listens to their voices. Their self-image has been damaged significantly. I found no difference in this regard between primary or secondary teachers. Every type of teachers have suffered but in different terms.

However, teachers’ opinions are valuable in their own right. Unlike policy makers’ and teacher trainers’ general structural suggestions, practising teachers provided clear recommendations about values. There is a great deal of evidence which justifies considering teachers’ views simply because they are worthwhile and articulate important issues about teachers. They contrast to other participants recommended the need for establishing clear policy, purposes, framework and content for teacher education. They wanted to be involved in the making of policies or at least to be informed and be able to express opinions when changes in education policies are being made. Teachers also, wanted an effective system of in-service teacher training to help them become updated academically and professionally.

Additionally, they suggested the need to unify the place of teacher education for all types of teachers to eliminate divisions between teachers. They recommended links between teacher training and the reality in schools, the
national curriculum and society. They wanted teacher education centres to be liberated from the separation from the Egyptian society and also to stop invited unrelated imported ideas. Teachers also wanted to be involved in their training and in educational research. Additionally, teachers provided a practical solution to the problem of private lessons, which was simply to raise their salary. They also suggested the need to allow them to participate in all aspects of life, social and political. They wanted to regain their autonomy and to reduce the school burden. They also asked for building of a good relationship between them and the education authority, as this could reform society's view of teachers. Accordingly, they would be respected according to the role they play in society, which is a vital role.

The Egyptian case study revealed that neither the elevation of the level of teacher certificates nor the unification of the place of teacher education under the university, helped to elevate the status of teachers and the teaching profession. Educational practices in Egypt are a clear example to show that the institutional form of teacher education was perceived to be more important than its content; and preparing teachers effectively thought to be was less important than giving them the status of a university graduate. Egyptian teachers were dissatisfied with the training they had. They also accused the state policy for the decline in status of teachers and the teaching profession.

It seems that market forces that have been suggested as having an influence on teacher training in England and the United States, have started to flourish in the Egyptian case. This is illustrated by the adoption of the idea of privatisation in
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Egypt. An assistant professor indicated this approach and claims that the policy of teacher training is clear because it aims to limit the number of candidates entering faculties of education. He also said the policy is adopting the present trend in Egypt for privatisation.

Overall, teacher education will not be improved unless structural reform is accompanied with new approaches to teacher education. Teachers have an influential role to play. If we want to improve teacher education the way we train and educate teachers is as important as giving them higher credentials. In the present study teachers themselves demonstrated initiatives, thoughts and actions that should be given recognition.

Teachers wanted to be involved in the making of education policy or at least to be asked for opinions. Teachers recommended that more attention should be paid to the content of teacher education. Teachers showed individual initiatives to participate in the conditions inside school with the public and outside schools in the sense of social and political activities.

Teachers criticised bitterly their lack of participation in educational research, education policy, social and political life and in attending educational events. Policy makers and teacher trainers did not deny this lack of participation but they confirmed it.

Teacher education in Egypt will not be improved unless we cure the damage that has been inflicted on teachers and the teaching profession. This damage could be cured by better education for teachers in which a leading role inside and outside schools will regain teachers' trust in themselves and will capture the
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respect of the whole society. Teachers not only need to be trained but they needed also to be well educated.

The experience of England, France and the United States indicated that structural reform on its own could lead to change but not improvement. Egypt has experienced structural reform and it intends to carry out further reform that is similar to that in the overseas case studies.

In fact, Egypt has her own experience of the same reform that is currently being suggested. This experience shows that teacher shortages resulted from the past reforms. Also, university graduates show a lack of interest in entering higher institutions of teacher training. As well, Egypt has had another experience from the last reform. The results of the present study revealed the decline of the status of teachers and the teaching profession in spite of the elevation of the teachers certificates and the unification of the place of teacher training. Therefore, a reminder of Openshaw’s (1998) argument is most appropriate in this situation. He argued that teacher education will not move forward into the twenty first century until those who influence policy possess a map which will tell them where they have come from.

The policy of initial teacher education should pay more attention to proposals for teacher education reform. Programmes of teacher education if developed should enable future teachers to give reasons for their educational action. They can also serve to develop the type of teacher who is aware of society’s problems and has the intention to criticize it in order to improve it or develop it further. This type of teachers could reflect these intentions and beliefs to pupils and this could
have a great benefit for the whole society. There are several significant elements of social reconstructionist practices in teacher education, which could be developed.

The experience of overseas countries should be approached very carefully. Critical examination should be carried out as an essential part of making judgement about the case studies. Pre-judgement based on poor justification should be avoided. I would like to argue that a comparative study can make it possible to see one's own system more clearly when it is reflected against a different system; it can also open up the opportunity to do the opposite. A comparative study can make it possible to see other systems more clearly when it is reflected against one's own system.
Chapter Ten

Conclusion

In this thesis I have attempted to investigate contemporary initial teacher training reform in Egypt within a comparative and historical context. I have paid close attention to the division between primary and secondary teachers, because it has been located at the heart of reform processes. To achieve this, I reviewed reform efforts by examining policy decisions and educational practices that have taken place in initial teacher training in Egypt, in particular contemporary changes. I examined the nature of these reforms and how far they have been successful in achieving their aims. Additionally, I reflected on the experiences of England, France and the United States, to identify lessons learned in teacher training reform that could be applied or avoided in order to enhance initial teacher education in Egypt.

The present thesis is the first full account of Egypt’s initial teacher training policy and practice. In order to understand and enhance policy and practice in Egypt, it was important to relate this closely to the international context. In particular, this study focused on understanding initial teacher training reform from a number of standpoints. This included an overview of its historical development and also an examination of how it is in reality by giving people who are involved in the system the opportunity to voice their opinions. In this thesis, I have attempted to engage with current policy reforms in Egypt and to propose further
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developments, which are informed by evidence of historical and comparative contexts and the views of people in the system. In particular, giving teachers a voice which they have not had before. The qualitative dimension of the present study was the first application of this kind of method to this topic in relation to Egypt. It is important to consider and discuss the process and experience gained from this research for the benefit of further research in Egypt.

In this thesis I argued that problems of teacher education in Egypt have two main causes: first, the Egyptian policy interests which follow international trends without considering the implications; second, the policy focus on restructuring the system without philosophy. I argued for the vital need for a co-ordinated and cohesive system of teacher education in Egypt and a clear philosophy and policy as well.

I explained the way that Egyptian educationalists look comparatively at teacher training in developed countries. Much of this research has recommended borrowing ideas and practices from developed countries. Researchers made up their mind at the beginning of their projects and asserted that the ideas and practices of teacher education that had been created by developed countries should be taken as examples of good practice, regardless of how successful their policies are or what debates surround the ideas and practices they recommended in these countries. They decided from the beginning of their research that because these countries are already ‘developed’, their policies and practices should be borrowed and transferred to the system in Egypt. Much of this research focused on
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approaches to restructuring the system of teacher training in terms of the length of
the course, the relative weight of the programme areas, the admission system, and
selection of candidates. Even though researchers paid attention to approaches to
teacher training programmes, they mainly proposed new programmes in terms of
competencies and standards. There has been no mention whatsoever of proposals
for teacher education as social reconstructionism.

In contrast with these previous works, I attempted to show the debate
surrounding policies and practices in England, France and the United States. The
comparative analysis shows the debate in these countries regarding issues of
structure and purposes of teacher education. It also sheds light on competency and
standards approaches to teacher training and how these approaches could reduce
teacher education to the development of skilled teachers. It is apparent that the
policy of teacher education and academic educational research in Egypt has
focused on borrowing and has not attempted to learn from other countries’
experiences in any deep or critical way. Academic research provided instructional
models to develop programmes of teacher education in terms of competencies and
standards in a similar fashion to changes that have been carried out in developed
countries. Furthermore, it has been suggested that current development in teacher
education should be carried out in line with the innovations of developed
countries. In particular, the current proposal developed by the Egyptian
government to change teacher education in Egypt was focused on structure. It
suggests some changes previously carried out in the USA and France that
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abolished the concurrent system of teacher education for the purpose of elevating teachers' status and removing division between primary and secondary teachers. Addressing the underlying problems of teacher education in Egypt will require a deeper and more substantial analysis than this implies.

The historical development of teacher education in Egypt has emphasised structure. The data demonstrated that despite the structural changes in the system of teacher education, which were carried out to abolish the division between teachers and to provide them with high qualifications, the discrimination and differentiation between teachers are still very obvious. The current reform like its predecessors focuses on structure. The consequences of this reform may be anticipated. Like the previous reforms, it is unlikely to lead to changes, because it does not consider a philosophy of teacher education. It also has not learnt from the experience of other countries, and it has failed to learn from its own experience as well. Therefore, I suggested further changes in teacher education in which the proposals of social reconstructionism could lead to a better future for teacher education in Egypt. This is especially significant in engaging with the current social and economic crisis in Egypt and also the conditions of teacher training and the work environment.

In fact, the data revealed criticisms of the policy of teacher education even though some of the questions I asked did not themselves ask for criticisms. The data revealed how a few informants evaluated the policy and system of teacher education according to certain norms. These were the movement of teacher
training to university, the elevation of teachers certificate and the elevation of teachers' academic qualifications. However, many informants' criticisms of the policy and the system demolished these claims. The data demonstrated that teacher professionalism is absent from teacher education in Egypt. Teachers were considered professional in terms of their qualification. On this basis, the higher the certificate the higher the profession and vice versa. The data indicated that teachers have no role in the making of policy and programmes of teacher education. Also, teachers are marginalized from taking part in social and political life. They also have no involvement in educational research. As well as revealing the absence of teachers' roles in many areas the data also provided insights about the future of teacher education from the perspective of practising teachers. Teachers have the desire to be involved in teacher education in Egypt, in the sense of policy, programmes and research. In particular, they wanted integration between teacher education and society.

Furthermore, the data provided evidence about the conditions that shaped teachers' training and work environment. These were, discrimination between teachers, mistrust of educational authority, low pay, low social status, overwork, lack of autonomy and lack of involvement in many areas of teacher education.

I think in the present research I went beyond other research and I justified empirically what might be considered the principles and values of teacher education reform in Egypt as it reconsiders the structure. The empirical dimension of the present study provided insights, or justifications, about the need to consider
social reconstructionism in the reform of teacher education. The empirical study
gave the opportunity to people in the system, in particular teachers, to voice their
opinions to the present topic for the first time. The empirical data provided insights
about the actual practice of teacher education in Egypt.

In the light of this evidence, social reconstructionist proposals for teacher
education are needed. These proposals are highly significant as a starting point for
thinking about teacher education policies and practices in Egypt. As I suggested
before, teacher training reform based only on structural change is inadequate if it is
not accompanied by the same attention to the way we educate and train future
teachers. Social reconstructionism provides a window to achieve this target and
provides insights about new ways to promote teacher professionalism. For
example, programmes for teacher education could discuss the conditions that
teachers are work in, and this would enable future teachers to analyse and take part
in these matters in a way that may help the creation of a respected and non-
discriminatory profession. This could be a beginning for teachers to situate their
problems in a wider social context. However, there is a need to take into account
the historical, cultural, social and economic contexts of Egypt.

The data demonstrated that policy makers and teacher trainers paid attention to
university qualifications as evidence of teachers being professional. However,
being professional does not depend solely on qualifications. It could also include
further areas. These include for example, the development of specialist knowledge,
and autonomy to apply this knowledge, and acting with responsibility. It could
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also be much wider to give teachers the opportunity to participate in social and political activities in the society. This is an important step to establish harmony between all types of professions in Egypt. Other professionals in Egypt such as physicians, engineers and solicitors already participate significantly in these activities. Teachers, like other professions, should have a major role in being involved with problems in Egypt.

The findings of this thesis open up an area which involves the use of critical comparative approaches in the field of education policy in general and especially the teacher education policy. Also, it suggests the need to develop training methods and instructional strategies around the tradition of social reconstructionism. In particular, among the suggestions for future research are the need for more vigorous concern about entering the field of qualitative research in Egypt; the exploration and identification of comparative approaches that could make possible the comparison between developing and developed countries; and the exploration and application of diverse qualitative research methods in conducting research about teachers. Further research could also be done to develop training methods and instructional strategies which would make possible the education and training of teachers who are reflective about their teaching, schools and society. There is indeed a rich research agenda still to be pursued and I hope that the current study makes a useful contribution along the way.

The journey of this thesis was a great opportunity for myself. It helped in developing my thinking and it increased my knowledge in relation to the issues
raised. In particular, the process and experience of the present study had a great influence on my ideas about research. The research process helped to make me self-reflective. This is something I felt happy with because as I would like future teachers in Egypt to be reflective on their training, schools and society. I was also reflective on my research. The present study also gave me the opportunity to explore the diverse comparative approaches in educational research. On this basis, I was able to identify the methodological approaches of my study in relation to others who conducted comparative research. I went beyond comparative approaches that were described as descriptive and uncritical to a critical approach that focused on understanding initial teacher education from a number of standpoints including the historical development and the reality of teacher education. If teacher education is to be reformed in Egypt, it must be developed from within through a coordinated partnership of teachers, policy makers and teacher trainers in order to create and implement policies and principles that promote teaching as a profession.
Appendix 1

Questionnaire on issues of teacher education in Egypt
with some teacher trainers and policy makers

Dear Sir/ Madam,

The researcher is preparing for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education in the subject of ‘investigating contemporary initial teacher education reform in Egypt from a comparative and historical perspective. The researcher has prepared this questionnaire to know your opinions on issues of teacher education in Egypt. The questionnaire is based on three dimensions as follows:

The first dimension: Policy of initial teacher education in Egypt.
This part aims to know your opinion on clarity of the policy of teacher education, the extent of consistency between this policy as a theory and as a practice, also, your view of the 1988 policy that unified the place in which teacher education is delivered.

The second dimension: Institutions of teacher education in Egypt and teachers’ roles.
This part aims to know your opinion on faculties of specific education and departments of basic education in Egypt.

The third dimension: Social and professional status of teachers in Egypt.
This part aims to know your views on the role of teacher education policy in improving the social and professional status of teachers, and, your view on the social and professional status of different types of teachers.

I would appreciate it if you could spend some time responding to this questionnaire to express your opinion on issues raised above. Please be assured that your responses will be kept completely confidential. The information provided will be used for research purposes.

Thank you for your co-operation

Yours truly,
Nisreen Abdul Ghany
PhD student

PS. this questionnaire translated from Arabic language to the English.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Statement</th>
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<td>Firstly: Policy of Initial Teacher Education in Egypt</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Policy of ITE in Egypt has become clear. Please explain</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 The theoretical aspect of this policy agrees with the implementation in practice. Please explain</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3 The 1988 Policy that unified the place of delivery of teacher education was successful. Please explain</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
Secondly: Institutions of Teacher Education in Egypt

<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Faculties of Specific Education have achieved the aims they were established for. Please explain</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Departments of Basic/Primary Education have achieved the aims they were established for. Please explain</td>
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Thirdly: Teacher social and professional status

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<td>1</td>
<td>Policy of TE in Egypt has contributed of enhancing the social and professional status of teachers. Please explain</td>
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<td>Teacher social and professional status in Egypt differs from one educational stage to another (kindergarten - primary - preparatory - secondary). Please explain</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Teacher professional and social status has been affected by economic, social and political conditions. Please explain</td>
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Appendix 2

Details of interviews

Policy makers and teacher trainers' interviews. The interviews took place on the following dates:

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<th>Cairo</th>
<th>Alexandria</th>
<th>Ismalia</th>
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<tr>
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</table>
Appendix 3

Chronology of teacher education in Egypt since the 19th century

Dar-Alom

The first systematic model to train primary and secondary teachers academically and professionally emerged in 1872 when Dar-Alom school was established.

The Female and Male Teacher Training School

Al-Sanya, the Female Teacher Training School, was established in 1900, followed by the Female Elementary Teacher Training School in 1903. The Male Teacher Training School for Elementary Education was established in 1904. Candidates were admitted after gaining an elementary school certificate or after finishing their studies in Kuttab.

The Higher Institute of Teacher Training

In 1929, the Higher Institution of Teacher Education was established. The new higher institution was divided into two divisions. The first was to prepare secondary school teachers from university graduates in art and science for two years. The second was to prepare primary school teachers who held a secondary education certificate for three years. In 1938, the primary division was closed and the years of study in the high division were shortened to a year and trained both primary and secondary teachers together. This single year was preceded by an initial two years of professional studies within students' university subjects.

Female and male Teacher Training School

In 1953, female and male Teacher Training Schools were established. Student applicants first gained primary certificates and then were upgraded to a preparatory certificate as students were required to study for five years. In the first three they were provided with a general education similar to what was being taught in high schools. A pedagogical training was provided over the remaining two years with in-depth specialization in the subject matter. In some of these schools, student teachers were provided with free accommodation. In the training centres there were schools in which students could gain work experience.
Appendix 3

Basic education departments and faculties of specific education

In 1988/89, the Egyptian government established a new policy for all teachers to graduate from universities. This approach required all prospective teachers to receive four years of university education. Therefore, in 1988/89 the government established departments to train teachers in basic education within university faculties of education. The Ministry of Education established five Specific Faculties outside the scope of the university which were supervised by the Ministry of Higher Education. In late 1998 Faculties of Specific Education joined universities directly and came under their control.
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