

THE PREPARATION OF PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
PARAIBA STATE IN BRAZIL ^{the North-East of}

by

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CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	6
ABSTRACT	7
List of Tables	9
List of Figures	10
Chapter 1.0 <u>Introduction</u>	11
1.1 Developments in Education	11
1.2 The Quality of Education	13
1.3 Curriculum Content and the Quality of Education	18
1.4 Teacher Training and the Quality of Education	22
1.5 Outline of the Study	24
Chapter 2.0 <u>Primary Education in Latin America: An Overview</u>	30
2.1 Introduction	30
2.2 Educational Goals in Latin America	32
2.3 Population Growth	36
2.4 Growth in Enrolments	39
2.5 Quality of Education	43
2.6 Conclusion	46
Chapter 3.0 <u>Teacher Education in Latin America</u>	49
3.1 Introduction	49
3.2 Internal Efficiency Aspects of Education	50
3.3 External Aspects of Teacher Education	55
3.4 The Expansion of the Education System in Latin America: the quantitative increase in teacher supply	58
3.5 Teacher Training and the Quality of Education in Brazil	63
3.6 The Traditional Model for Teacher Preparation for the Primary Level in Latin America	67
3.6.1 Level and Structure of Teacher Training Institutions	68
3.6.2 Conditions of Admission to Teacher Training Institutions	69
3.6.3 Length of Study in Teacher Training Institutions	70
3.6.4 Curriculum of Teacher Training Institutions	71
3.7 Conclusion	73

Chapter 4.0	<u>An Overview of Primary Education and Normal Schools in Brazil from the time of Colonization until 1964</u>	78
4.1	Introduction	78
4.2	Brazilian Empire (1822 - 1889)	80
4.3	The Early Republican Period (1889 - 1930)	85
4.4	The 1930 Revolution - The Vargas Era	88
4.5	The Post-War Democratic Period	96
4.6	The Influence of Historical Development	101
4.7	Education and Brazilian Development after 1930	104
4.8	Conclusion	111
Chapter 5.0	<u>The Implementation of Law 5,692/71</u>	114
5.1	Introduction	114
5.2	Education and Social Demand after 1964	118
5.3	The Professionalization of Secondary Education	124
5.4	The Redefinition of the Policy for Training First Level School Teachers	132
5.5	Teacher Training After Law 5,692/71	135
5.6	Difficulties in Implementing Law 5,692/71 in Teacher Training	142
5.7	Conclusion	144
Chapter 6.0	<u>Teacher Education in Paraiba State</u>	152
6.1	Introduction	152
6.2	The Social Context of Education	153
6.2.1	Historical Background of Paraiba	153
6.2.2	Northeastern Brazil	154
6.2.3	Location of Physical Features, Population and Socio-Economic Structure of Paraiba	157
6.3	The Educational System	168
6.3.1	Pre-School Enrolment	168
6.3.2	Teachers	171
6.3.3	First Level Education	174
6.3.4	Teacher Qualifications	182
6.3.5	The Training in the Normal Schools	183
6.4	Priorities and Directives of the Secretary of Education - Paraiba	186
6.5	Teacher Preparation	193
6.6	Curriculum Proposal	197
6.7	The Teacher in Service (Working Conditions)	198
6.8	In-Service Training for Teachers	199
6.9	Problems of the Profession	200
6.10	Conclusion	201

Chapter 7.0	<u>Teachers' Views on Teacher Education and the Teaching Profession in Paraiba State</u>	203
7.1	Introduction	203
7.2	Methodology and Design	205
7.2.1	Area of Study	205
7.2.2	Subjects	206
7.2.3	The Instruments	208
7.3	Results and Discussion	212
7.3.1	Trainees: Background and Employment	212
7.3.2	Entry to the Teaching Profession	214
7.3.3	Adequacy of Preparation	223
7.4	Reflections on the Syllabus	231
7.5	Conclusion	235
Chapter 8.0	<u>Conclusions</u>	236
8.1	Status of Teacher Preparation for Grades 1 to 4	236
8.2	New Curricula for First Level Schools	239
8.3	Responding to Social Conditions	242
8.4	Towards a National System of Teacher Preparation	245
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	247
	Appendices	251

To my parents

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ABSTRACT

This work is concerned with the quality of Primary Education and Teacher Education in Brazil, and particularly the State of Paraiba. Quality of education is an elusive concept to measure, and Brazil is not the only country in the world where one can find critics of the educational system who believe that the quantitative expansion of the system has necessarily brought about a reduction in quality. Chapter 1.0 sets out the basic problems which are viewed as related directly to the internal and external efficiency of the educational system.

A number of problems which face primary education in Latin America are identified in Chapter 2.0. These problems were mainly produced by the rapid expansion of the system to meet increased social demands and to satisfy important human rights of the people of Latin America. Chapter 2.0 also reviews conferences, especially those held in Latin America, which have suggested solutions to these problems.

Chapter 3.0 looks at teacher education in Latin America and Brazil, focusing on its internal and external aspects. Chapter 4.0 shows a number of features of the educational system of Brazil which were obstacles to the effective implementation of the proposed reforms. These obstacles were the result of the historical development of the system of education, and the traditions which had been developed since colonization.

Chapter 5.0 sets out the problems which have been raised by the

policy adopted after 1964, when a military regime took power. It is against this background of national policy that the teacher preparation policies in the various states of Brazil must be understood. Chapter 6.0 deals with some of the determinants of teacher education development in Paraiba State, including a brief summary of the socio-economic situation and its implications for the educational system.

Through these early chapters three major shortcomings of teacher preparation in Brazil have been identified:

- 1) The number of teachers prepared,
- 2) The unsuitability of the training for conditions internal to the schools (curricula/teaching methods etc.), and
- 3) The unsuitability of the training for conditions external to the schools (the social condition of entrants to the schools).

Chapter 7.0 seeks to investigate how the trainee teachers in Paraiba perceive the training they receive, from these various aspects.

Finally, Chapter 8.0 summarises the findings of earlier chapters, and sets out recommendations for the revision of teacher education to improve the quality of teacher education, and hence of education at the primary level, in Paraiba specifically, and more generally in the whole of Brazil.

LIST OF TABLES

2.1	Growth of School-Age Population in Latin America	38
2.2	Enrolment Rates in Latin America	39
2.3	Annual Rate of Increase in Enrolment of Pupils	40
2.4	Latin America: Enrolments of the 6 - 11 Age Group	41
3.1	Teachers by Level of Education in the Region, Both Sexes, 1960 - 1977	59
3.2	Average Teacher/Pupil Ratio in the Region, 1960-1977	60
3.3	Break-down of the Thirty Two Countries According to the Teacher/Pupil Ratio in Primary Education	60
3.4	Latin America and the Caribbean: Trends in the Percentage of Unqualified Teachers in Primary or Basic Education in Some Countries in the Region	61
4.1	Aspects of the Increase in Population of Brazil Aged 7 - 12 Years, and the Expansion of Primary Education (by region)	105
4.2	The Increase of the School Age Population of Brazil between 1940 and 1970	106
4.3	The Evolution of Primary School Enrolment	106
4.4	Extent of School Enrolment for the Population Aged 7 to 14 in Brazil in 1964	107
4.5	School Age Population and School Attendance in 1964	108
4.6	Numbers Enrolling in Different Levels of Education from 1942/1953 to 1960/1970	109
4.7	Relative Numbers Enrolling in Different Levels of Education from 1942/1953 to 1960/1970	110
5.1	Deficit of Middle Level Qualified Personnel in Brazil	121
5.2	Percentage Increase in the Enrolment in Primary and Middle Level Education	122
5.3	Percentage Increase in the Candidates for University and the Number of Vacancies	122
6.1	Economically Active Population by Sector of Activity 1960/1980	160
6.2	Summary of Educational Statistics for the State of Paraiba - 1978 - Pre-School Education	169
6.3	Summary of Educational Statistics for the State of Paraiba - 1982 - Pre-School Education	170
6.4	Teachers in Pre-School Education by Level of Education (1982)	172
6.5	First Level Education and School Age Population (7 to 14), Population, Enrolment and Attendance by Location - Paraiba 1977/1982	175
6.6	First Level Education, Total Enrolment by Grade Paraiba 1979/1981	176
6.7	First Level Education, Drop-outs by Grade, Paraiba 1979/1981	177
6.8	Progression from the First to Second Grade (First Level Education) Paraiba 1977/1982	179
6.9	Normal Schools - Initial Enrolment	184
6.10	Curriculum of the Normal Schools in Paraiba State	196

7.1	Distribution of Normal Schools according to the Regional Centres of Education (CRECs) of Paraiba State in 1984	206
7.2	Number of Subjects Included in this Study	207
7.3	Age of Trainee Teachers	212
7.4	Working Experience (Teacher Trainees)	213
7.5	Kinds of Experience (Teacher Trainees)	213
7.6	Housing (Teacher Trainees)	215
7.7	Family Income (Teacher Trainees)	216
7.8	Level of Education of Parents	218
7.9	Trainees' Motivation for Entering Teaching - Sum Total Ranks of Motivations	221
7.10	Expectations when Finishing Training	222
7.11	Trainees' Opinions of the Preparation Received in Normal Schools	225
7.12	Practising Teachers' Opinions of the Preparation Received in Normal Schools	227
7.13	Teacher Trainers' Opinions of the Preparation Received in Normal Schools	229

LIST OF FIGURES

6.1	Distribution of the Economically Active Population by Monthly Income	163
6.2	Distribution of the Initial Enrolments in the First Level of Education by Grade - Paraiba 1982	178
6.3	Progression, Failure and Drop-out of Pupils of the First Grade of First Level Education	180

CHAPTER 1.0 Introduction

1.1 Developments in Education

During the immediate post-war period, arguments in favour of the expansion and democratization of education were based upon principles of equality and justice, according to the argument that education is one of the fundamental human rights (Article 26 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948). World War II brought changes in the educational, economic and social conditions of different societies. Three major explosions exerted pressure on educational systems; of knowledge, population and aspiration. (Le Gall, 1973).

After 1945 almost all European countries were engaged in efforts to reform their educational systems by reducing gaps between social classes; by diversifying secondary education; by raising the school leaving age; by changing styles of selection for secondary schools and universities, and by linking the different kinds of secondary institutions with higher education.

In the early 1950's, educational systems the world over began a process of expansion. Despite the remarkable rise in primary school enrolments in Latin America, from 21,235,455 (1957) to 32,915,077 (1965), it did not keep pace with an even faster growing social demand for education. (Gimeno, 1983, p.24) In 1950, of the total of the population between 7 to 14 years of age, no less than 15.6 million were out of school. This number

reduced only to 14.7 million in 1957 and 14.6 million in 1965 (Unesco, 1977, p.22).

In the case of Brazil the problem was aggravated by the regional disparities; the higher growth rate of the youth population; social conflicts between traditional and modern ways of life; the lack of financial, material and human resources; the inertia of the educational system to policy changes and in the implementation, in practice, of the changes.

All the developing countries thus faced a severe problem, which lay at the heart of their educational crisis. As Coombs (1968) pointed out, the encouraging fact that their people were enthusiastically demanding education was offset by the nerve-racking fact that grave political consequences could ensue if that demand was not satisfied. He went further by saying, "How can they bridge the great and growing gap between the burgeoning aspirations of their people for more education and the limited ability of their educational systems to fulfill those aspirations?" (Coombs, 1968, p.24).

The question Coombs presents is a difficult one, and not one which can be answered with cheap and poor quality educational provision. As enrolments have increased, and concern over enrolment levels has eased somewhat, so attention has turned to the quality of the education which is provided, and to the ability of specific individuals and groups to benefit from what

is on offer. Solving the educational problems of Latin America, or any other developing region, cannot be seen as simply building more schools or training more teachers, important though these may be.

1.2 The Quality of Education

It is widely held opinion among educationists in Brazil that the quality of teaching has decreased since the middle sixties, a period which corresponded to the expansion of enrolment in public primary schools.

In spite of the vocal criticisms of the quality of education, it is not clear whether the lack of quality of teaching should be seen as a failure to maintain standards which once prevailed within the educational system, or as a failure to meet the expectations of people towards the public school, or whether it should rather be attributed to the fact that aspirations have risen, and then that these schools are not satisfying these higher aspirations.

Specially before the expansion, the school has always been elitist, competitive, and worked with pupils who had been selected by the social conditions, and for this reason brought to the schools values, beliefs, attitudes and motivation which reflected their social backgrounds. The social origins of those in school were fairly homogeneous, particularly compared with the situation which prevails now. Moreover, the selection process

meant that besides certain social similarities, the pupils in schools had also demonstrated personal qualities of motivation, determination and competitiveness. However, even among the selected group, not all pupils could adapt to the norms of the school and a rigid system of internal selection was used to separate the better pupils from those having difficulties.

High rates of drop-out and repetition were always present in Brazilian educational statistics. These indicate that the supposed high efficiency of the primary school was doubtful even before the expansion.

At present the situation is aggravated at least in part by the quantitative expansion. The school continues to discriminate, not only by its criteria of evaluation but also because it was not prepared to absorb the clientele from the lower class. Moreover, the new type of pupil from a poorer home background, who represents the great majority in the schools nowadays, is not the object of study in the syllabuses of the courses for training primary school teachers.

Primary school teachers tend to see such children as having problems of nutrition and lack of affection. The problem of socialisation and the problem of the social adaptation of the children's families, who, in general, are living in conditions of marginalisation in the urban industrial society, has not been given attention by those who plan the educational system and

those in charge of the courses for training primary school teachers. Even the university has not collaborated in the sense of investigating the problem of education outside its own walls.

The so-called crisis of the quality of basic school education was created by the influx of new students from the lower social groups. This change in the social composition of the pupils brought into question the curriculum proposition of the former Brazilian primary school, which gave an advantage to children of the middle and upper classes, who were well acquainted with the primary school habits, and had more potential for successful school achievement. Therefore, the whole basis of the methods, the curricula and the forms of interaction between teacher and pupil require serious study and reform (Mello, 1982a).

The term 'quality' has been used by educationists, teachers, educational planners, and so on, but until recently very little research has been done in developing countries. As Gimeno (1983, p.125) pointed out one cannot expect the quality of education to be understood by everyone in quite the same way. However, he says, there is a consensus on the conditions or requirements for good quality education. It should give everybody equal opportunities and select individuals to perform the different functions needed in society on the basis of their abilities and aptitudes. This means that good quality education should meet three requirements; (i) democratization; (ii) social usefulness through a preparation for working life; and (iii) humanism that will prevent it from being governed exclusively by considerations

of productivity. In this way, it will prepare for all-round development directed towards the harmonization of economic growth, social progress and culture; the aspirations of the individual; and the requirements of society. (Gimeno, 1983, p.126).

In the Symposium promoted by the International Institute for Educational Planning, "The Qualitative Aspects of Educational Planning", (Unesco, 1968) experts distinguished between two different ways of viewing quality: (i) One way involved a view of quality from within the educational system in the light of its own internal criteria. An example is the student performance based on a standard examination. (ii) The other way is to view the qualitative performance of an educational system by external criteria, such as its fitness and relevance to the needs of its environment (cited in Coombs, 1968, pp.105-106).

These two different points of view can lead to quite different conclusions. The quality and efficiency of a school may be high according to its own internal standards. But if its teaching, judged by external criteria, is obsolete and irrelevant for its place and time, then its quality and efficiency must be considered poor. Equally, a school could be poor in terms of internal efficiency, failing to prepare many students for examinations and so on, but provide valuable educative experiences for the students which will be of lasting benefit in their activities. Such a school would have to be judged as

efficient and effective on external criteria.

The people responsible for the educational systems must set their sights on adapting the educational curricula and standards to the external realities of the situation they face, and, in doing so they must try to harmonize the internal and external criteria of quality (Coombs, 1968, p.106).

The challenge arises from the current efforts of all educational systems to open their doors wider than before and to serve larger numbers than ever before of young people who come from families of lower educational, economic and social status.

As Coombs points out, educational systems must undergo a shift of emphasis. The new stress must be not so much on producing an educated person as on producing an educable person who can learn and adapt himself efficiently all through his life to an environment that is ceaselessly changing.

The second view of quality discussed in the Symposium, "The Qualitative Aspects of Educational Planning" - that is the relevance of education in the wider environment - is the one which will be used and developed in this study.

The Conference of Ministers of Education and Ministers responsible for Economic Planning in Countries of Latin America and The Caribbean, convened by Unesco, which met in Buenos Aires from 21 to 28 June, 1966, also dealt with the issue of quality in

education, and also concluded that the emphasis in development should be on the external criteria of efficiency:

Considering that the Latin American countries should endeavour not only to expand education but also to raise educational standards to the highest level, and, considering that the quality of education depends upon the extent to which the educational systems is in line with the ideals and needs of society, and upon the internal efficiency of the educational process... [the conference recommended that] systematic and continuous action be planned with a view to improving educational efficiency at all levels: curricula, syllabuses, methods and materials, the structure of the educational system, its administration, and so on (Unesco, 1966, pp.9-10).

The clear implication of this new awareness of the external efficiency of schools is that the curriculum will need careful, but dramatic revision. There is no other way in which it can be ensured that the curriculum is relevant to conditions outside the school, and unless such a match between the curriculum and external reality is established and maintained, it is difficult to see how the target of external efficiency can ever be achieved.

1.3 Curriculum Content and the Quality of Education

Educationists have frequently criticized the curriculum for being separated from the realities of life outside the school. It is not a particularly new criticism, having been taken up by such notable reformers as Comenius, Kerschensteiner, and Dewey. The criticism has become more urgent and more strident in recent years with the expansion of the schools and the rapid development of industry in many countries. Educationists now criticize the

present content of education, characterizing it as obsolete and irrelevant, and pointing out that it does not serve the purposes of the students who will live in the twenty-first century.

In the International Conference on Education convened by Unesco, meeting in Geneva for its thirthy-second session, in July 1970, the participants discussed the content of education and concluded that one of the weaknesses of education has been its lack of adaptation to today's society accustomed to the rapid development of science and technology.

The Conference considered that the greatest emphasis should be laid on the principle that the content of education should be constantly questioned and thoroughly examined so as to produce true reform (Unesco, 1970, item 39).

The discussion around which criteria should be used in drawing up syllabuses and improving their content had the following order of priority: (i) The child's needs; (ii) his intellectual emotional and physical development; (iii) national or local conditions; (iv) and the rationalisation of the choice of subjects.

Another relevant aspect is taken up by Brimer and Pauli (1971) who considered that three basic skills should be included in the curriculum: reading, writing and arithmetic. They should grow from the child's environment and every day lite. Nonetheless, it is a striking fact that in many countries reading lessons are constructed with words which the child does not understand and

which mean nothing to him (Brimer and Pauli, 1971, p.80).

Taking Brazil as an example, research conducted in public primary schools in Bahia state (in the North-east of Brazil), showed that children waste their time in listening to things remote from their reality and making an effort to understand what is said by teachers. Many of those children do not even learn how to read and write and those who do, do not understand the meaning of it for the real life (Morais, 1980).

The knowledge passed to the children is based on the books remote from their reality. It is rare to see the pupils executing a task or solving a problem that has any meaning for them.

According to Brimer and Pauli (1971) the important thing is to develop working methods such as the ability to analyse and the ability to criticize, that is, know-how and not just knowledge. In the view of these authors, a study of curricula leads to a complete change in methods of which the guiding principle should be obvious: The child's activity should come first and foremost. No more lessons of the type: - teacher speaks, pupils listen - or do not listen - then repeat.

Teachers may possibly be able to ignore the pupils' backgrounds in assessing and selecting items for the curriculum and teaching methods. There is no reason to suppose, however, that pupils either can or should. In assessing the education which is

presented to them, pupils are bound to weigh what is offered to them in terms of how it prepares them for their environment, or how it competes with other attractions available in the environment. Pupils reject traditional teaching as an active assertion of their own interests, and not merely by passively failing when confronted with a teaching system that neglects their existence. In part, this can explain the large number of drop-outs before completion of compulsory schooling.

The Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and those responsible for Economic Planning of Member State in Latin America and The Caribbean, convened by Unesco, meeting in Mexico City in December, 1979, noted that, although education in Latin America was no longer the preserve of selected elites and had been extended to the people at large, as well as being assigned a direct role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the countries and democratisation of society, these factors were not adequately reflected in the content, evaluation and promotion criteria or in school organisation and teaching methods. The democratisation of education and the contribution it made to the development of the countries required an educational content linked to the social interests and goals of the pupils and the role that they, their families and the communities in which they lived had to play in society. In this connection, mention was made of the limited place which knowledge of the social, economic and cultural realities of the various countries and the region often occupies in curricula (Unesco, 1979).

Content specification based on objectives, needs, and aspirations is a complex task. It raises the perennial problem of what knowledge should be transmitted, what skills cultivated and what methods used, according to the age, level and ability of the pupil.

As Coombs (1968) stressed the need to deal with the problems of educational content and quality posed by a changing environment will not be met merely by restructuring the educational systems in a formal way. That is, it will not be met merely by making room for new traffic patterns of students flows and new branches of learning, expressed in new programmes reached through new channels, but by also changing teachers and their methods.

1.4 Teacher Training and the Quality of Education

Together with educational structures and the curriculum, the level of teacher preparation and research are crucial to the quality of education. The training of teachers and their continuing improvement are the priorities in educational planning precisely because they are supposed to be related to the qualitative efficiency of the system of education.

The Conference of Buenos Aires (Unesco, 1966a, p.10) recommended that particular attention should be given to the initial training and in-service training of teachers, in view of the decisive effects on the quality of education that these can have.

The new duties demanded of teachers are various, and they must be prepared for the new roles they are expected to play. The new demands compel a constant improvement in the organisation, content and methods of training teachers.

There is a wide gap between the needs of the schools and the orientation of the curricula for teacher education. These courses, as stated by Hawes (1979), are still over academic, ill informed about the needs and conditions of the educational communities they serve, and dominated by the demands of written assessment.

Too few teacher trainers and teacher training institutes concern themselves with the task new teachers have to face, the skills they need to acquire, or the survival priorities they require to carry them through the first year of teaching.

Goddu (1973) also stressed that the programmes for training teachers must reflect the model of the pupils' apprenticeship not the objective of the traditional school that is passing on information that they judge to be important to the pupils. The important thing is that the teacher must learn something fundamental during his/her training; all pupils are different and as individuals they learn through different mental strategies.

1.5 Outline of the Study

In order to analyse these aspects, of how well adjusted teacher preparation is to the conditions which now prevail in schools, it is necessary to study three main changes:

- (1) in schools,
- (2) in the curriculum, and
- (3) in teacher preparation.

Of these three by far the most dramatic changes have been in the schools. Chapter 2.0 of this thesis sets out some of these changes in general terms, as they have been experienced in Latin America. It is much harder to present qualitative aspects of schooling and the changes relating to them in such a broad sweep. However, the relatively small changes in the curriculum and teacher preparation are reflected in growing drop-out rates and repetition of grades. These figures, and the commentary on them provided by international conferences, are also included in Chapter 2.0.

Concern over the quality of education almost necessarily focuses attention on that very special section of the education system, the part which prepares future teachers. The connection between the quality of education, the quality of teaching, and hence the quality of teacher education has been clearly stated in many regional conferences in Latin America. But still very little has been achieved in reforming teacher preparation. There are a number of good reasons why this should be the case. Elevating

teacher preparation to university level institutions, raising standards and educational requirements on entry to training, and improving pay and conditions to improve recruitment to the profession, while all accepted as desirable, would place a heavy financial burden on the educational service. Moreover, lengthening the training of teachers would delay the new teachers' arrival in the classroom, where their presence is needed now.

In order to understand the problems of reforming teacher education, it is important to have a clear idea of where the system starts from, not only in terms of the structural arrangements and physical provisions, but also in terms of the traditional attitudes held by the people involved in the preparation of teachers. Chapter 3.0 provides this perspective on teacher preparation, in Latin America in general, as well as presenting some of the criticisms which have been raised of teacher preparation, especially in Brazil.

Traditionally, teachers have been trained following a particular pattern of society and man. The models of teacher training have recently been challenged, specifically the model for training first-level school teachers. Some changes have been introduced, but these have been relatively unsuccessful. Teachers have found it very difficult to respond to the new educational circumstances, and have stuck to traditional methods. The new demands on the educational systems have their origins in

widespread social reforms, and in the long run the schools must learn to satisfy the demands being made of them.

The historical development of teacher training institutions in Brazil is set out, along with an outline of reforms which have affected them since 1945, is presented in Chapter 4.0. A similar historical development of primary education is also presented. Once again, this illustrates graphically the extent to which teacher preparation has failed to accommodate major changes in primary schools.

The issues which emerge from Chapters 2.0 and 3.0 are not the outcome of specific political changes in Brazil. To a greater or lesser extent, the problems face all governments in Latin America, regardless of their political persuasion. The political conditions are, however, directly relevant to the way in which the problems are tackled, and the kind of solutions proposed.

In 1964 in Brazil, a military regime came to power, and this had a profound impact on what did and did not happen in educational reforms to the present day. Chapter 5.0 focuses on Law 5,692/71 which proposed the reform of the educational system of Brazil. Far from accommodating the changes and expansion which had already taken place, this was a conservative measure, designed to reduce the demand for university education. The main provisions of the law concerned the professionalization of secondary education. Since teacher preparation of first level teachers was to be a branch of professional secondary education, this law

deeply affected the structures of teacher preparation, and with them the status and position of teacher preparation.

In Chapter 5.0, Law 5,692/71, is presented with its political background. The national political scene is, of course, indispensable to understanding the law. But the law also needs to be seen in an international context, taking into account the attitudes of aid agencies and foreign governments.

During the sixties Latin America was faced with a great challenge imposed by the foreign agencies that emphasized the necessity for the universalisation of basic education, and as a consequence the increase of the number of qualified teachers to meet this demand. However, what is shown in this chapter is that the political and economic model adopted in Brazil after 1964 did not give much attention to education, although it had been one of the main goals of the governmental plans.

Details are also presented of how changes in teacher education were supposed to achieve the aims of primary education and the failure by the government to provide adequate training for all first-level school teachers (grades 1 to 4) to meet the needs of an expanding school system. The factors which contributed to this failure and led to the dependence of Brazilian education on the services of teachers without qualification are set out.

One of the recurrent themes which arises out of the early

chapters of the thesis is the very great variety within the region of Latin America, and even within Brazil. This variability cannot even be avoided by concentrating on a single state. However, Chapters 6.0 and 7.0 do concentrate on the case of Paraiba in an attempt to be more specific and to reduce the risk of misleading generalisation. Chapter 6.0, therefore, deals with the issues which have been raised in Chapters 3.0 to 5.0, but restricting them only to Paraiba. Just as Brazil displays similar problems as the rest of Latin America, although perhaps to a slightly greater extent than the average, so Paraiba has the problems of Brazil at slightly above average levels.

Up to this point, the argument presented deals with a failure of teacher training to respond to social changes. This might be expected to produce dissatisfaction on the part of trainee teachers, who find themselves taking courses which they see as irrelevant.

Chapter 7.0 presents the results of a survey of the attitudes of students in four Normal Schools in Paraiba State. The main issues which are raised in the survey are;

- (1) the motivation trainee teachers have for entry teacher education institutions;
- (2) the expectations students have when finish the training; and
- (3) the kind of experience provided by the course.

Opinions of teachers already in-service are also presented, as additional evidence of the lack of co-ordination between the training courses and the reality of first-level schools (grades 1

to 4).

The picture which emerges from the survey is not, however, without hope. A sizeable proportion of the students hold a balanced and critical view of the courses they are following and are strongly motivated to become good teachers. Given the right circumstances, such qualities in the student body could well contribute to the improvement of educational standards in Brazil. The final chapter of this study deals with a number of recommendations arising from earlier chapters which are put forward as ways of improving the preparation of first level teachers.

CHAPTER 2.0 Primary Education in Latin America: An Overview

2.1 Introduction

Many countries today are concerned with the achievement of universal primary education. This has been agreed at international conferences organised by Unesco, and many countries have incorporated the right to basic education in legislation, frequently in their constitutions. Meeting this challenge of providing adequate primary education has therefore absorbed an immense amount of effort and resources, and depends fundamentally on accomplishing two seemingly simple, yet extraordinarily elusive goals: (a) getting all school aged children to enrol in schools, and (b) ensuring that once in school, children make satisfactory academic progress.

While some progress has been made in many countries towards the first goal, the second goal appears to be more difficult to achieve. In general, increased enrolments mean that scarce resources are stretched still further, and the quality of education suffers. The outcome of this is increasing repetition and drop-out rates.

In Latin America generally, the conditions for meeting the targets which have been set are not favourable. The region as a whole has birth rates well above the global average, and staggering when compared with Europe or the United States (Unesco, 1985). In many countries as many as 50 per cent of the

population may be under 20. This has clear implications for raising the quality of education, as the proportion of children of school age to the adult population is larger than in any other region of the World. Since the adult population must supply not only the teachers, but also the material resources for the educational system, the difficulties involved in providing universal primary education are severe.

At the centre of this issue is the question of training more and better teachers for the first level of education. Where resources are scarce, increasing the emphasis on primary education may have an adverse effect on the other levels of education and on teacher preparation in particular. Effectively to improve the standard of primary education requires a simultaneous expansion and improvement of secondary education, to improve the pool of talent from which prospective teachers are drawn, as well as improvement in the professional training of teachers. On top of this, in cities which can quadruple in size in the course of an individual's working life, the conditions which many teachers face in the classroom can be vastly different from those which could be found when they were trained. This raises the need for increased and improved in-service training.

In general terms, the difficulties faced in Latin America as a whole conform to the rather bleak pattern set out here. It is therefore appropriate that the problems of providing universal primary education in Latin America have been the central concern

of several international conferences run under the auspices of Unesco. These have been held at regular intervals since the first regional conference held in Lima in 1956.

These conferences have set targets, drawn up plans, and reviewed developments. They have also noted the successes achieved, which have not been inconsiderable. However, with the growing school age population in the region, these successes have been overshadowed by the fact that the number of children who receive inadequate education is now higher than it was in 1956, and this also has been noted by the conferences.

The themes which have been raised in the regional conferences in Latin America, and the general trends in population and schooling in the region since 1956 are the subject matter of this chapter. Discussion of the issues in terms of Latin America as a whole provides a perspective on the problems in Brazil which will be presented in greater detail in later chapters. It also serves to illustrate the scale of the problems which face educationists in the region.

2.2 Educational Goals in Latin America

The year of 1956 represented the beginning of discussions about the issue of compulsory and free primary education in Latin American countries. The Regional Conference on Free and Compulsory Education in Latin America, convened by Unesco, meeting in Lima in April and May, 1956, had as its objective the

discussion of a universal programme of primary education, and the promotion of the idea that educational planning should be related to the economic and social development of the region.

During the conference, the delegates presented for the first time studies and analyses of primary education problems in Latin America, stressing that education was not keeping pace with the more developed countries in the world (Gimeno, 1983). This was felt all the more keenly as many countries in the region had traditions of State provision of free primary education which dated back as far as those more developed countries.

The conference therefore stressed the necessity for elaborate plans for the development of primary education, adopting all the resources of modern planning techniques, and recommending that these plans should be incorporated into the social and economic development of each country.

The primary aim adopted by the conference was the provision of a minimum of 6 years' primary education, which should be free and compulsory, and provided for every child in the region. In order to achieve this target, a more detailed plan of subsidiary objectives, the so-called "Major Project" was also adopted.

The Major Project was to run for ten years, starting in 1957 and ending in 1966, and was directed towards the improvement of primary education in Latin America. Its main goals were:

- 1) To promote the primary education services in order to achieve the objective of education for all of school age;
- 2) To stimulate the systematic planning of education in Latin America;
- 3) To improve the systems of courses for training teachers and also to create retraining courses for those who were already in the profession to improve their qualifications, and generally their economic and social status;
- 4) To establish in each Latin American country a nucleus of directors and specialists in education, with university degrees, able to stimulate and implement reforms required by the primary education systems of Latin America.

The Santiago Conference of 1962, again convened by Unesco, adopted similar targets to the Lima Conference, again urging participating countries to,

"ensure that, before the end of the present decade, all children can attend a cycle of primary education of a duration not shorter than six years" (Unesco, 1962, in Fredriksen, 1981, p.9).

Generally speaking, the Santiago Conference reaffirmed all the principles on which the recommendations of the Lima Conference were based, but placed particular stress on equality of opportunities for access to education, the school survival rate, equality with regard to the duration and quality of the education provided in urban and rural areas, and the training, further in-service training and status of teachers. One might therefore say that the targets of the conference were the same as Lima, but

concern was also expressed over a number of problems which arose, at least in part, out of the rapid expansion of the systems of primary education.

Like the Lima Conference, the Santiago Conference also produced a more detailed plan for immediate action. This was both more quantitative than the Major Project, and more sensitive to some of the variations within the region. The targets and forecasts of the Santiago Plan were largely concerned with enrolment targets for 1965 and 1970. For these purposes, countries were divided into three groups, according to their 1962 achievements in respect of enrolment rates. Groups I and II (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Panama, Peru and Venezuela) were to aim to achieve universal primary education by 1965, and secondary education for one third of their secondary school age populations by 1970. Targets for the third group of countries were delayed, but still ambitious.

The Regional Conferences in Buenos Aires (1966), Venezuela (1971) and Mexico City (1979) reaffirmed the objectives of the earlier conferences, while placing increasing emphasis on the problems which were raised at Santiago. Indeed, the **Declaration of Mexico City** went beyond the other conferences in calling for an increase of the period of compulsory and free education to 10 years by the year 2000, but without really taking into account the achievements and economic problems of Latin American countries.

A major theme of the Mexico Conference was the democratization of

education, which was linked to the question of equality of opportunity, and the lack of uniformity in quality and length of provision of schooling within the region, particularly between urban and rural areas. While the figures for enrolments in the period up to the Mexico Conference were impressive, there was increasing concern over drop-out rates and rates of repeating grades, both of which were seen to reflect seriously on the quality of provision.

Besides the general adoption of aims and plans, the conferences have provided a useful source of information on how the educational system has progressed, and how much has been achieved in the pursuit of those goals. It is therefore possible, using some of this material, to trace the trends in primary education in the region, over the period 1960 to 1980. The main trends documented, and those having the most direct bearing on the issues of primary education, have been those of population growth, enrolment increase, drop-out rates, and repetition rates. These will be set out in some detail below.

2.3 Population Growth

The increase in population growth in the region has been one of the highest in the World throughout the period. From a total population of 212 million in 1960, it rose to 279 million in 1970, 320 million in 1975, and approximately 421 million in 1985. This amounts to an annual increase of 2.7 per cent, and there is

no indication that this figure is likely to be reduced in the immediate future. According to estimates of the United Nations Population Division, the total population of the Latin American Region will be 614 million by the year 2000 (Gimeno, 1983, p.69).

This growth is not uniform throughout the region. One group of countries, which includes Argentina, Chile, Cuba and Uruguay, has an annual growth rate of 2 per cent or less. Another group, comprising Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela, has average growth rates between two and three per cent (Gimeno, 1983, p.69).

The consequence of this rapid growth of population is a remarkable age profile of the population, with the predominant group of the population being children and youths. In 1960 the age group between 0 and 24 years of age amounted to 60.5 per cent of the population, while in the same year 44.8 per cent of the population was between 5 and 24 years of age (Unesco, 1971, p.20).

Table 2.1: Growth of School-Age Population in Latin America

Population, by Age Group, and Percentage of Total Population
(in millions)

	1960		1970		1975	
	Total no.in group	% of total pop.	Total no.in group	% of total pop.	Total no.in group	% of total pop.
0 - 4	35.7	16.7	46.4	16.3	53.2	16.2
5 - 9	29.7	13.9	39.4	13.9	48.2	14.8
10 - 14	24.9	11.7	34.2	12.1	39.1	12.0
15 - 19	20.9	9.8	29.1	10.3	33.9	10.4
20 - 24	17.9	8.4	24.2	8.5	28.7	8.8
0 - 24	129.1	60.5	173.3	61.1	203.1	62.2
TOTAL POPULATION	213.4		283.2		326.8	

Source: Table based on Unesco, *Evolucion y situacion actual de la educacion en America Latina*, p.20, Spain 1971.

The figures show quite clearly how the growth in school age population has affected the numbers eligible for free and compulsory education, with the impact being first and greatest on the primary level. As a result of the rapid increase in population, the demand for education increased, putting pressure on the existing systems to expand.

In Brazil, the general pattern of population growth has been very similar to that of Latin America as a whole, with a growth rate of 2.5 per cent per year. The population of Brazil is currently 130 million, and it is predicted that by the end of the century, the population under twenty five will be in excess of one hundred million. This will put an increasing burden on the existing educational system, especially in connection with educational provision for children under the age of seven (Della Santa, 1984).

2.4 Growth in Enrolments

The Santiago Plan set formidable goals for the increase in enrolments to be achieved over the period 1960 to 1970. While achieving those targets proved impossible in the event, the percentage of children and young people enrolling in education at all levels rose. The actual figures are so impressive in themselves, especially when placed against the population figures, that it to some extent undervalues them to put them next to the goals set at Santiago. It must be remembered that what was achieved was an increasing percentage of a rapidly increasing base population enrolled in schools, as shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Enrolment Rates in Latin America

	Actual Rates		Objectives of Santiago for the Entire Region	
	1955	1960	1965	1970
Primary	64	78	91	100
Secondary	10	15	22	34
Higher	2	3.1	3.4	4

Source: Table based on Debeauvais, M., "The Development of Education in Latin America Since the Santiago Plan", in La Belle, T.J., **Education and Development: Latin America and the Caribbean**, Regents of the University of California, 1972. p. 46.
Actual rates of enrolment according to the educational statistics and population data available at that time: Cedes.

Converted into annual growth rates, the figures are, if anything, even more impressive, with growth rates in the primary level

comfortably exceeding the growth in overall population, and slightly exceeding the growth in school age population. The higher growth rates in secondary and higher education reflect the broader base from which primary education started, rather than a lack of emphasis on primary education, just as the reducing rates of increase in primary education represent early success rather than failure in the later years. This is shown clearly in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Annual Rate of Increase in Enrolled Pupils

	Actual Rates			Forecasts of Santiago		Corrected Forecasts
	1950-55	1955-60	1960-65	1960-65	1965-70	1965-70
Primary	6.9	5.7	5.4	5.4	4.75	4.6
Secondary	13.3	7.87	11.5	10.9	10.9	13.0
Higher	12.8	7.7	8.15	5.67	7.3	6.3

Source: (a) Cedes, **Proyecto Principal**, Anexo 4, Cuadro 12; (b) **Unesco Statistical Year Book**, 1963; (c) Unesco, **Evaluacion del Proyecto Principal**, Minedeca 5, 1966; (d) Unesco, **Education, Science and Communication in the UN Development Decade** (Paris, 1966) p. 48.
Debeauvais, M., "The Development of Education in Latin America Since the Santiago Plan", in La Belle, T.J., **Education and Development: Latin America and the Caribbean**, Regents of the University of California, 1972.

There has been, in most countries, a substantial increase in enrolments since 1960. Despite these successes in quantitative terms, there remains a bleaker side to the picture. This can be seen in some of the statistics on enrolments shown in Table 2.4, which in this case are presented for individual countries within

the region (Brock, 1981).

Table 2.4: Latin America: Enrolments of the 6-11 Age Group

Country	Gross Enrolment Ratios in Primary Education		Out-of-school Ratios for the 6-11 Age Group	
	1960	1975	1960	1975
Argentina	113.6	127.1	8.8	-
Uruguay	111.1	94.8	10.1	29.0
Venezuela	94.9	95.5	31.2	25.4
Dominican Republic	93.5	108.0	33.3	23.1
Costa Rica	91.1	109.4	25.8	5.5
Guatemala	42.7	63.1	68.0	52.0
Mexico	79.7	113.4	41.6	9.8
Nicaragua	62.0	82.1	56.9	44.3
Panama	92.3	123.5	32.0	5.8
Chile	107.3	159.7	21.1	-
Brazil	70.9	115.7	52.3	29.0
Colombia	62.4	87.8	52.1	35.3
Ecuador	83.1	101.6	33.6	21.1
Guyana	106.7	95.5	9.1	13.5
Paraguay	97.7	102.4	30.4	24.2
Peru	86.4	115.9	43.3	20.2
El Salvador	76.3	103.0	47.7	37.7
Honduras	65.5	88.5	50.5	33.1
Bolivia	61.3	96.9	53.7	32.8
Haiti	44.8	52.0	66.4	61.0
TOTAL	80.5	110.5	43.2	23.2

Total enrolment in primary education as a proportion of population in age group 6-11. Out-of-school population aged 6-11 as a proportion of population in age group in age 6-11.

Source: Taken from Jallade J.P., **Education and Development in Latin America**, European Cultural Foundation, 1978, in Brock, C., "Education in Latin America: aspects and issues in the mid-twentieth century", in **International Journal of Educational Development**, Vol.1, No.1, April 1981, p.55.

Two things stand out from these statistics. The first is that although the proportion of out-of-school children in the age group 6 to 11 has decreased over the fifteen year period from

1960 to 1975, this is a reduced proportion of a rapidly increasing age group. The overall effect of this is that the absolute numbers of children out-of-school has actually increased. To put this more bluntly, in spite of the achievements of the last twenty years, the gap between actual enrolments and the target of universal, free and compulsory education adopted in Lima and endorsed at every conference since, has in fact grown.

The other fact that stands out is that enrolment ratios in excess of 100 per cent are quite common. This is because many children are still in primary education beyond the age of eleven, which is a reflection on the high numbers of pupils who are obliged to repeat a grade because of poor achievement and is also an indication of problems which remain in the quality of education provided.

One of the problems of using statistics of the sort presented in Table 2.4 is that the double counting of repeaters inflates the figures, in many cases over the 100 per cent mark. Conversely, high drop-out rates and poor attendance can mean that the figure does not reflect the proportion of children who are receiving an education, even where all children are technically enrolled in schools. For this reason, comparisons which are based on gross enrolment ratios can be extremely misleading (Fredriksen, 1981).

It should be noted from these figures that the problems which Brazil faces are in many ways typical of the region. The table

groups countries according to economic indicators, and El Salvador, Honduras, Bolivia and Haiti face particular difficulties in producing a quantitative expansion of their educational systems. Of the other countries, only Guatemala and Colombia have a higher proportion of 6 to 11 year olds out of school than Brazil.

One would expect this to mean that Brazil would have a lower gross enrolment ratio than other countries. However, only Argentina, Panama and Chile have higher gross enrolment ratios, and these are all countries with small proportions of the 6 to 11 year age group out-of-school, where one would expect high gross enrolment ratios. In spite of the difficulty of interpreting gross enrolment ratios, if this indicates anything, it suggests that the problem of grade repetition is worse in Brazil than in any other country, with the possible exceptions of Costa Rica, Chile, Peru and El Salvador.

2.5 Quality of Education

Quality of education is an elusive concept to measure, and Latin America is not the only region of the World where one can find critics of the educational system who believe that the quantitative expansion of the system has necessarily brought about a reduction in quality. In this connection, the figures which relate to drop-out from school and grade repetition can be taken as an indication of the quality of education which is being offered, and the picture is worrying.

In relation to drop-out from primary education, a study conducted by Unesco in 18 countries of Latin America, in 1980, has shown that of each 1,000 children enrolling in the first year of primary education, less than 500 achieved the fourth grade (Gimeno, 1983, p.38). This may or may not indicate that standards have dropped in academic terms, but it most certainly means that for more than half the children entering school, education is not providing anything which is seen as a valuable contribution to their lives.

In Brazil, the situation is similar. Over the period from 1942 to 1982, of each 1,000 children enrolled in the first year of primary schooling, about 600 were not promoted to the second grade; they either failed or left school (Mello, 1982a, p.44).

Figures from the National Plan for Development survey conducted in Brazil in 1976, show that only 67 per cent of the population between 7 and 14 years of age, or 20,655,847 children of school age, were in first level schools. Approximately two and a half million children between the ages of 10 and 14 were actually working, or about 19 per cent of this age group. This is in spite of the fact that the minimum statutory age for working is 14 years, and that in consequence such employment was illegal.

A second indicator of the quality of education is the number of grade repeaters. High rates of repetition indicate a lack of

efficiency, although whether it is a failure to provide a relevant educational experience for many children, or a failure to transmit knowledge effectively, is something which cannot be judged from the figures alone.

According to Unesco figures for 1970, nearly 15.7 per cent of all children enrolled in primary schools (grades 1 to 5) were repeaters. By 1975 this percentage was 13.6 per cent - a very modest decrease (Gimeno, 1983, pp.40-41). Applying these figures to the total school population in grades 1 to 5, it emerges that in 1970 there were 5.9 million repeaters in Latin American primary schools, and that this figure had risen to over 6 million by 1975.

Again there were differences within the region, with Brazil and Mexico alone accounting for 59 per cent of all repeaters in the region in 1970, and 65 per cent in 1975.

It is difficult to draw any optimistic conclusions from such figures. Repeating a grade does not, unfortunately, mean that the child will necessarily complete that grade successfully and then go on to benefit from education in higher grades. In 1975, no less than 14 per cent of all repeaters were repeating for the second or third time (Gimeno, 1983, p.41).

Such figures as these were clearly linked at the Mexico City Conference with concerns about the quality of education, especially the quality of education being provided for

underprivileged urban, and rural, groups. It was recognised that practically the opportunities for lower class urban children to advance beyond primary school were very small; for the same social class in rural areas the opportunities were almost non-existent. Most of the children from these groups did not have access to a school offering a full programme of primary education. As Wolfe (1965) has noted, it is questionable in these circumstances how mere quantitative expansion of conventional schooling can be relevant. The rapid growth of marginal groups, combined with the more effective demand for education on the part of other, particularly urban, groups results in a situation where the children of marginal groups get only a minimum of education in seriously overcrowded schools.

As early as 1966, at the Buenos Aires Conference, the question of quality in education had been firmly linked to the issue of improving the training of teachers. Concern was expressed over initial training, in-service training and the unsatisfactory economic and professional status of teachers (Unesco, 1966a, p.6). These concerns were restated at the Venezuela Conference and the Mexico City Conference.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the nature and the scope of problems facing the educational systems of Latin America at the present time. There have been substantial reforms and improvements to the

traditional systems of education, to meet the aspirations of governments and people alike for full, free and compulsory education. The achievements have been formidable, in some cases spectacular. However, all of these efforts are overshadowed by the single dominant fact of education in Latin America; the school age population is growing too fast for the schools to keep up with it. The number of children out-of-school is larger now than it was thirty years ago when the effort to provide primary education for all started in earnest.

For those fortunate enough to be in school, the problems are different. The expansion of the schools has meant that the urban poor, a group of people who did not exist in any significant numbers fifty years ago and certainly did not attend schools, are now enrolling in huge numbers. Without radical improvements in the quality of education, they are unlikely to derive any lasting benefit from their new opportunity to attend free schools.

Education faces a growing crisis, and the reform of teacher education, both in quantitative and qualitative terms, is the only measure which has been put forward which can have any major impact on the situation, given the ambitious targets set by governments, and the indication of demand given by such figures as initial enrolment rates.

Brazil is typical of developments in Latin America generally, although if anything it has the typical problems in greater degree than the majority of Latin American countries. Even within

Brazil there are differences between areas, which means that in some areas of Brazil the problems are as grave as they are anywhere in Latin America.

Having placed the problems which Brazilian education faces in their broader Latin American context, the next chapter looks at the only practical solution which has been presented, teacher preparation, in the same, broad, Latin American context. These two chapters set the background for the more detailed study of the reform of teacher preparation for primary schools (grades 1 to 4) in Brazil, and particularly in Paraiba, which follows.

CHAPTER 3.0 Teacher Education in Latin America

3.1 Introduction

A number of problems which face primary education in Latin America have been identified in Chapter 2.0. These problems were mainly produced by the rapid expansion of the system to meet increased social demand, and to satisfy important human rights of the people of Latin America. The rapid expansion of the primary level of education produced criticism that the quality of education was being ignored, and critics pointed to high drop-out and repetition rates as evidence that not enough attention was being paid to quality. In Chapter 2.0, these various problems which arose in connection with primary education were classified into two groups; those which related to the internal efficiency of the system, and those which related to the external relationships of education to the broader social context.

One way of promoting educational efficiency is to improve the quality of teacher training courses. The curriculum and the level of training of teachers, together with the educational structures, have been seen as the main elements on which the quality of education depends. A range of proposals has been put forward in Latin America to promote the review of the curricula for teachers in initial training and to improve in-service training for those who are already in the profession.

In this Chapter, the classification of problems into those which

relate to the internal efficiency and those which concern the external relationships of education to society will again be used. It will be argued that matters of internal efficiency have been the central concern of international conferences and government plans, and that the external relationships of education have been largely ignored. The consequence of this has been that the reforms of teacher training, while they have improved some aspects of educational provision, have done little to prepare teachers to meet the aspirations of the more diverse range of students that they now face in the classroom.

As was mentioned in Chapter 2.0, a series of international conferences have been held to discuss these issues, and these will be considered here. Starting with the Lima Conference, a number of conferences have been held on the problems specifically related to Latin America. However, discussion at these conferences has been influenced by a broader international climate of opinion on teacher education, as reflected by the International Conference on Education held in Geneva in 1970.

3.2 Internal Efficiency Aspects of Teacher Education

As has already been noted, teacher education is often seen to have strong links with the nature of educational reform, the responsibility for the success or failure of reforms frequently being attributed to teachers. The International Conference on Education reaffirmed this position, and it was repeatedly pointed

out that curriculum changes, and the general advance of knowledge made it imperative to give teachers and educational personnel a continuing education.

The inadequate training of teachers was seen, among other factors, to be a major cause of educational "wastage". High drop-out rates and rates of repetition were used as the indicators of such wastage. It was therefore considered that an attack on the problem of wastage required a radical reform of teacher training.

Although the Geneva Conference did not make specific proposals on the reformed content and nature of teacher education, it broadly followed the same line as the Special Intergovernmental Conference on the Status of Teachers, which had previously been organised by Unesco in Paris in October 1966. This conference did make proposals about the content of teacher education, and saw teacher training programmes in the following terms:

1. The purpose of a teacher preparation programme should be to develop in each student his general education and personal culture, his ability to teach and educate others, an awareness of the principles which underlie good human relationships, within and across national boundaries, and a sense of responsibility to contribute both by teaching and example to social, cultural and economic progress.
2. Fundamentally, a teacher preparation programme should include:
 - (a) general studies;
 - (b) study of the main elements of philosophy, psychology, sociology as applied to education, the theory and history of education, and of comparative education, experimental pedagogy, school administration and methods of teaching the various subjects;
 - (c) studies related to the student's intended field of teaching;
 - (d) practice in teaching and in conducting extra-curricular activities under the guidance of fully qualified teachers.

3. All teachers should be prepared in general, special and pedagogic subjects in the universities, or institutions on a level comparable to universities, or else in special institutions for the preparation of teachers.

4. Education for teaching should normally be full time; special arrangements should be made for older entrants to the profession, and persons in other exceptional categories to undertake all or part of their course on a part-time basis, on condition that the content of such courses and the standards of attainment are on the same level as those of the full-time courses.(Gimeno, 1983, p.129)

These recommendations are clearly orientated towards teaching as a profession involved in the transmission of knowledge within the school situation, with the emphasis on the knowledge a teacher should have of his or her own subject, and pedagogical techniques. Very little attention was paid to the external relationships of education.

The regional international conferences which dealt with education in Latin America followed a very similar line. The first conference in Lima, in 1956, was followed by conferences in Santiago, Chile (1962), Bogota, Colombia (1963), Buenos Aires, Argentina (1966), Venezuela (1971), and Mexico (1979). These conferences came to broadly similar conclusions, in many cases adopting the resolutions of the previous conference as a whole. Although the later conferences, from Venezuela onwards, showed an increasing interest in the external relationships of education to broader issues of development and society, the recommendations on teacher education still concentrated on internal efficiency aspects.

Thus the Santiago conference followed the Lima conference in reaffirming the importance of equal opportunities for access to education, and for raising internal efficiency of systems. The main indicators of increasing equality or increasing quality were school survival rate, period of time spent in school, and the quality of education provided in urban and rural areas. The main means of achieving improvements put forward were the initial training and in-service training of teachers.

These principles were reaffirmed at Bogota, and at Buenos Aires where the increased use of teaching aids was added. The utilization of the resources of modern technology was seen as a way of making it possible to improve the quality of education, and to extend its benefits to a wider audience.

This concentration on the internal efficiency of the educational systems of Latin America throughout the 1960's can be seen to be linked with the influx of aid from the United States. As Aguilar and Retamal (1982, p.152) pointed out;

"The problems of teacher education in Latin America were by the mid - 1960's being discussed within a new scenario. Massive amounts of aid from the USA were poured into the various education system of Latin America, so as to produce certain desired reforms".

The concentration on improving the internal efficiency of educational systems was not only in keeping with the climate of opinion in the United States at that time, but was also given

additional impetus by the money which was available to spend on educational aids. The educational technology and behaviourism became the passwords of an increasingly remote set of internal experts. The domination of Latin America by the new American educational outlook was oriented towards a theory and policy of "modernisation". This was the ideology of the 1960's and 1970's.

Modernisation is to be understood in this context as the renovation of Teacher Education programmes. But this reformulation was to be carried out without consulting the trainees or the practising teachers (Aguilar and Retamal, 1982). This was an important feature of the drive to increase the internal efficiency of educational systems. The teacher was viewed as a (more or less efficient) channel through which information was to be directed for the eventual benefit of the pupils. Teachers were not thought to have a positive role to play in selecting the knowledge which was to be transmitted, and some theorists maintained that the involvement of teachers would necessarily result in the lowering of academic standards of those courses. Increased emphasis on such educational technologies as film, slides, radio, programmed learning and so on were directly linked to attempts to produce teaching materials which the teachers could not "interfere with".

In contrast with this view that the teachers should involve themselves as little as possible with curriculum development, the criticism was also raised that teachers lacked the confidence and in-depth knowledge to encourage a questioning attitude on the

part of students. Since the teachers frequently knew very little more than the students, they were obliged to follow the texts rigidly, and could only hide their lack of knowledge by discouraging their students from asking questions.

Improving the teachers' preparation in their specialist subjects was seen as a way of overcoming this difficulty. However, a teacher's self confidence is not simply a matter of how much he or she knows, but is also related to the status of the teaching profession in the community, levels of salaries, length of training, how the teacher's function in society is perceived and a wide range of considerations which are connected to the external relations of education to society in general. It is to these issues that attention will now be given. It should be noted, however, that the view taken of the teacher as a passive transmitter of knowledge, and all that that implies for the teacher's role in society, could be much more damaging to the teacher's confidence than a lack of expertise in his or her specific subject area.

3.3 External Aspects of Teacher Education

As has already been noted, the regional international conferences in Latin America paid increasing attention to the broader social relationships of education. Following the International Conference on Education in Geneva, in 1975, which asserted that whatever changes took place in education, the relation between

teachers and pupils is still the centre of the educational process, the "Declaration of Mexico" placed more emphasis on the position of teachers in society. This follows from the view that the teacher's position in society has an impact on the quality of the relationship between the teacher and the pupil. The pupil's attitude to the teacher will be influenced by the status within society which is accorded to teachers. The "Declaration of Mexico" therefore included the proposition that member states should;

Assist teachers in economic and social terms, by creating working conditions that will ensure that they enjoy a position in keeping with their social importance and professional dignity.

This question of professional status is closely linked to aspects of teacher training, including length of training and inclusion of teacher training in the university sector of education, as well as by more direct considerations such as teacher salaries.

Some of the proposals which were put forward to improve the internal efficiency of the school system, also have an indirect bearing on the external relationships of education. For example, the proportion of unqualified teachers was seen as a major obstacle to improving the internal efficiency of education. However, this also affects teacher status, as teachers cannot realistically expect to be accorded respect when a large proportion of their profession are, and are seen to be, poorly qualified and not very competent.

There are other aspects of professionalisation of teachers, which include a measure of self-determination and responsibility for the teaching process which also have a direct bearing on the status of teachers. In the political and financial climate of the 1960's and 1970's these were seen to be in conflict with considerations of internal efficiency, and largely ignored.

Gale (1969) has drawn attention to these various aspects of teacher status, particularly as they relate to primary teachers. He notes that teaching in primary schools is an unattractive profession, not only because of the low salaries offered, the low status enjoyed by primary teachers being perhaps even more discouraging. In some countries, primary teachers hold a position little above that of labourers, and even if the secondary master is regarded with slightly more respect, he rarely finds the salary of one job sufficient to maintain a middle-class way of life.

As Gale also points out, teachers are also poorly organized to press a point of view. There is considerable rivalry within the profession, the teachers of the three levels feeling that they belong to quite distinct fields. Teachers are all too frequently put in the role of humble petitioners and are too involved with seeking boons from departmental authorities to aspire to any influence over educational policy.

3.4 The Expansion of The Education System in Latin America: the quantitative increase in teacher supply

Over the period in which the conferences discussed above were being held, a number of important changes were taking place in the educational systems of Latin America. In line with the general trend of those conferences, the main emphasis of those reforms was on quantitative aspects of education, especially as they related to the internal efficiency of education. Thus great efforts were made to increase the absolute numbers of trained teachers available, the proportion of teachers who were fully qualified and to reduce teacher pupils ratios. External aspects of teachers relations with society were not dealt with in these reforms, except to the extent that they were indirectly affected by reforms designed to increase internal efficiency.

Gimeno (1983, p.50) has reviewed the substantial progress which was achieved over the period 1960 to 1977, and the success in reducing pupil/teacher ratios in spite of rapidly increasing school enrolment. Table 3.1 shows the increase in the number of teachers over this period. During the 60's the number of primary school teachers rose by around 300,000 every five years. A considerable improvement took place in the 70's, with the increase between 1970 and 1977 rising to 800,000. In secondary and tertiary education the increase in the supply of teachers was even more startling, and the proportion of all teachers who were primary teachers fell from 66 per cent in 1960 to 61 per cent in 1977.

Table 3.1 Teachers by level of education in the region. Both sexes, 1960-77 (in thousands)

Level of education	1960	1965	1970	1977	1977 index	
					1960=100	1970=100
First	764	1,052	1,339	2,154	282	161
Second	326	497	779	1,005	308	129
Third	66	108	156	388	588	249
TOTAL	1,156	1,657	2,274	3,547	307	156

Source: Gimeno, 1983, p.51

Table 3.2 shows the teacher/pupil ratio for the whole region. It should be noted that the fall in teacher/pupil ratios at the primary level is simply an average for the region, and that the detailed picture was much more complicated, with no change in some countries, and even an increase in eight countries. Table 3.3 gives more details of teacher/pupil ratios at the primary level by country. While noting these variations both by country and by time period, it can also be seen that the general trend of primary teacher/pupil ratios is downwards: the number of countries with a low teacher/pupil ratio (less than 1:25) rose sharply, while those with a high teacher/pupil ratio (more than 1:41) fell.

Table 3.2 Average teacher/pupil ratio in the region (1960-77)

Level of education	1960	1965	1970	1977
First	34	32	32	28
Second	12	13	13	14
Third	8	8	10	11

Source: Gimeno, 1983, p.51

Table 3.3 Break-down of the thirty two countries according to the teacher/pupil ratio in primary education

Number of pupils per teacher	Number of countries		
	1960	1970	1977
25 or less	1	3	8
26 - 30	8	9	6
31 - 35	8	6	7
36 - 40	9	9	8
41 and over	6	5	3
TOTAL	32	32	32

Source: Gimeno, 1983, p.52

A further important aspect of this drive for increased internal efficiency of educational systems has been the dramatic reduction of the proportion of practising teachers who are unqualified. While the problem cannot be regarded as solved, Unesco's regional Office for Education in Latin America has estimated that the proportion of unqualified teachers has been substantially reduced in the majority of countries in the region. This can be seen

clearly in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Latin America and the Caribbean. Trends in the percentage of unqualified teachers in primary or basic education in some countries in the region

Percentage	1960	1965	1970	1975
Less than 30	Argentina	Argentina	Argentina	Argentina
	Cuba	Chile	Chile	Chile
	El Salvador	Costa Rica	Costa Rica	Costa Rica
	Panama	Guatemala	Cuba	Cuba
	Trinidad and Tobago	Panama	Ecuador	Ecuador
	Uruguay	Trinidad and Tobago	El Salvador	El Salvador
		Uruguay	Guatemala	Guatemala
		Venezuela	Mexico	Honduras
			Panama	Mexico
			Paraguay	Nicaragua
			Trinidad and Tobago	Panama
			Uruguay	Paraguay
			Venezuela	Trinidad and Tobago
			Uruguay	
			Venezuela	
30 to 50	Brazil	Brazil	Bolivia	Bolivia
	Chile	Cuba	Brazil	Brazil
	Guatemala	El Salvador	Colombia	Colombia
	Paraguay	Mexico	Honduras	
	Peru	Paraguay	Nicaragua	
			Peru	
Over 50	Bolivia	Bolivia	Dominican	Dominican
	Colombia	Colombia	Republic	Republic
	Costa Rica	Dominican	Haiti	Haiti
	Dominican Republic	Republic		
	Ecuador	Ecuador		
	Haiti	Haiti		
	Honduras	Honduras		
	Mexico	Nicaragua		
	Nicaragua	Peru		
	Venezuela			

Source: Gimeno, 1983, p.57.

The reforms which have achieved these improvements of efficiency

in the educational systems of Latin America have included the increase in the duration of the courses of teacher preparation. In some countries, such as Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela and Paraguay, these courses are already included in the higher level of education. In others, such as Brazil, primary teachers are still trained in the second level of education. In principle, the Brazilian government has accepted it is desirable that all teachers should be trained in university level courses.

"It is intended that this form of training teachers at the second level should be transitory; the ideal goal to be achieved is to prepare all teachers at university level, in full length courses, irrespective of the level they will teach at" (Conselho Federal de Educacao, 1972b, p.241).

However, as will be shown in Chapter 5.0, the reforms of secondary education promoted by the Brazilian government in 1972 have done little to bring the realization of this goal closer.

The reforms of teacher education have also concerned the professional, administrative and economic situation of teachers, with a view to assuring the stability of their careers. This has been achieved through a Teachers' Statute in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Uruguay and Venezuela. However, once again it should be noted that such social aspects of teacher preparation were seen as being instrumental in securing increased internal efficiency.

3.5 Teacher Training and the Quality of Education in Brazil

Within the national educational system of Brazil, concerns over teacher education have paralleled those encountered elsewhere in Latin America. The quality of education in Brazil has been severely criticized, and this has been linked to the notion of poor teacher efficiency. The natural extension of this argument is the criticism of the preparation of teachers, and in particular the quality of teaching in the Normal Schools. Many who are involved in the educational system, including planners, school administrators, teachers, parents and pupils, have been highly critical of the Normal Schools.

An important focus of this questioning of standards in the Normal School is with the preparation of teachers who will be responsible for the first-level school (grades 1 to 4), which is seen as a crucial point of the system. Several studies focussing on the low achievement of lower class pupils in terms of learning performance have emphasized the role of the teacher. In his studies regarding the quality of first-level school teachers (grades 1 to 4), Cunha (1977b) suggested that the training of teachers can make a major contribution to the quality of teaching. The self perpetuating nature of poor teacher training has been remarked by Garcia (1977) who stated that;

poorly trained teachers will train poor new teachers who in turn give continuity to the process.

Carvalho (1984) has shown by her research carried out with

approximately 200 students attending teacher training courses at public schools in Sao Paulo that in general the students choosing the course did not receive adequate professional guidance. They felt insufficiently trained to start work, and for this they blamed the course itself and the inadequacy of what was taught to them in practice. Teacher preparation programmes, in general, do not take into account the needs of training for first-level school teachers. The pedagogical subjects which compose the curriculum are more concerned with the specific content area than with the educational process as a whole. Furthermore, when in-service training is offered it does not seem to generate experiences that can be applied in the classroom situation either.

More recent criticism of the preparation of teachers in Brazil has, like the conferences reported above, also shown an increased tendency to draw attention to the external relationships of education. Pereira (1984) suggested that one of the major factors working against good performance in the former Normal Schools is the gap between the teacher who teaches in those schools and the hard reality of the primary school.

The teachers of the future first-level school teachers are themselves trained at the university, as specialists who are supposed to master the contents of their subjects. However, most of them do not have the necessary skill to select the content of topics in the curriculum and methodologies which are appropriate to the course they will teach, and to the social reality in which

their students are going to work.

Schools nowadays are open to all, implying diversity among the teacher's clientele. By contrast, the first-level school teachers have not reflected this change, and the problem is how to adjust the knowledge they have acquired in the Normal School to the new primary school. A large gap has appeared between the way teachers are trained and the real situations they face in the classroom. Their training focuses on a "ideal" pupil and an "ideal" classroom they certainly will not encounter in their professional work.

Pereira goes on to suggest that the gap between the teachers' training itself and the social, economic, political, and cultural situation which prevails at present should be taken into account in order to provide conditions for teacher training courses to develop through a process of participation, criticism and creativity. These, she maintains, are the tools for rebuilding society, which is the aim of the democratization of teaching. As the institution which is responsible for the preparation of teacher educators, the university needs to be involved in this process, and reminded of its duties to the trainee teachers in various grades, and to society in general.

Mello (1982a) has also raised some of these broader issues of external relationships of education, and suggested that internal efficiency of the system is not enough:

The teacher needs technical competence which includes know-how for all levels; but know-how must always be referred to an ability to assess and face social reality where it is supposed to be applied.

Mello maintained that the teachers are not prepared for "reality", where "reality" differs from what is learnt through books. Conflict grows within the school: parents struggle to keep their children at school in order to give them an education which was unavailable to themselves; teachers wrestle daily with the poor children's lack of ability; the children struggle to survive at school competing with others from different backgrounds.

A further criticism which Mello makes is that the courses in schools, and especially in the Normal Schools, lack a component of criticism. Teachers tend to accept the theories which are in fashion, without discussing their content and feasibility. Critical thought leading to identification of the adequacy or inadequacy of a certain pedagogical theory, as well as flexibility to adapt its procedures, implies first mastering the contents of that theory.

Teacher participation in decision making for planning and evaluating the curriculum requires both knowledge and an analytical and critical sense. Otherwise, the teacher risks accepting all that the system offers without discussion.

Thus the reforms which have taken place in Brazil have reflected the main trends which are to be found throughout Latin America.

There have been quantitative and technical improvements in the provision of education, but these have tended to highlight the qualitative deficiencies of the system, particularly in connection with the external relations of education to society. Criticism of the education system, and of teacher preparation in particular, has shown an increasing concern with this area.

3.6 The Traditional Model for Teacher Preparation for the Primary Level in Latin America

A number of reforms introduced into teacher preparation in the 1960's and 1970's have been discussed in outline. These were introduced into a system of teacher education for primary school teachers, where the teachers were usually prepared in special institutions or Normal Schools, which formed part of the second level of the educational system. While there were variations from one country to another, the similarities between countries were great enough to make it sensible to talk of a single, traditional model of teacher preparation which existed throughout Latin America until the 1960's and 1970's. This model will be set out in some detail here, so that the reforms of teacher education in Brazil, studied in subsequent chapters, can be seen in their broader historical and educational context.

In order to develop this traditional model of teacher preparation, and to discuss differences between the various countries of Latin America, information about teacher training will be classified under four headings; the level and structure

of teacher training institutions, conditions of admission, length of study and curriculum.

3.6.1 Level and Structure of Teacher Training Institutions

The traditional model of teacher education in Latin America was to train primary school teachers in Normal Schools, which formed part of the secondary rather than higher level of the educational system. In the majority of cases these normal schools covered the entire secondary level of education for aspiring teachers, although in exceptional cases the Normal Schools constituted the upper secondary level and were preceded by general lower secondary education. This was the case for urban Normal Schools in Bolivia.

This differentiation between the level of Normal Schools in urban and rural areas was extremely common: generally entry to the Normal School followed complete primary education in the urban areas, but followed incomplete primary education in the rural areas.

The Normal Schools were generally funded by the central government, and the direct responsibility of the Ministry of Education. Successful graduates of the Normal Schools were recognised as competent teachers by the Ministry, and could enter directly into work as teachers at the primary level.

Teachers trained for the primary level could not work in the

secondary or tertiary levels, where a university degree or qualification from a Superior Normal School was required.

3.6.2 Conditions of Admission to Teacher Training Institutions

Regarding the conditions of admission to training establishments, three main factors have to be taken into account; age of admission, the preliminary studies required, and the means of selecting candidates.

The age of admission to Normal Schools varied a great deal, and was closely related to the exact level which the institution occupied as discussed in the preceding section. A further source of variation was in the difference in length of complete primary education in different countries. Thus the lowest age of entry was twelve, which was the case in Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela, while the highest was sixteen, in urban Normal Schools in Bolivia and Peru. In some countries, such as Chile, there was a maximum age for entry to Normal Schools, after which candidates could no longer present themselves.

Similarly, the studies which candidates had to have completed before entry to Normal School varied considerably, but the majority required complete primary education, with this being waived in rural areas. A few countries, required more advanced studies, corresponding to completion of the first cycle of secondary education. Colombia, Peru and Bolivia (for urban

schools) came in this group.

As to the way in which candidates were selected, two procedures were to be noted; either admission was open to any candidate who was of the required age and had completed the necessary preliminary studies, as was the case in Ecuador and Nicaragua, or training establishments organised their own entry examinations. In this case, the entrance examinations usually took a common form, of written and oral tests covering the subjects taken during the previous one or two years of study. Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay and Bolivia are examples of countries where such entrance examinations were used.

In some rare cases, intelligence or character tests were employed, or candidates were required to submit a certificate of good conduct or regular attendance from the primary school authorities. Only Mexico used both of these techniques, while Bolivia and Chile used the former and Uruguay the latter.

In all countries candidates were required to undergo a medical examination.

3.6.3 Length of Study in Teacher Training Institutions

The majority of teacher training establishments in Latin America required attendance for three, or more usually four, years. This was typical where the Normal Schools were seen a full secondary establishments and completed primary education was a condition of

entry. However, where entry requirements were less strict, the courses in Normal Schools were generally longer, as in the cases of Colombia and Ecuador, where courses were six years in the urban schools.

An important exception to this general pattern of longer courses linked to less rigid entry requirements is to be found in the rural Normal Schools of most countries. It has already been noted that the entry requirements for rural Normal Schools were generally lower than for their urban counterparts. Their courses were also, generally, shorter.

3.6.4 Curriculum of Teacher Training Institutions

The curriculum of the Normal Schools was extremely broad, and required a study of an encyclopaedic range of subjects. This was in line with the general pattern of secondary education to be found in Latin America. The various components of the teacher education curriculum can be classified into three parts; general subjects, professional subjects, and teaching practice.

Since the Normal Schools were secondary schools, the general education which they provided for their students was similar to the general education provided in all secondary schools. Although the exact subject divisions differed slightly from one country to another, for example in whether natural sciences was taught or separate science, or whether history and geography appeared on

the curriculum, or whether civic education was the name given to the study, a general picture of the curriculum in all countries can be arrived at.

The national language, and physical education were compulsory subjects in all countries. Mathematics, some form of natural science, some form of social or civic studies, and some aspects of world or national history were compulsory in the very great majority of cases. A number of other subjects, such as handwork, feminine crafts, drawing and modelling, and literature, were included in a few countries.

In a few countries, what was seen as an appropriate general education for future primary school teachers was slightly broader than the general education offered in other secondary schools. It included additional subjects which the primary school teacher might find useful in their future work. These included children's literature, singing and music.

Professional subjects fell broadly into two groups; the theory of education and the practical techniques. In most countries, the theory of education centred on a study of the educational process through the subjects of pedagogy and history of education, combined with a selection of subjects in the general area of foundations of education, including psychology, sociology, philosophy and biology of education.

The subject concerning practical techniques included teaching

methods, both general and as applied to specific subject areas, lesson preparation, school hygiene and school organisation and administration.

In all countries, the student teachers were required to undertake a supervised period of teaching practice.

3.7 Conclusion

From the preceding description of the preparation of primary school teachers in Latin America, and overall pattern emerges which approximates to the practices followed in all Latin American countries until around 1960. Students entered Normal Schools after completing primary education, when they were about twelve to fourteen years of age. They followed an encyclopaedic curriculum which covered a broad general education, in addition to a detailed theoretical study of the educational process.

A few additional practical requirements were made of them, such as passing a medical test, and performing teaching practice, but the very large majority of their time was devoted to studies which were abstract, theoretical, studied from books, and not necessarily related to the social and pedagogical situations they would meet in their teaching careers.

The traditional model of teacher preparation in Latin America has been modified by a number of important changes over the last 30

years. The reforms which concerned the quantitative expansion of teacher preparation have already been mentioned, as have some aspects of the reforms which dealt directly with improving the internal efficiency of the educational system.

There were, however, other changes in the pattern of teacher preparation in Latin America, which also reflected global trends in the preparation of teachers. While these were introduced in Latin America primarily to improve internal efficiency, they may, in the long run, also have an important effect on the status and social position of teachers.

In the first place, there has been a move towards preparing teachers for the primary level in universities, or in institutions which are in the tertiary level. The length of courses has also been increased. In many countries, a legislative statute has also been introduced which regulates, and generally improves, the status and salaries of teachers. But in many countries the direct effect of this has been small, and the status of primary school teachers remains low. In particular, the difference in position and status between teachers in urban and rural areas is still considerable.

There are a number of related changes in the pattern of teacher education which follow almost directly from these changes. With the upgrading of teacher training institutions to the tertiary level, higher levels of general education, and longer study, normally completion of upper secondary education, is required of

the candidates wishing to enter the teaching profession.

Moreover, by training primary school teachers in institutions which more closely approximate to those in which secondary and tertiary teachers have traditionally been trained, a first step has been made towards creating a unified teaching profession, which can exert political pressure on the basis of common concerns and preparation.

Thus, the reforms have been directly aimed at improving the efficiency of the teaching process, while having a less direct impact on the social position and status of teachers.

A major obstacle to improving the external social relationships of education has been the fact that the reforms which have been implemented have hardly affected the curriculum of teacher preparation at all. The curriculum is still broadly encyclopaedic, theoretical and based on textbooks. It does not allow the teacher to develop an understanding of the social conditions from which his or her pupils come, nor to develop a critical and questioning attitude to the content of education. Such changes as have occurred in the curriculum of teacher preparation have involved the upgrading of material which was already included, in accordance with the need to extend the courses, and to provide an education which was in keeping with the improved level of general education of the trainee teachers. In line with the general view that internal efficiency of the

system could be improved by providing teachers with more and better techniques, the main purpose of curriculum reform in teacher education was seen to be providing more of the same.

The debates on teacher preparation in Latin America have therefore reflected the debates on teacher education which have happened elsewhere in the world, and especially in the United States. There has been concern to raise the professional status of teachers, and this has been closely linked, as it was by Lieberman (1956), with the length of training and the level of institution in which that training was conducted.

There have also been debates in Latin America over the balance between professional and general education in the training of teachers, and reforms designed to alter that balance. In general the trend has been, as it was in the United States, towards strengthening the general component of education. In this way, developments in teacher education can be seen as attempts to professionalize teaching, in the sense that professionalize was used in the United States.

However, the other side of the debate is also reflected in Latin America, with efforts to improve the professional training component of courses. During the 1970's the main source of aid was the United States, and this aid was frequently linked to efforts to improve the technical skills of teachers. These efforts, such as the attempts to professionalize teacher education in the sense that professionalize was used in Brazil,

reflected more strongly the movement of Competency Based Teacher Education which was strong in the United States at the time.

CHAPTER 4.0 An Overview of Primary Education and Normal Schools
in Brazil from the time of Colonization until 1964

4.1 Introduction

Law 5,692/71 was introduced to reform first and second level education completely, and included an attempt to remove many of the faults of teacher preparation for primary education which were presented in Chapter 3.0. This law was not very successful, however, because there were a number of features of the educational system of Brazil which were obstacles to the effective implementation of the proposed reforms. Some of these obstacles were the result of the particular political circumstances which prevailed in Brazil during the military regime which came to power in 1964. Others were the result of the historical development of the system of education, and the traditions and institutions which had been developed since colonization. The former group of obstacles will be dealt with in Chapter 5.0. This chapter presents some important features of the historical development of the system, so that the influence of traditional attitudes and behaviour can be understood.

The beginning of the Brazilian social and political formation reflected the educational ideas of the time brought from Europe by the colonizers. These ideas did not include the notion of a national system of popular education, and ignored the lower classes, for whom the art of reading and writing was unobtainable. Literacy was not a condition of social life (Pereira, 1984).

From 1549 to 1759 the Jesuits were responsible for education in Brazil. The Jesuits were primarily concerned at first with providing religious instruction and literacy training to the Indian children. Soon after, they began to offer a classical course of study to the upper class and studies to prepare clergymen in the colonies.

Jesuit instruction was dogmatic, authoritarian, and abstract. An exclusive concern with literary and rhetorical studies which merely enhanced the prestige of various members of the upper class; education did not serve as a means for upward social mobility, but instead perpetuated the elite cultural values of Brazilian colonial society (Azevedo, 1950).

For two centuries or more, which extended from the arrival of the first Jesuit to the expulsion of the Order by the Marques de Pombal in 1759, the Jesuits were almost the only educators in Brazil. Their policy was to open a school wherever and whenever they erected a church. As a result of the Jesuit domination of education, when they were expelled there was no organization which could replace them, and in particular there was no State involvement in education at all.

Between the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1759 and the removal of the Portuguese court to Brazil in 1808, a period of almost half a century, there was a long hiatus which was characterized by the lack of organisation and decay of colonial education. No

institutional organisation could replace the powerful homogeneity of the Jesuit system, which had been established over the whole country, and whose colleges and seminaries in the colony were the great centres for the spread of culture. In their place what arose were isolated classes in fragmentary and scattered subjects, which succeeded in taking on the appearance of systematic education only in the rare religious schools established in monasteries.

The type of teaching and education adopted by the Jesuits, a system which was orientated towards the ends of their principal consumer, the Church, appeared to satisfy entirely the elementary requirements of the society at that time with its agricultural slave owning structure. In this society, study, when it was not a mere luxury for the feudal and aristocratic group, was no more than a means of social classification for 'mestizos' and the business bourgeoisie of the cities (Azevedo, 1950). Such an education could not satisfy the broader social requirements of a more egalitarian society.

4.2 Brazil Empire (1822 - 1889)

With the arrival of the Portuguese Court in Brazil, the emphasis on academic studies became even more pronounced. This fact contributed to the growing division between the social classes. Even that education in reading and writing which the Jesuits had offered to all classes almost disappeared (Pereira, 1984).

During the period of the empire, although the Constitution of 1824 guaranteed universal education as a civil right, a system of free public education was never fully implemented because of insufficient physical and human resources, lack of public interest, and the complete lack of any national organization to provide education. The educational expansion which did take place did not significantly affect the masses. Nothing was done to create adequate facilities for elementary schooling and a suitably trained teaching force.

Later the Law of October 1827 established that each town and village should have a school for primary education for all citizens. The law stressed, in its article no.5, that those teachers who did not have the necessary knowledge to teach in this level of education would be trained in short-cycle courses in the capital.

Very little practical activity was stimulated by this law, and the schools and teachers did not materialize because of the social and economic conditions of the country, which did not offer sufficient encouragement to the majority of the population to enter schools. The minority in a position to benefit from educational provision looked upon education as a means of improving their social status or as an instrument of social mobility, especially for the emerging commercial class, who wished to secure their improved social position through education.

During this period the central government through the Additional Act of 1834, transferred responsibility for primary education directly to respective 'provincias', giving them full legislative power to operate. This included responsibility for training primary school teachers. Such primary schooling as was provided by the 'provincias' was rapidly reduced almost entirely to the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic, with no organised grade structure. Literacy training was instrumental, without any broader educational character, did not engage more than a tenth part of the population of school age, and showed itself to be badly directed not only with regard to the real necessities of the people, but also with regard to the interests of unity and cohesion in the nation (Azevedo, 1950).

In 1854 the first attempt was made by Viscount of Bom Retiro to reconstruct the already existing educational system, and to introduce new measures concerning the primary and secondary education in the municipality of the Court, and in higher education in the whole country. Compulsory primary education was again established in law, but it did not fully materialize, because of the opposition of certain groups of politicians. This was because the politicians came from those classes in society that saw education as their own prerogative (Barroso, 1867, in Innocencio, 1978, p.12).

It was only at the end of the Paraguay War that as a consequence

of the development of the ideological positions, conservatives, liberals, and positivists, confronted each other in political debates on the question of primary education. The development of a national educational system was seen as a mark of progress and prestige of the country, which would permit Brazil to be included among the more advanced countries.

The outcomes of these debates about the problem of popular education were included, for the most part, in the projects of reform of education presented in the Legislative Assembly. The Assembly started to show a concern for finding legal ways to allow the central government to assist the provinces in spreading the popular education. Among proposals presented was the reform of the training for primary school teachers.

In 1867 Liberato Barroso, basing his opinion upon official data, estimated that about 107,500 pupils attended primary schools in all the 'provincias', out of a population of 8,830,000. During this period of the Empire, of about 1,200,000 individuals who were of the right age to receive instruction, only 120,000 or approximately one tenth of the population of school age, were receiving such instruction, or about one individual for eighty inhabitants (Azevedo, 1950, p.383).

In April of 1879 the Reform Leoncio de Carvalho again made legal provision for free primary and secondary education for the whole country. The Reform sought to establish compulsory schooling for children between 7 and 14 years of age and recommended the

establishment of Normal Schools to avoid reliance upon unqualified and unskilled teachers.

The teaching staff, almost entirely made up of unqualified teachers with no specific preparation, did not improve noticeably with the first Normal Schools which were created in the country. The first was founded at Niteroi in 1835, followed by Bahia, 1836, Ceara in 1845, Sao Paulo, 1846, and Rio de Janeiro, 1880. All had a very rudimentary organisation, and were established on a very insecure basis. The Normal School of Sao Paulo was founded with a single teacher in 1846, disappeared in 1867, reappeared with a new plan and two year course in 1874, only to close in 1877 and finally to be reestablished in 1880. Only in 1880 did it provide a more complete, three year course. In the 'Município Neutro' ('Neutral Township'), where the organisation of teaching in all grades was the responsibility of the central government, it was only in 1854, by decree no.3,331-A which created the Central Council of Public Instruction, that more efficient measures were taken with the object of developing, raising and inspecting primary education, and only after 1870 that the first school buildings were constructed.

Thus in 1872, for a population estimated by the census at about 10,000,000 inhabitants, the general enrolment in the primary schools was not more than 150,000 pupils and the percentage of illiterates was calculated according to official data at 66.4 per cent (Azevedo, 1950, p.393).

At the end of the Empire (1889) for a population of almost 14,000,000, the enrolment in the primary schools was little more than 250,000 pupils, and never reached 300,000, or one seventh of the population of school age registered in all of the schools of different types and grades in the whole country (Azevedo, 1950, p.406).

In law there were a number of reforms of education which showed a preoccupation with the preparation of primary school teachers during the Empire period. However, the traditional attitude that education was a privilege of the upper classes remained, and in practice very little was done. No effective national educational system was established.

4.3 The Early Republican Period (1889-1930)

A politically liberal military-civilian coalition deposed the Emperor in 1889 and established the Republic.

With the establishment of the Republic in Brazil, despite the fact that the ideas of the French Revolution infiltrated the country, the trend in education remained much the same as during the Empire period. It was open only to an elite, and the social demand for education in the society at large remained unsatisfied.

With the advent of the Republic, the Federal Constitution

published on 24th February, 1891, transferred to the states (the former 'provincias') the responsibility for primary education and Normal Schools.

After the institutionalisation of the republican regime there was, in some units of the Federation, considerable progress regarding the quantitative expansion of the school system and the improvement of primary school teachers' courses. However, for the majority of the States, although there were some initiatives, the lack of economic resources was always an obstacle to the development of the educational system. For this reason, a group of politicians advocated in the National Congress that the Federal Government should play a more effective part in primary education over the whole country, including teacher training courses. Many projects were presented in the National Congress with the objective of establishing Normal Schools in the states. These proposals did not have the support of the dominant classes, which were effective in putting pressure on the government not to accept the educational projects, which conflicted with their own interests (Innocencio, 1978).

With the establishment of the Brazilian Educational Association (ABE), in 1924, the educational problems started to be discussed in public debates. The ABE was an association of liberal educationists which pressed for a national system of education which would permit a degree of regional autonomy. From 1927 the ABE promoted, periodically, national conferences aiming to study

the general lines of the educational policy. The Federal Government in the drawing up of the directives for a national system of education took into consideration the opinions of educators and other professional bodies, including the ABE.

This society of educators, the first in Brazil established at a national level, was doubtless one of the most efficacious instruments in spreading European and North American pedagogical thought, and one of the most important centres of coordination and of debates for the study and solution of educational problems.

The Reform of 1928 in the Federal District was considered the culminating point in the movement of educational reform in Brazil, and the reform incorporated its new ideas on pedagogical techniques. The school was, thus, relieved of the dead weight of traditional teaching, and reacted against the purely individualistic objectives of the old schools, raising to the first plane of its concerns the principles of action, solidarity, and social cooperation, breaking down the barriers which separated the different types of teaching in order to relate them to each other and introducing new ideas in pedagogical technique. The reform of 1928 in the Federal District did in fact begin a new policy of education in Brazil (Azevedo, 1929).

It should be noted that the reform of 1928 was an ideological movement of great scope which opened entirely new perspectives for the country and for the problem of education in Brazil. The

new ideas already in circulation spread with great rapidity, partly through the impulse which the very social mobility gave them, being favoured by the revolution of 1930 and its consequences. In addition, the slowness of the working out of the fundamental principles of a new national policy, involved the protagonists entering into frequent debate which facilitated the fusion and interpenetration of ideas, as well as culture conflicts and different tendencies. In this atmosphere of effervescence of ideas, Lourenco Filho published his **Introducao ao Estudo da Escola Nova** (1930), on the biological and psychological bases of the new theories of education.

4.4 The 1930 Revolution - The Vargas Era

Social and political discontent compounded by increasing economic disparity between the cities and the countryside led to the 1930 revolution, in which Getulio Vargas came to power.

In the years after the 1930 Revolution, the prestige of the liberal educators increased. Innovative ideas of teaching and curriculum organisation were discussed by members of the Brazilian Educational Association (ABE). The 'Escola Nova' group was prominent in advocating the adoption of John Dewey's educational philosophy in which the school is recognised as a social and political vehicle for democratic change.

In December 1931, the government asked for their collaboration in

the definition of the educational policy to be established in the new Constitution. Later a document, called the **Manifesto dos Pioneiros**, was signed. The **Manifesto dos Pioneiros** of the New Education, published in 1932, defends the rebuilding of education. The **Manifesto** urged Brazilian educators to be concerned with the actual conditions of society, specifying the changes that were needed so that the educational system could adjust to the modifications of social life, which had been brought about by the process of industrialization and urbanization which had already emerged (Azevedo, 1932).

The defence of the principle of lay education, the establishment of a national system of instruction, the organization of popular education, both urban and rural, the reorganisataion of the structure of secondary education, and of technical and professional education, the creation of universities and institutes of higher learning for the development of pure studies and of scientific research, constituted some of the most important points of this programme of educational policy, which aimed to reinforce the work of lay teaching, to render compulsory education effective, and to create or establish for children the right to a complete education according to their aptitudes, facilitating, without privilege, their entrance into secondary and higher education (Azevedo, 1932).

In the **Manifesto** of 1932, the problem of national education was analyzed in all its aspects; principles were defined, and for the first time the directives of a general programme of education

were traced, whose pieces, articulated into one systematic plan, were subordinated to definite ends which would affect the whole.

The idea of a complete system of education with an organic structure and the construction, in consequence, of a system of teaching, flexible and as far as possible unified at all levels and in which theory and practice were closely united; the unity of a national policy controlling, by means of general principles and norms established by the Union, the variety of regional systems; the role which was assigned to the State as an organ truly capable, under existing conditions, of carrying out educational work; the priority given to the principle of activity and free research; the infusion of all teaching by the scientific spirit and the rebuilding of secondary education with the aim of developing technical and professional education, gave importance to this public document.

The **Manifesto** was not merely a declaration of principles, which had great repercussions and aroused many debates; nor was it only a document by means of which a group of educators took positions with regard to the most serious problems of national education, but it was in addition a vigorous effort to constitute a new educational policy and to propose the carrying out of the broadest educational plans which had yet been traced in Brazil (Azevedo, 1950).

As in all modernizing movements, there was a group in favour of

the new ideas of the New School, and another in opposition to them. These two groups remained in open opposition until 1937, the year in which a coup d'etat put an end to the conflict by imposing as a line of conduct in the field of education, the policy of compromise, of adjustment and balance.

As Innocencio (1978) pointed out, in order to attend to the new social functions of the primary school, as well as to its new organization and pedagogical theories in evidence at that time, it was proposed to reformulate the criteria for the preparation of primary school teachers. These were set out in **Decreto No.3,810** (Teixeira, 1932, in Innocencio, 1978, p.41), which created a new institution, the Institute of Education, which was to replace Normal Schools in the Federal District, and to include experimental schools at all levels. This Institute was considered better able to provide training for the future teaching force.

The Institute of Education was to form part of a complete system in which the several levels of education, pre-school, primary school, secondary school and university, would be fully articulated and integrated into a single system, which had never previously been the case.

With the organisation given to the Institute of Education the training of teachers, in the Federal District, was brought into the higher education level, and started to be articulated directly with the secondary school. Later, with the creation of the University of the Federal District in 1935, the Institute of

Education, through the School for Teachers, was incorporated into the university and became the School of Education. It retained the objectives which had previously been established. The Institute of Education in its original form ceased to exist, except that the classification of schools into secondary, elementary and kindergarten persisted.

In that period, the new model for training primary school teachers was exclusively confined to the official Normal Schools and, later, to the Institute of Education. There was no chance for the expansion of the private Normal School. Such a solution had the objective of guaranteeing for the teacher of state schools consistency of preparation with regard to the philosophy of education as well as to the processes and methods of teaching. This was supposed to give the state primary schools a certain degree of uniformity (Innocencio, 1978).

In the majority of the units of the federation the preparation of primary school teachers continued to be done in the Normal Schools, which decided to adopt models of teaching similar to those of the federal technical schools; a two or three year course of study at the secondary level. In many regions, due to the lack of good economic and cultural conditions, the Normal Schools continued to give courses lasting for four years, and were directly linked to the primary schools, giving a lower quality of training than in the Federal District.

The proposed structure of teacher preparation for primary schools was later replaced by the **Organic Law of the Normal School**, and by the **Law of Directives and Bases of the National Education (LDB)**.

The period immediately after the Revolution of the 30's started the preparation of teachers for rural areas. The low performance of the pupils was directly linked with the level of efficiency represented by the teachers. Such a situation was caused not only by pedagogical reasons, but was related to economic and social conditions at that time. An internal migration of large groups of the population from rural areas to cities also contributed to the situation.

This idea was extended in 1934, in Ceara State, with a pioneering project of Juazeiro do Norte which involved the creation of the first rural Normal School. The objective was; "to prepare teachers for the primary schooling and equip them with the skills relating to life in rural areas, such as basic preventative medicine, education, and also agricultural knowledge". (CE: **Decreto No.1,269**, 17th May 1934, in Innocencio, 1978, p.45). The experience of Juazeiro was followed by others in Bahia and Pernambuco states.

In 1937 President Vargas abolished Congress and set up a dictatorship. This period was called 'Estado Novo' (New State).

In relation to the educational policy adopted by the new regime,

two aspects must be considered; the ideology that inspired the policy, and the structure imposed on the system by the new government. One of the most important characteristics of the 'Estado Novo' was the emphasis given to the spirit of nationalism which was promoted in opposition to the federalist ideas which had been stressed by the previous government up to 1937. In contrast, the political philosophy of the 'Estado Novo' was based on an ideology of centralism which limited the autonomy of individual states.

The educational policy of the 'Estado Novo' was only defined in 1942, with the organic laws for the different levels of education. It was from the organic laws of primary education and Normal Schools that the federal government took upon itself for the first time the responsibility of directly supervising training for primary school teachers throughout the country, in an attempt to establish a common set of basic principles related to the content and method of teaching that would be observed in every school. A new model of teacher preparation was introduced, which offered two options; a short-term course designed for the less economically and culturally developed parts of the country, and another extended course designed for more developed places (Innocencio, 1978).

Although the law of 1942 gave the Federal Government certain powers over the establishment and administration of Normal Schools, no effort was made to exercise these powers until 1946.

The first initiative at Federal Government level to establish the general directives of organisation for the Normal Schools was brought under control by the **Decree - Law No.8,530** of 2nd January 1946 (Mello, 1982b, pp.5-6). It was a course structured in two cycles:

- a) Normal School for the first cycle for the preparation of assistant teachers ('regente') with four years duration, which would function within the Regional Normal School;
- b) Normal School of second cycle for the preparation of primary school teachers, with a duration of three years which would function in institutions called Normal Schools.

With reference to the curriculum organisation, the Normal School of second cycle offered a greater number of subjects concerned with education. However, on the course of the first cycle, subjects of general education predominated.

There was also created, by this law, the Institute of Education that, besides offering the courses already mentioned, would have the function of preparing specialists for the primary schools and pre-school institutions, and technical personnel such as administrators, educational counsellors and inspectors of primary schools.

The regulation of the Normal Schools in 1946 had appeared within a political and social context which sprang from the liberal and democratic tradition (Mello, 1982b). The Constitution of 1946 can be taken as an example of the affirmation of these ideals,

translated into the "Guarantee of the education of everybody under the responsibility of the government on the principles of liberty and human solidarity".(Articles 166, 167, 168)

4.5 The Post-War Democratic Period

In 1945, with the overthrow of President Vargas, the country returned to the process of political democratization which was initiated in 1930 and was interrupted by the coup d'etat of 1937.

As a consequence of the change in government, and return to democratic rule, the educational policy once more came under the influence of the liberal educators, who had been quiet during the dictatorial period. Again the principles of democratization of education, equality of opportunity and administrative decentralization of the educational system were defended. The Constitution of 1946, reaffirming these principles, declared, in article 166; "Education is a right of all citizens". At the same time the new democratic government returned the legislative power to the respective states (Article 171), which from then on were able to organise their own systems of education, in accordance with regional needs (Article 5).

In order to comply with Article 5, a committee was established to elaborate the measures required to reverse the **Law of Directives and Bases of National Education (LDB)**. In practice, however, during the entire period in which the new law was discussed in

Congress (approximately thirteen years) the actual system of education remained based on the old law.

As Mello (1982b) has pointed out, the main points of dispute between the liberals and conservatives in the area of education concerned compulsory and free education, and the decentralization of education. In 1961, Law No.4,024 was passed. Although, at a superficial level this law was a liberal reform, it was, in fact, a significant victory for the conservatives. Basically, the new LDB once again decentralized education by setting up a dual system; federal and state. However, administration remained in the control of the federal government. The major reforms introduced in the LDB concerned the arrangements for primary and secondary education.

By recognizing the limitations imposed by the economic and cultural differences of the regions in the country, the LDB established an educational system with a flexible structure, in order to attend to the individual conditions faced by pupils in various regional and local circumstances. There were to be a variety of courses, flexibility of the curriculum, and decentralization of education, to make it possible to offer equality of opportunity of schooling and compulsory and free education at the primary level in the public schools.

Two sets of measures were established by the Federal Government; the creation of the Federal and State Council of Education, and criteria for the allocation of financial resources for education.

The institutionalization of four or six years of primary education, which was to be compulsory and free, involved the recognition of a constitutional right to basic education for all citizens. With the passing of the LDB, the importance attached to primary education was increased. Equality of educational opportunity would assure the "right for education for all", but depended upon the capability of the states and municipalities to maintain primary schools in functioning condition.

Under the provisions of the 1961 Law, the curriculum for primary school consisted of the following subjects:

Portuguese (The oral and written language, grammar, orthography and literature);

Mathematics (Elements of arithmetic);

Physical Education (with emphasis on children's play activities); and

Natural Sciences (man, animals, plants and natural phenomena).

It was established in Law 4,024 that access to lower secondary school depended upon passing an admission exam.

With regard to the objectives and organisation of the Normal School, the LDB maintained the same established principles as previously. The preparation of teachers for the Normal School in the Institute of Education was under the same established model

for the pedagogical courses of the Faculties of Philosophy.

As an innovation, a new curriculum was proposed which would break the rigidity and uniformity of the system and also would give opportunity for an individual State to organise the curriculum in accordance with local needs. It became the responsibility of the State Council of Education and Schools to indicate the major number of subjects included in particular courses. The responsibility of the Federal Council of Education was to determine the minimum number of compulsory subjects which would give a certain homogeneity to the preparation of primary school teachers in the whole country (Article 38, paragraphs 1, 2, and 40-a).

The curriculum for the Normal Schools, under Law 4,024/61, was composed of the following subjects:

Portuguese, Mathematics, Geography, History, Biology, Psychology, Hygiene and Child Care, Physical Education, Didactics, Teaching Practice, Sociology, Physics, Chemistry, Drawing, Music, History of Education, Biology of Education, Philosophy of Education, School Administration, and Statistics.

From 1961 onwards the State proposed an educational policy which was more active, and the orientation of which was defined in the National Plan of Education, elaborated by the Federal Council of Education, in 1962, for the period of 1963 to 1970, in accordance with article 92, paragraph 2, of the LDB.

In relation to the primary education the National Plan of Education adopted, as a quantitative goal, the enrolment, until the fourth grade of primary education, of 100% of the population between 7 and 11 years of age, and, in the fifth and sixth grades of the same level, of 70% of the school age population between 12 to 14. As a qualitative goal it was foreseen that the educational system would have, by 1970, fully qualified primary school teachers. It was also established in the National Plan of Education that the Federal Government would make provision for two centres in each State, which would be responsible for training and improvement of primary school teachers in intensive courses of 2 or 3 years (Innocencio, 1978).

From 1963, aiming to achieve the goals foreseen by the National Plan of Education and the fulfilment of international agreements, the Federal Government undertook action concerning the improvement of the primary school teachers through a programme which offered training, orientation and supervision to the non-qualified teachers throughout the whole country. These courses, which took place during the academic holiday, started in 1965 and by 1970 about 84 thousands teachers were trained.

However, the effort of the Federal Government to give better preparation for primary school teachers did not prevent the number of teachers without the required qualification from continuing to increase, although in proportion to the total it had decreased. In many Municipalities the local governments were

in favour of employing non-qualified teachers, who were regarded as less costly for the educational system. Also, as Castro (1980) pointed out, traditionally in Brazil the appointment of teachers constituted one of the most important political instruments of power, which was still used in some places in the country. In other places such as Sao Paulo this kind of appointment was eliminated and eventually substituted by the form of public examination to establish the suitability of the teacher for the educational post.

Since 1964, the State educational policy, which was directed towards the achievement of the goals set by the National Plan of Education, such as the universalisation of primary education, has recognized the shortcomings of the policy for the preparation and recruitment of primary school teachers.

With the new political and military movement in 1964 in the country, a new political model was implemented, with the characteristic of an authoritarian regime.

4.6 The Influence of Historical Development

As has been noted in Chapter 1, the whole of Latin America experienced a major increase in the popular demand for education, and a rapid quantitative expansion of education over the period from 1945 to 1980. The exact form this expansion took in Brazil will be presented in the next section. However, before coming to these changes in the Brazilian educational system, it is

appropriate at this point to reiterate the main features of the educational system which derived from the historical development of the system.

A major feature of the reforms which were proposed in the late 60's and early 70's to adjust to this expansion was the improvement of teacher training, especially the training of primary school teachers. Part of this movement was an attempt to raise the level of normal schools to the higher education level, and to improve the content and methods of such courses. As has been noted in this chapter, this was not the first time that this had been attempted in Brazil. The foundation of the Institute of Education in the Federal district had been an attempt to produce similar results, and for similar motives. It merely succeeded, however, in making the variation of standards within the country more diverse, by improving the level of teacher training in the capital.

There were a number of reasons why this should have been the case. The conservatives were the only group who could commit themselves wholeheartedly to the development of a national system of education, but they had no real interest in extending the provision of education to the masses. This was because the conservatives were wedded to the notion of an elite education, either as an adornment for the upper classes, or for securing the position of those who were upwardly socially mobile for economic reasons.

It was the liberals who sought to extend and expand the educational system to provide education for all classes, and to create a social system in which education could be a source of social mobility rather than a reward for it. But the liberals were also committed to federalism, and could not, therefore, impose a uniform standard of education across the nation. They did introduce reforms, but local pressure groups could frequently frustrate the implementation of such programmes. Even where they were successful, the benefits were not widely spread, and standards of education tended to be highest in the urban areas where the population already benefited from better conditions of life.

The result of this was that by 1961, very little which could be described as a "national system of education", and particularly a "national system of teacher training", existed. Even the national system of education which was introduced in 1961 was locally financed. But more importantly, a number of deeply entrenched political attitudes had been established. Firstly, the conservative attitude that education should be restricted to an elite was firmly held by a large group of conservative educationists and politicians. And secondly, it was widely accepted by liberals and conservatives alike, though for different reasons, that the responsibility of the Federal Government for reform ended when they had passed enabling legislation. For this reason it is very common to find important reforms enacted in legislation, but very little of practical

value happened in practice.

These circumstances, which developed from the historical and political background to education in Brazil, are central to understanding the developments which took place in the seventies, and the way in which attempts were made to cope with the rapid expansion of enrolments in the schools. The next chapter will set out in detail the specific contribution to the circumstances of those reforms made by the military regime which came to power in 1964. However, before embarking on that aspect of historical and political developments, the next section will set out briefly the nature of the quantitative expansion in Brazil.

4.7 Education and Brazilian Development after 1930

The quantitative expansion of primary education in Latin America has already been presented in Chapter 2.0. Brazil shared in this general trend, and there was a rapid quantitative growth in the system from 1930 onwards. Table 4.1 shows the increase in the number of children of school age, and in attendance in primary schools, from 1940 to 1950.

Of particular interest in this table are the great regional disparities, both in terms of the demographic growth and the distribution of basic education. In spite of these differences, the absolute numbers of children, and the absolute numbers of children attending schools, rose in all regions. And, finally, it

should be noted that attendance in primary school, expressed as a percentage of children of school age, rose sharply in this period, indicating that people from the popular classes were already demanding elementary education.

Table 4.1: Aspects of the Increase in Population of Brazil aged 7 to 12 years, and the Expansion of Primary Education (by region)

Region	1940			1950		
	Population	School Attendance	%	Population	School Attendance	%
North	240,568	153,404	63.76	289,534	161,108	58.06
Northeast	1,627,682	493,534	30.32	2,063,404	1,012,483	49.06
East	739,517	177,170	23.95	912,877	368,226	40.33
Central-South	4,140,808	2,381,645	57.51	4,805,637	3,560,107	74.08
Total	6,748,575	3,205,753	47.51	8,071,452	5,108,924	63.29

Source: Florestan Fernandes, *Educacao e Sociedade do Brasil*, pp.48, 51, in Romanelli, 1978, p.65.

The major impetus for the expansion of the education system came from two important demographic changes; the rapid growth of the school age population and urbanization of the country. These two changes are illustrated in Tables 4.2 and 4.3 respectively.

Table 4.2: The Increase of the School Age Population of Brazil between 1940 and 1970

Age Range	1940	1950	1960	1970
5 to 9	5,758,816	7,015,527	10,161,291	13,301,427
10 to 14	5,328,030	6,308,567	8,573,877	11,665,724
15 to 19	4,443,923	5,502,315	7,142,443	10,203,492
20 to 24	3,813,355	4,991,139	6,160,742	8,422,167
Total	19,344,174	23,817,548	32,038,353	43,592,810
Index	100	123	165	225

Source: **Estadísticas da Educação Nacional**, 1960-1971, M.E.C., in Romanelli, 1978, p.76.

Table 4.3: The Evolution of Primary School Enrolment

Year	Zone		Total	Index
	Rural	Urban		
1932	961,797	1,109,640	2,071,437	67
1940	1,185,770	1,882,445	3,068,215	100
1950	1,876,057	2,488,795	4,364,852	142
1960	2,962,707	4,495,295	7,458,002	243
1970	4,749,609	8,062,420	12,812,029	417

Source: **Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos**, No.101, p.119. **Sinopse Estatística do Brasil**, 1971, **Estatística da Educação Nacional**, 1960/1971 M.E.C., in Romanelli, 1978, p.76.

Between 1940 and 1970 the population between the ages of 5 and 24 more than doubled, and the enrolment in primary schools quadrupled. The fact that the population which should be attending schools more than doubled and the population of primary schools quadrupled, in a period of 30 years, although in a crude

way, gives an idea of the achievements of the expansion of the educational system as well as of the demand for education.

Table 4.4 shows that in 1964, in the whole country, there were 33.72 per cent of children between 7 to 14 years who did not attend school. This was the result of the structural deficiencies of the system which prevented the absorption of the demand and prevented the retention of the school population for more years. This problem is seen to be more acute when one examines the differences between the urban and rural areas, as it is shown in Table 4.5.

The deficiencies of the Brazilian educational system, either as they concern the increase in the number of vacancies or the effective demand for education, are worse in the rural areas.

Table 4.4: Extent of School Enrolment for the Population Aged 7 to 14, in Brazil in 1964

Age Group	Total Population	Attending School	Percentage
7 to 11	9,419,198	6,230,038	66.14
12 to 14	4,516,540	3,007,248	66.58
Total	13,935,738	9,237,286	66.28

Source: **Censo Escolar**, 1964, in Romanelli, 1978, p.82.

Table 4.5: School Age Population and School Attendance in 1964

Age Group	Urban Areas	%	Rural Areas	%	Total
7 to 11	756,143	24.96	2,392,990	75.03	3,189,133
12 to 14	406,310	26.92	1,102,986	73.07	1,509,296
Total	1,202,453	25.59	3,495,776	74.40	4,698,429

Source: Carlos Pasquale, **Desenvolvimento do Ensino e o Plano Nacional de Educacao**, in R.B.E.P., No.102, pp.200, 201, in Romanelli, 1978, p.83.

One of the aspects that shows the lack of internal coherence of the system is its low efficiency, measured by its inability to assure the access of the population in primary school to other levels of education.

So, at the same time that the increase in demand for education put pressure on the system for more vacancies, the system did not respond to the demands, and absorbed only part of this population and also applied strict selection to them. Of 1,000 pupils entering in the first grade of the primary school in 1960, only 56 entered at the university in 1971, according to data of the Ministry of Education as shown in Tables 4.6 and 4.7.

For a population of 13,935,738, between 7 to 14 years, there were 4,698,429 out of school, i.e. 33.8 per cent. Of this total, 25.59 per cent were in urban areas and 74.40 per cent in rural areas.

Table 4.6: Numbers Enrolling in Different Levels of Education from 1942/53 to 1960/1970

(This table follows an age cohort through the educational system and gives an overall picture of the wastage in the system.)

Period	First Cycle				Secondary Cycle				Enrolments in Higher Education			
					Lower Secondary		Upper Secondary					
	1st yr	2nd yr	3rd yr	4th yr	1st yr	2nd yr	1st yr	2nd yr				
1942/53	1,681,699	680,181	461,625	260,811	120,173	90,233	74,340	58,636	57,913	45,721	33,059	16,450
1945/56	1,758,465	725,056	513,847	297,910	134,194	106,229	89,000	72,366	72,054	55,443	40,419	18,005
1950/61	2,458,702	946,220	655,697	353,853	212,826	171,280	135,236	110,052	107,769	78,078	64,846	24,705
1955/66	3,157,680	1,257,915	909,824	589,925	318,623	250,574	202,364	172,314	182,807	135,727	123,647	46,617
1960/71	3,950,504	1,692,440	1,285,889	916,088	569,496	442,281	382,651	338,187	359,216	287,950	248,712	191,585

Source: **Estatística da Educação Nacional**, 1960/71, MEC, in Romanelli, 1978, p.89.

Table 4.7: Relative Numbers Enrolling in Different Levels of Education from 1942/53 to 1960/1970

(This table follows an age cohort through the educational system and gives an overall picture of the wastage in the system.)

Period	First Cycle				Secondary Cycle				Enrolments in Higher Education			
	1st yr	2nd yr	3rd yr	4th yr	1st yr	2nd yr	3rd yr	4th yr		1st yr	2nd yr	3rd yr
1942/53	1,000	404	274	155	71	54	44	35	34	27	20	10
1950/61	1,000	385	267	160	87	70	55	45	44	32	26	10
1961/72	1,000	446	328	239	152	124	106	91	96	74	64	56

Source: **Estadística da Educação Nacional, 1960/71, MEC, in Romanelli, 1978, p.91.**

The overall picture which these statistics provide is of a rapid expansion in the absolute numbers of students involved. This indicates the increase in demand for education as well as some measure of success for the policies which were being followed. However, relative increases in the percentage of each cohort enrolling in each level increased much less. Although some success was also achieved on these measures, they were small, and it is clear that achievement fell far short of providing the universal education, which in law was the right of every citizen.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter it has been demonstrated that from 1930 onwards there were substantial changes in the educational system. In spite of these changes the system of schooling did not meet the needs of development of the country. The increase in the effective demand for education resulted in pressure for increased opportunity in education. This brought about an expansion of the system unprecedented in the history of the country. However, the quantitative expansion was counterbalanced by the lack of flexibility of the schools, the low performance of the educational system, and by the importance attached to social discrimination. Qualitatively, the expansion of education brought about a number of shortcomings and these were contrary to the economic developments which were taking place in Brazil.

The lack of coordination between education and economic development in Brazil was linked to political developments and

the struggle between the various factions of the dominant stratum in power. On some occasions educational innovations were implemented to conciliate the various competing groups, while on others they were promoted for the advantage of a particular group. Later in the period under review, the balance of power shifted in favour of the conservatives, as was demonstrated in the arguments between the conservatives and liberals in the years leading up to the major reform of education in Law 4,024/61.

As Romanelli (1978) pointed out, reforms established from 1930 onwards reflected a basic confusion and instability at the level of theory. Consequently, inconsistencies can be found in a number of aspects of the reforms: a) the reforms were partial and regional, b) the reforms did not form part of a coherent national policy on education, c) the reforms were susceptible to the instabilities of local politics, and d) the reforms did little to overcome the existing unevenness of demographic, economic, political, or cultural development.

Until 1946 the primary school did not receive any attention from central government. The system of education was left to state governments, and was affected by changes in state policy. There were no directives from the federal government for this level of teaching, and the lack of central directives contributed to the complete disorganization of the system, since each state introduced or abandoned reforms in line with current policy.

With the Organic Law of Primary Education (1946) the situation changed, and the central government started to draw up directives for primary schooling over the whole country. The Normal Schools also experienced more rapid development during the republican period, and by 1949 there were 540 schools of this type spread over the country.

However, the Normal Schools were not covered by directives established by the federal government until 1946. Like the primary schools, they were under the control of the states, and subject to the same economic and political uncertainties. The Organic Law of Normal Schools, promulgated on the same day as the Organic Law of Primary Schools, introduced similar administrative arrangements to those which covered primary schools, providing for a system of education administered at the local level within guidelines set nationally by the federal government.

Thus the late development of a national system of primary education, and teacher preparation for this level, and the attitudes associated with considerable local autonomy form an important part of the context in which Law No.5692//1 was introduced. The content and results of that law are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5.0 The Implementation of Law 5,692/71

5.1. Introduction

The single most important influence on the political life of modern Brazil, and hence on educational reform, was the installation of a military regime in 1964. This can be seen as a culmination of political and economic developments which had been taking place since the Second World War.

According to Octavio Ianni (1971), in his book *O Colapso do Populismo no Brasil* (The Fall of Populism in Brazil), the period from 1930 to 1964 was marked by a combination of the "Getulista"* political model, of populist tendencies, and the political model of industrial expansion. In this expansion the State played a fundamental role. It was responsible for conducting and setting up minimum conditions of infra-structure and basic industry in this new stage of economic development.

So long as a balance could be maintained between the conflicting elements in such a policy, the business people, who depended on favours from the government, gave their support to the State, accepting in return nationalism as the official and populist ideology of the State. This alliance allowed the political and economic model to operate within a balanced framework.

* Expression derived from the name of Getulio Vargas, former president of Brazil.

Such a policy was dominant in the years after war, when the former dictator Getulio Vargas was elected President and proposed to carry out a national-development government policy. However, later on, the penetration of international capital broke the alliance between businessmen and populist policy. Vargas lost the support of the entrepreneurs and the army, which saw populism as a threat to the stability and internal safety of society. The increasing internationalization of the Brazilian economy could not be matched to the politics of the crowds and nationalist appeal followed by Getulio Vargas.

This polarization between businessmen and populist leaders continued to increase, as more and more external capital became involved in Brazilian industry. Juscelino Kubitschek, president from 1955 to 1959, sustained the expansion of the industries, and as a consequence the country experienced a period of fast industrial development. This new industrial development was characterized by the solid presence of international capital and big corporations in the production of consumer durable goods. The excitement over development defended by Kubitschek, and supported by ECLA's theories (Economic Commission for Latin America) led to an inflationary growth with inevitable consequences on the political balance.

At the end of the so called "JK"* years the Brazilian population was 60% more numerous and the social policy had neglected the

* Expression derived from the name of Juscelino Kubitschek, former president of Brazil.

people's needs concerning transportation, health, food and education (especially in the urban areas). Kubitschek's socialist supporters were dissatisfied that the increasing wealth of the country was not being shared with the majority of the people.

Under Joao Goulart's presidency, 1961 to 1964, the political polarization of the national development model became even more apparent. Goulart wished to introduce more populist measures, but depended on the business community, particularly the international business community, for the increased wealth of the country. Brazil came to a political cross-roads. Either a redefinition of the goals concerning development, in terms of an economic and political left-wing revolution (Romaneli, 1978), or, a reorientation of the political and economic path of the country to remove obstacles which interfered in the definitive entry of the country in the sphere of the monopolist international capital became necessary. The latter course of action represented very little change in economic terms, but a political adjustment with the dominant economic interests taking political control. That was precisely the option of the Armed Forces movement which culminated with the fall of Goulart in 1964.

According to some authors, therefore, the regime after 1964 was not supported only by the army, but it was also a result of an

alliance among entrepreneurs, army and technocrats in favour of the monopolist international capital. A summary of the political situation after 1964 can be found in H.Lawlor's article, "Education and National Development in Brazil".

The year 1964 marked a change or redefinition in the social policies pursued in Brazil, in connection with the development project which the country had been experiencing. It was considered desirable by the new political leaders, then, to reorganise the development policy so that social services served the ends of modernization, which implied serious consequences for society. The first characteristic of the new development model was the increased openness to foreign investment, which in addition to internal income concentration, provided the basis for capitalist accumulation. In order to achieve that purpose the strategies were the suppression of mass movements and the squeezing of salaries, making the concentration of capital an easier process. As a consequence of the hardening of the regime, specially after 1968, the government machine was used to achieve "development at any price", in order to place Brazil on an equal footing with other capitalist countries. The Brazilian economy experienced an astounding growth reaching a growth rate of 11 per cent per year in 1972 (Lawlor, 1985) as a consequence of the policies adopted by the military governments after 1964. This growth had particular repercussion for one portion of society, the middle class, with the demand for new civil servants, managers, engineers and higher graduate professionals employed by multinational corporations which were at that point expanding

business in the country.

As a result there was an increased demand for technical and higher education and the number of university students grew from 2/8 thousand in 1968, to 800 thousand in 1974 (Lawlor, 1980).

5.2 Education and Social Demand after 1964

The economic model based on the concentration and investment of large amounts of capital has deeply influenced the occupational structure and also the nature of the demand for education. In the earlier period of expansion, when growth had largely been generated through import substitution, the country experienced a great urban expansion. In that period, the bulk of the growth in the labour market was in the middle stratum of the labour force in cities. This pattern of development, and the populist policies followed by the government, created the necessity for a mass system of education, because industrialization demanded the incorporation of new consumers into the newly developed markets.

Before 1964 the situation was completely different. The development of industry was based on capital intensive industry with a requirement for small numbers of highly educated personnel. The government followed no populist policies. And in the cities, the increasingly powerful middle classes acted through pressure groups to neutralize the demands of the masses, while succeeding in getting more schools for their own children.

The new political and economic model after 1964 did not give much importance to education, which had previously been proclaimed as a priority in their plans of development. In fact, a policy based on the concentration of capital could not give priority to public services of a social character such as education, health, and so on. This fact, linked to the increasing social demand for education would contribute to the building crisis in the educational system.

Brazil was also influenced by the agencies for international development, and particularly USAID, in this period. In Latin America, during the 60's, the agencies supporting development emphasised the necessity for the universalisation of the basic education. To modernise meant new consumer habits, to which the population should be introduced. The demand for more education came as a consequence of urbanization, population growth and changing patterns of employment.

A document produced by the Ministry of Education and Culture in conjunction with USAID (MEC/USAID) set out a policy for the reform of education, and showed a preoccupation with the reform of primary schools and middle level schools. These were to be combined into a unified system of basic education. Such a reform would mean that middle level schooling, or lower secondary education (the former 'ginasio'), would be integrated with, or more firmly attached to primary education.

This was clearly linked to a view of economic expansion which saw a requirement for an educated workforce which would be literate, and have some introduction to the techniques of production, while at the same time remaining relatively cheap.

Two subsequent reports which were strongly influenced by the MEC/USAID report were the Meira Matos Report and the University Task Force Report. Neither report envisaged the integration of primary and middle level schooling, but both espoused similar economic goals. The Meira Matos Report advocated the inclusion of simple skill training in secondary schools to produce a "professionalized" secondary education, while the University Task Force aimed to redirect the bulk of aspiring students away from the universities.

During the 1960's, the expansion of industry created new jobs, and more students aspired to an education which would prepare them for those jobs. The main problem which preoccupied the educational planners in the government, however, was how to dissuade students from entering the university. The increasing competition which this produced at the higher levels of education meant that the educational system functioned less effectively as a means of social mobility for the middle and lower classes.

At this time it became increasingly clear that the educational system was failing to produce sufficient technical personnel qualified at the middle level to meet the increased demands of an expanding industry, in spite of the general orientation on the

part of the government to promoting an educational system which responded to the needs of industry. Table 5.1 shows the deficit in supply of such personnel.

Table 5.1: Defecit of Middle Level Qualified Personnel in Brazil
(in millions)

Year	Supply	Demand	Deficit	% Deficit
1940	236	518	282	46
1950	545	853	308	64
1960	1,042	1,433	391	73
1970	1,887	2,394	507	79

Source: Aparecida Joly Gouveia and R.J.Havinghurst, **Ensino Medio e Desenvolvimento**, Sao Paulo, Ed.Melhoramentos, p.179. Apud Nadia Franco Cunha, "A Democratizacao do Ensino Medio e a Reforma", in **B.E.P.**, No.123, 1971, p.44, in Romanelli, **Historia da Educacao no Brasil: 1930 - 1973**, Petropolis, Vozes, 1978, p.206.

From 1964 onwards the increasing emphasis which the government placed on investing in the capitalization of the country meant that proportionately less money was available for schools. The result of this was that the schools, which were already under considerable pressure, deteriorated further. Only the middle level of education escaped this general cut back. The rate of increase of the expansion of primary education was drastically reduced (See Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Percentage increase in the Enrolment in Primary and Middle Level Education

Period	Increase in Primary School	Increase in Middle Level
1960-1964	36 %	60 %
1964-1968	16 %	69 %

Source: Estatísticas da Educação Nacional, 1960/1971, in Romanelli, *Historia da Educação no Brasil: 1930 - 1973*, Petropolis, Vozes, 1978, p.207.

However, the most severe signs of the crisis in education were to be seen in the universities, where there was a very rapid increase in the number of candidates presenting themselves for the entrance examinations, but a much slower increase in the number of places which could eventually be filled. This is shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Percentage increase in the Candidates for University and the Number of Vacancies.

Period	Increase in Entrance Examination Candidates	Increase in Vacancies
1960-1964	50.81 %	63.90 %
1964-1968	120.55 %	52.76 %

Source: Estatísticas da Educação Nacional, 1960/1971, in Romanelli, *Historia da Educação no Brasil: 1930 - 1973*, Petropolis, Vozes, 1978, p.207.

The crisis in education would become even worse with the student movement demands in 1968. During this process the candidates for higher education played a key role, because a great number of them could not get a place at the university because there were not enough vacancies.

Cunha (1975) shows that the number of candidates to higher education increased 120% in the period 1964-1968. He comments that the State could not fulfil the demand for more education because, in the first place, if more places were created this would involve the government in more expense on higher education. But perhaps equally important was the fact that an increase in the number of vacancies in the universities would cause, in the short run, an increase in the number of professionals looking for jobs, and the market would not be able to absorb all of them. Such a disappointed and unemployable intelligentsia might pose a serious political threat for the government.

Therefore, according to Cunha (1975), the reform of higher education of 1968, reinforced the policy of capital concentration. The problem of "excessive students" would find a solution with the creation of selective examinations, only the students with the best marks being admitted for the existing number of vacancies. The entry of students was decided through a unified entry examination (Vestibular), which was held at a specific place for all areas of study.

The unification of the examinations for entry in the universities was followed by the reform of secondary education.

5.3 The Professionalisation of Secondary Education

Education was proclaimed as being a priority in all the government plans since the First Ten Year Plan drawn up in 1967. However, in spite of that, education was not pursued for its own sake, but as an input for economic growth, and as a pacifier for the masses. In reality educational planning closely followed the economic development plan, although the goals were still very far from meeting the demands (Kowarick, 1976 in Salgado, 1981).

Investment in education increased considerably up to 1973 (specially as far as higher education was concerned) but from then on it started to decline. More and more pupils were enrolled during that period, specially in higher education and private secondary schools.

The main purpose of the reform of secondary education in 1971, was to reduce demand for higher education. This was to be achieved by increasing the variety of professional and technical courses at the secondary level which would be terminal. Although it took the military regime seven years before it attempted to reform and "professionalize" secondary education, it was not a new idea. Concern about the reform in the secondary school was already present in the report of the University Task Force which

recommended the professionalization of the secondary school as a solution, in the long term, to the increasing demand for higher education. According to the report, if the secondary school adopted a professional approach, not only would the demand for university places be reduced, but also the students who were already working would not rush to enter higher education, owing to the fact that they would be able to enter the new style courses at their own pace. (Cunha,1975).

The most striking feature of Brazilian educational policy after the reforms of the university (Law 5,540/68) and the first and second level of education (Law 5,692/71) was its pragmatic orientation. It was geared towards the development of human resources from a perspective which was, above all, an economic character.

To the extent that the federal governments after 1964 redefined the model of development, aiming at inserting the country into the system of monopolist international capitalism, all other policies had to adjust to this model. Consequently, Brazilian education was also affected by this new model of economical development due to a new type of alliance between the upper social classes and the modernized military regime (Stephan,1975, pp.127-137, in Salgado, 1981).

The pedagogical implications of the model derived from a basic principle: education was to be an instrument for economic development. From 1964 to 1975 education, as stated in the two

above mentioned reforms, had the purpose of developing human resources towards the economical growth of the country. The realization of this objective consisted of training in productive activities in general on all educational levels of guiding all students according to the ideological principles put forward by the government. "Education then aimed at 'technicism', 'specialization' and 'quantitativism' in general" (Cury, 1980, pp.133).

The basis of this educational philosophy was the much discussed human capital theory, derived from studies undertaken by economists of education, such as Harbison and Myers (1964), who believed that there was a highly positive correlation between national income growth and education.

A feature which brought about the "economicist" emphasis in Brazilian education, and above all "modernizing" character, after 1971 was educational "technicism". It was characterized by a trend in Brazilian education which involved strict planning and behaviourist objectives. This process of setting rigidly defined objectives, and particularly the process of requiring teachers to follow preset objectives and make evaluations in accordance with them, without any attempt to help teachers to participate in the formulation or modification of objectives, only increased the sterility of the teaching methods employed. Educational technology then replaced reasoning and educational philosophy. One was faced, in this period, with the impoverishment of the

contents of the subjects which were not directly connected with technical education.

Although the 1971 education Law made the inclusion of 'professional courses' compulsory, very few academic schools in fact offer professional subjects. The fact is that the schools were short of finance for the practical equipment, and suffered a chronic shortage of qualified teachers in professional subjects. In this practical sense, the reforms were not successful. But they were also unsuccessful in a broader political sense, arousing the hostility of many groups within society. Cunha (1977a) has identified some of the sources of opposition to the reform of second level education.

The administrative bureaucracy of the general secondary schools was not prepared for this new reality because it did not have the human and material resources to attend the requirements of the new curriculum. So, on the basis of Article IV, paragraph 4, which states that;

On approval of the Federal Council of Education the schools may be free to offer other occupational qualifications for which no curricula minimum was established by that committee and the validation of such course should be assured for the whole country,

the educational administrators of these schools limited by the lack of resources adopted a low cost professional courses such as, accountancy, tourism, and so on.

The administrative bureaucracy of public industrial schools also opposed the reform, because they were expected to assist with the

provision of vocational courses for students from the other public schools. This was in accordance with the principle set out in Article III, b of Law 5,692/71, which stated;

The interplay and supplementary help among the schools, and with other social institutions, in order to make good use of one's working capacity to supply the deficiency of others.

Another problem was that the Industrial Technical Schools felt threatened by the new technicians who would get their certificates from the second level, breaking up the tradition of technician education belonging exclusively to Federal Technical Schools.

The principles of private secondary schools criticized the pragmatic character of the compulsory professionalisation of the middle level, which transformed the educational objectives into 'immediate' ends of the labour force.

These schools were in fact designed to prepare the student for university entry. The new Law demanded abrupt changes from these schools, including the provision of special teachers, appropriate classrooms, machinery, tools, all sort of apparatus as well as material resources for student use. All these things added to the costs of private schools which were trying to adapt their buildings and already existing facilities to the new demands of Law 5,692/71, while finding any reason for opposing the law. Other private schools closed down altogether even before making any attempt to adjust to the Law's demands.

Curiously, the professionalization of secondary education was also opposed by the industrialists, who frequently used the poor quality of the middle level qualified labour force as an excuse to justify delays in production as well as low salaries. It is out of scope of this work to deal with the evaluation of the labour force on such a basis. However, one ought to raise the question as to whether the complaint of the lack of labour force both in quantity and quality actually corresponded to reality, especially when this was directed at the professional middle level.

It is also possible to point to the practices of the major companies, mainly the multinational companies, which were to acquire a minimum of professionals trained at the Industrial Technical Schools. They preferred to employ people with a certain level of general education and then offer them an intensive training within their professional field in accordance with their strict necessities. These companies would, in this way, guarantee a high level of training for those professionals in accordance with the organizational and technological changes they had made themselves.

This situation did not mean, however, that the big companies did not give jobs to technicians who had graduated from Industrial Technical Schools, but did mean that they relied heavily on in-service training of those who had already general education.

The 'professionalization' of secondary education also had an impact on traditional apprenticeship schemes. In theory, the apprenticeship system should have been simplified, and the courses shortened. In practice, demand for traditional courses rose far beyond the willingness of companies to provide courses. The government tried to pressurize companies into opening more apprentice places, with little effect. The companies had good economic reasons for relying on short in-service and on the job courses, which would raise the level of skills of their work force, without improving their qualifications, and hence pay.

Many state bureaucrats opposed the reforms introduced by the law, and it is quite easy to find quotations of state bureaucrats saying that the reform of the middle level, creating a compulsory and universal 'professionalization', was an emergency measure, imposed in order to alleviate one of the main problems of the Brazilian development. However, there are indications that such problem did not exist at least not at the level suggested by the bureaucrats (Cunha, 1977a).

Finally, students opposed the reform of secondary education and reacted against the compulsory professionalization of the middle level of education. Two main reasons were the impact that the introduction of professional subjects was having on the timing schedule, reducing the number of hours available for subjects related to the university entrance examination, and the progressive increase in fees in the public schools which were

imposed on them in order to support financially the introduced reform.

As Cunha (1977a) pointed out, when the educational administrators designed the new type of middle-level school, they already expected a lot of opposition. This resistance was due to the devaluation of the professional courses, which became associated with the working class, and therefore to be avoided by the middle class.

According to Cunha the changing in the channels of promotion from school to school and grade to grade created a new and increased demand among middle class youth for higher education. Vacancies, however, were not proportional to the created demand.

The professional secondary schools' role was to decrease demand for higher education which was created by middle class. As Saviani (1976) stressed, the modernization of the Brazilian economy made schooling the major way of getting social promotion, especially for middle class. This would explain the strong pressure from the middle class in favour of the democratization of higher education.

Since the most critical aspects within the universities were related to both the increased number of students and the pressure for new vacancies, the secondary school reform was seen as the way to restrain the demand of the population. Meira Matos and The University Task Force had understood that in order to reduce the

demand for more vacancies for higher education the secondary education should become professional, that is it should provide the students with a job skill.

The University Task Force believed that once the potential candidate had acquired a job skill before university entry he would be more inclined to join the work force, mostly as a result of economic pressures, and therefore not seek to acquire a professional qualification which was only obtainable by higher education.

Taken as a whole, the reforms introduced in 1971 were not a success, and in 1982 the government was obliged to replace Law No.5,692/71 with Law No.7,044/82. The new law made no reference to the idea of "qualifying the student for labour", and instead stressed preparation to meet the obligations of citizenship.

5.4 The Redefinition of the Policy for Training First Level School Teachers

Like other reforms in secondary education, the reformulation of the legislation concerning the training for first level school teachers (formerly primary school teachers) was a result of the economic and educational policies which had been implemented since 1964. The situation of those teachers, their preparation and their conditions of working seemed to be an obstacle to the contemplated government reforms of the educational system.

The previous policy for training primary school teachers had been the object of criticism, on the grounds that it did not correspond to the demand and necessities of the educational system. The general reform, and professionalization of secondary education therefore provided an opportunity for responding to some of these criticisms.

Government plans paid special attention to the programmes of improvement for teachers already in-service, training for unqualified teachers and improvement of the courses for training first-level school teachers (grades 1 to 4). Plans also included projects concerned with the improvement of the teaching career.

However, in practice, as has been mentioned in the previous section, the 1971 Reform (Law 5,692/71) was closely linked to the economic policies adopted with the new political regime of 1964. Education was seen as an instrument for accelerating economic development and social progress. As a consequence, the democratization of the educational opportunities was one of the goals foreseen in the governmental programmes.

In this sense, priority would be given to the training of teachers in order to serve the programmes of development in the different sectors, so the educational system, and particularly the training of primary school teachers, would match the economic necessities of the country. For that it would be necessary to increase the productivity of the educational system in relation

to the administrative practices, making rational use of facilities and equipment, as well as staff.

The objectives considered more important in the educational programme in relation to the primary school were:-

- fulfilment to the Constitutional stipulation of compulsory school for the 7 to 14 year old population;
- reform of primary education aiming at the integration with secondary education in a common system;
- improvement of in-service training and teacher training;
- creation of working conditions more favorable to the teacher.

The adoption of this policy, although justified by the necessity of making the educational system suitable to the conditions of development of the country, was also forced upon the government because of the increasing demand for secondary and higher education. It was necessary to establish an educational system that could increase the level of schooling with less cost than the previous system, so more people could be offered education.

The implementation of these measures determined the revision of educational legislation which took place in 1968, with the university reform, Law 5,540, and later, in 1971 with the reform of first and second level schools, Law 5,692.

In relation to the first level, it would be necessary to train a

greater number of teachers. It was also necessary to review the provision for teacher education in terms of content, methods of teaching, and so on. Besides the necessities created by the new organisation of the educational system, the professional conditions of the teaching career required not only the reorientation of teacher training policy but also the definition of the professional activity, such as the approval of statutes governing the teaching career.

5.5 Teacher Training After Law 5,692/71

Law 5,692/71 introduced great modifications in the courses for training of first level school teachers (grades 1 to 4). In spite of the generally liberal rhetoric in terms of satisfying social demand for a mass system of basic general education, the details of the reform were principally shaped by the view that education should meet the needs of the economy, and that education should be technicist. This had two major effects on the preparation of first level teachers.

The first was organizational, and the professionalization of secondary education included teacher training at this level. Teacher training was one among many professional options, and as a result became very firmly institutionalized at the second level of education. Teacher preparation courses lost their individual identity, and became part of the broader, professionalized secondary education. This meant that the Normal Schools were

deprived of their specific character, and conformed to the general requirements of professional education. In a three year course, the first year was entirely devoted to elements of a general education which was common to all courses. As a result, professional aspects of teachers education were compressed into two years instead of three. In addition, the certificate awarded at the end of such professional training could be used as an entry qualification to higher levels of education, and the Normal Schools attracted some students who had no desire to teach, but who saw teacher preparation courses as an attractive route to further studies.

"...the implementation of the universal professionalization has contributed to the dispersal of teacher preparation courses and their loss of their character... because of the curriculum structure of this course, the course is less specific now, with a common core, common to all second level professional courses, and the specific subjects are compressed into only two years, and also fitted in among other subjects" (Warde, 1984, p.70).

The second impact of economic considerations was on the curriculum and teaching methods, which stressed teaching as a goal orientated activity directed towards the meeting of specific behavioural objectives. Law 5,692/71 ended with the Normal Schools and Institutes of Education transforming their courses to concentrate on trivial and pointless teaching abilities.

Neither of these developments in teacher preparation did very much to improve the general level of the teachers of the first level, or to improve their professional position. Although at a general level the government accepted that teacher preparation

should take place in University level institutions, these reforms effectively prevented consideration of any such moves.

It was established that to teach in the primary school it was necessary to have a second level education in courses for training primary school teachers. Short cycle university courses could also be required, depending on the conditions of each system of education. Exceptionally, in the case of a lack of qualified teachers, candidates would be accepted after completing the eighth grade of first level education, and following an intensive training course.

The structure given by the reform Law 5,692 effectively closed the Normal Schools of first and second cycle. The Normal School of second cycle was replaced by the courses for training teachers of the first to the fourth grades of first level education, that would be offered in schools with professional courses.

Law 5,692 also established that courses could be taken for training first level school teachers at institutions of higher education, following a policy which started in 1962, when the Federal Council of Education, in establishing the minimum curriculum for the pedagogy course, raised the possibility that until 1970 the courses for training first level school teachers (grades 1 to 4) could be at the level of higher education.

In relation to the unqualified teachers, Law 5,692 established that;

The educational system shall stimulate, by suitable planning, and through regular courses and training the improvement and modernisation of their teachers and education experts (Article 38).

It was also established that;

the Federal Government shall give financial aid to the states and to the Federal District to develop their educational systems and shall organise the Federal Educational System to supply the necessities in any part of the country in the strict limits of the local demand (Article 52).

Chapter V of Law 5,692/71 defined the new orientation to be given to Teacher Education and the regulation of its professional activities. Teacher Education should be organised in such a way that it would qualify teachers able to work in the first level (grades 1 to 4), to develop a curriculum for activities; and/or to work in first level education (grades 5 to 8) in order to develop a curriculum for areas of study; and/or to work in the second level school developing a curriculum by disciplines.

This reorganization of teacher education was in line with the changes which the Law proposed for curricula in the various levels of education. The Law introduced the idea that a large proportion of the curriculum, particularly in grades 1 to 4 should be organised around activities. The detail, which was not included in the Law, was provided in **Opinion 853/71** (Federal Council of Education, 1971). This document proposed that rigid disciplines should not persist in the first level schools;

"...we see that in eight years [of schooling] a single class would have been taught by 44 'accidental teachers' which could now be reduced to 20 or 24 having a broader involvement".(Ibid, p.67).

In the last four grades of first level education, this rationalization of the curriculum was even more marked. It was proposed that the learning at this level of education should be organized in three broad areas of study:

"Among the possible forms of visualizing material according to this orientation, we choose a triple classification of (a) Communication and Expression, (b) Social Studies, and (c) Sciences" (Ibid, p.53).

These subjects were to form the compulsory core of the general education offered in the first four grades. Such a radical reorganization of the curriculum at the lower levels would require a complementary reorganization of teacher education, to prepare teachers with the necessary experience to promote these more integrated studies.

This need for reform of teacher preparation was recognised in the Law itself, which, in accordance with these principles defined different modalities of teacher training in order to allow different levels of qualification:-

- training at the secondary level, lasting 3 years, qualifying for primary school teacher to teach grades 1 to 4 (Article 30,a)

- additional fourth year training entitling the primary school teacher to teach up to grades 5 to 6 (Article 30, paragraph 1)

- training at higher education level, short-cycle higher education, qualifying for teaching first-level school grades 1 to 8 (Article 30, b)

- additional academic year to the short cycle higher education course entitling the teacher to teach also at second-level school grades 1 to 2 (Article 30, paragraph 2);

- training at higher education level, qualifying teachers to teach at first and second-level schools (Article 30,c)

The 1971 reform altered almost completely the content of teacher training. According to **Opinion" 349/72** it would be the responsibility of the courses for training first level school teachers (grades 1 to 4) to give a general education that would give them an opportunity to continue further studies at the university, and a special training which correspond to the minimum indispensable to the professional activity.

The general education element is composed of the subjects of the common core and that of the 'special studies' of the instrumental and specific subjects for the course.

The common core is composed of three major areas of studies:-

1) Communication and Expression, which includes the subjects: Portuguese Language, Brazilian Literature, Artistic Education, Physical Education;

2) Social Studies, comprising of History, Geography, Brazilian Social and Political Organisation and Moral Education

3) Sciences, comprising Mathematic, Physical and Biological Sciences and Health Programmes.

'Special Studies' are composed of:-

- 1) Educational Foundations which includes Philosophy, Sociology, History Psychology and Biology of Education
- 2) Structure of the Educational System First Level School
- 3) Didactics, including Teaching Practice.

The curriculum for first level school teachers (grades 5 to 8) and second level teachers teaching sciences and humanities requires higher education studies, a bachelor's degree, plus additional educational courses leading to a teaching certificate ("Licenciatura"). Usually this additional pedagogical training is provided by the school of education.

The curriculum designed to prepare the specialist in education includes seven core subjects as indicated below:-

- 1- Sociology
- 2- Sociology of Education
- 3- Educational Psychology
- 4- History of Education
- 5- Philosophy of Education
- 6- Structure and Functioning of First and Second Level Education

The specific subjects for each speciality are: -

- a) School Administration, including Principles and Methods of School Administration, Statistics Applied to Education,
- b) Teaching, composed of Teaching Methodology First

Level, Teaching Practice at the first level of education,

c) School Inspection, including Principles and Methods of School Inspection, Educational Legislation,

d) School Supervision, Principles and Methods of School Supervision,

e) Educational Orientation including Principles and Methods of Educational Orientation, Vocational Orientation, Educational Measures,

f) Special Teaching (Handicapped Teaching) including Anatomy, Psychology and Pathology of Auditive Organs, Psychology of Audio-Communication, Social Problems of the Handcapped and Special Techniques of Communication.

5.6 Difficulties in Implementing Law 5,692/71 in Teacher Training

The 1971 Reform, by restructuring the entire educational system, has brought changes into the structure of the teacher education curriculum although there was no change in the methods of teaching for first level school teachers (grades 1 to 4). According to Law 5,692, the subjects of first-level schools (grades 1 to 4) should be taught to children as activities. This implies accepting the children's experiences as a point of departure for their educational process.

Despite this, the techniques of teaching through activities were not introduced in the curriculum practice of the future first level school teacher. These teachers are supposed to teach at

first level schools (grades 1 to 4), by activities, which means that they ought to be well acquainted with such methods and preferable have been taught by them. In practice, however, their curriculum is made up of subject disciplines as it always has been.

Despite the changes proposed by the new law, the preparation of teachers follows the same pattern as before; primary school teachers and secondary school teachers are prepared in the traditional way, even though they are going to teach in restyled first or second level schools, which require a new type of teacher. Until now it has not been possible to prepare teachers for the first level education as it was established by law. The reason is, the former Normal Schools continue to prepare the primary school teachers according to a model that was required before the new legislation (de Castro, 1980). The structure of the primary and middle level schools were separated, but the previous levels of training teachers were kept.

As Pereira (1984) pointed out, this lack of a link between the training of the teachers for the first level school and the practice in first level school is one of the factors that makes a good performance by the former Normal Schools difficult. Before implementation of Law 5,692/71 the different subjects composing the curriculum of these courses were memorised and bookish methods were used. Since 1971, the scene has remained almost unchanged. The study of the subjects which compose the curriculum is a mere repetition of what is said in the books.

Thus the future first level school teachers do not experience the change in attitude towards education implied by change to activity-centered study. If they receive any introduction to the new methods at all, it is purely theoretical. This is the result of the traditional and conservative influence of the universities which prepare the teachers of future first level school teachers. As Pinto (1977) has stated, there are no teachers prepared to teach by activities because this method was not implemented yet. There is no qualified teacher to develop the kind of curriculum proposed by Law 5,692/71.

5.7 Conclusion

After 1964, in the analysis presented by the technocrats, the general situation of the education was related to the problem of efficiency. Accounting techniques were applied to the educational system to assess the absorption capacity and productivity of the system. The former was measured by the ratio of the number of children in school to the number of children of school age. The latter was a composite measure which included the number of pupils promoted yearly, the number of pupils completing courses and the capacity of the educational system to satisfy the requirements of the labour market.

It was assumed that education should only be provided where the investment in education showed at least as good a return, in the

short run, as any other available investment. This was known as "rentability". Thus the concept of rentability was related to the idea of efficiency. Though both concepts were evaluated quantitatively, and they were used largely for economic motives, they did, in measuring repetition and completion rates, include elements which directly related to quality. This became increasingly the case once it was recognized that the lack of consideration of qualitative aspects of education was an obstacle to the primary goal - the increase of the number of pupils passing successfully through the system.

The application of this idea of rentability resulted in productivity with regard to the rationalization of the material and human resources being linked with the problem of efficiency, and equated with the absence of waste. In the new programme of the government, the educational planning, the technicism of the teaching methods and teacher preparation were given emphasis.

From 1964 onwards, the influence of the technocrats was more pronounced in educational policy. The liberals were reduced to the passive administrative role of carrying out the government directives. Education was seen as an instrument of accelerating the economic development and social progress. As a consequence, the democratization of education, guaranteed through the provision of a number of years of school attendance, was one of the central goals of government.

The first government after 1964 accepted the National Educational

Plan which had been elaborated by the Federal Council of Education for the period from 1963 to 1970. This plan was an attempt to introduce continuity to the process of educational planning. However, the implementation of this programme required an understanding of the actual situation of the educational system, and the government instituted the first Education Census of the whole country in 1964. On the basis of this census the government drew up the Preliminary Diagnosis, and subsequently the Ten Year Plan of Economic and Social Development which covered the period 1967 to 1977.

During the term of office of the next government (1967 to 1969), the general lines of policy were defined in the **Programa Estrategico do Desenvolvimento** for the period 1968 to 1970. Here it was declared that the primary objective of the plan;

would consist in providing a minimum of compulsory education to all Brazilians, and incentives that would stimulate the access to other levels of education in a national programme that adjusts the education system to the demands of the labour market, under the coordination and orientation of the general government (**Programa Estrategico do Desenvolvimento**, July, 1967, p.95, in Innocencio, 1978, p.80).

In this sense, priority was given by the governments in this period to the preparation of human resources to meet the requirements of other programmes of development in various sectors of the economy. This involved the adjustment of the educational system to the needs of the country, and this in turn was mainly related to the preparation of technical personnel in middle level education, and to increasing the supply of qualified

people to the labour force.

During the period of office of the third government after 1964 (1968 to 1971) the educational policy was established in the **Plano de Metas para Acao do Governo**, drawn up for the years 1970 to 1973. There was a preoccupation with giving continuity to the previous proposals, and the following were among the targets set:

- the expansion of the elementary education, obtained by the integration of the primary education and secondary education;

- the reformulation of the middle level education aiming the eliminating the dualism between secondary and professional schooling.

Thus the establishment of an education system which could meet the demand for education, which would raise the general level of education by being more accessible to a greater proportion of the population, and which would do so at a lower cost than the former system of education, was the goal which was adopted by all post-1964 governments and proposed in the national plans of development.

The adoption of these policies, although justified on the grounds that they were necessary to make an educational system which was adequate for the development of the country, in fact was the result of increased demand for opportunities in the secondary level and higher education made by the middle classes. The necessity to maintain,

the political support of the middle classes whose position would be threatened by limited entries to university on one hand and on the other hand the necessity for specialized and semi-specialized labour which could attend the economic projects of the government, came to dominate all the other projects (Cunha,1975b in Mello, 1982b p.6).

This constitutes the scenario which made possible the appearance of Law 5,540/68 (the reform of the university), and later Law 5,692/71 (reform of the first and second-level education), which reflected not only the technical period of development which was authoritarian orientated but also an intention of stopping the demand for higher education.

Thus, in the earlier period the government introduced reforms which were positively directed towards the closing down of educational opportunity and reducing demand for education. Both in the structure of teacher preparation, and the content of the courses, these reforms were damaging to the interests of future teachers. Later, when, under public pressure, the government reversed some of its earlier policies, no attempt was made to rethink educational policy, or to ensure that the reforms resulted in a coherent system of teacher education. The quantitative expansion of the schooling and its almost universalization in the urban centres has introduced, however, qualitative changes on the process of selectivity, which government policy in no way accommodated.

The first level education in Brazil expanded quantitatively. In fact, this expansion represented a democratization of the system of education since it has reached mainly those which were

excluded from the school system due to both, the lack of vacancies, and facilities.

There were additional facts contributing to the crisis in quantitative expansion of education. On the one hand the bureaucracy took over the educational system in order to face the quantitative demand for first level education. On the other hand the material resources became scarce since the investment in education did not increase in proportion with the expansion of the system. The standard of teaching which had been offered to a smaller number of pupils was affected by the lack of proper functioning of the basic schools, due to the very rapid expansion.

The increase of the educational scope took place within the context of a society which was growing economically and an accelerating process of urbanization and modernization with all the contradictions which came as a result of those changes.

In the urban centres and in the most productive economic sectors of the country new social groups appeared which were continually demanding fuller participation in the wealth generated by the growth of economy. The existing economically dominant social classes, threatened by the newly formed groups, started to change, under the pressure, their political approach, by promoting social reforms in order to retain their hegemony.

Amongst those reforms education took the most important place. It presented an instrument for social promotion, not dependent on any of the social classes.

The adoption of an economic model with income concentration in the hands of an elite of the society and high exploitation of the labour force maintained by a mechanism of coercion, produced an increased impoverishment of the majority of the population. The quality of life deteriorated quickly in the rural areas, and in the periphery of the large cities which became overcrowded by people who migrated there from the rural area.

This factor contributed to the acceleration of social benefits, such as basic school. The basic school has become heavily attended mainly, in the urban periphery areas, by the children who belonged to those social classes, which, in spite of the material impoverishment were still able to send them to school, because of the increased availability of local schools, and an increased number of vacancies (Mello, 1982a).

It is against this background of national policy that the teacher preparation policies in the various states of Brazil must be understood. In the next chapter, the details of provision in Paraíba will be presented. Especially in the context of first level education, it is important to look at an individual state in any detailed study, because, as has been noted in Chapter 4.0, the bulk of federal legislation on primary education was made up of enabling acts, and the principal responsibility for funding

and organization rested with the individual states. Although the legislation introduced by the military regime after 1964 went some way to alter this situation, and introduced a system which can be viewed as national, funding for primary education was still a local matter, and very great regional disparities remained.

CHAPTER 6.0 Teacher education in Paraíba State

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4.0 the evolution of the primary and secondary education system of Brazil was set out in some detail. There it was made clear that there has not been, until recently, that is 1961, anything that could be described as a national system of teacher education. This fact, linked with the great economic, social and cultural diversity of the country, means that it is unwise to leave the discussion of education in Brazil at the level of broad generalizations. In order to give this study greater focus, a detailed study of education, and particularly the education of teachers for first level schools, in a single state is presented. The state selected for this study is Paraíba. It is not a "typical" or "average" state, as nothing could be presented as typical of the diversity of the country as a whole. It is, however, a poor state, which illustrates the problems discussed in this study at a general level.

This chapter deals with some of the determinants of teacher education development in Paraíba state, including a brief summary of the socio-economic situation and its implications for the educational system. The aim of this chapter is to outline the principal features of the Paraíba setting, in relation to teacher training for first level school teachers within the perspective of the society with which it deals.

6.2 The Social Context of Education

To understand the problems of education in Paraíba state it is necessary to refer to the context of the social relations in which the education is set. This also links with one of the issues raised in Chapter 1.0 of this study, that effective reform of the curriculum of teacher preparation must be based in the social and economic realities of the environment. Clearly, efforts to reform the education system can only be evaluated against that background.

6.2.1 Historical Background of Paraíba

Paraíba, or Parahyba, is a name of Tupi Indian origin formed from the words para and hiba, meaning "arm of the river". It was founded on 5 August, 1585, as the captaincy of Itamaraca. A captaincy was a kind of fiefdom granted by the Portuguese crown. The name of the capital was itself formerly Paraíba, but it was changed to honour the memory of a former governor, Joao Pessoa, a reformist and vice presidential candidate whose assassination in 1930 helped spark the revolution that brought Getulio Vargas to national power in Brazil.

The first part of Brazil to become wealthy in the 16th century when the Portuguese established the world's first large-scale sugar cane plantations with African slave labour was the North East, and Paraíba shared in the sugarcane riches of the period.

Economic and political power fell inevitably into the hands of a few families due to the fact that sugar required large investments, cheap labour and machinery. Paraíba state shares with other North-eastern states the characteristics of that area which led later to severe socio-economic and cultural problems.

Section 6.2.2 gives a brief overview of the three main geographical and agricultural regions of the North-east of Brazil where Paraíba State is situated.

6.2.2 Northeastern Brazil

The population of North-east Brazil is 37 million inhabitants (1981). That population exceeds every country in Latin America except Brazil itself (Ramos, 1982). With such a huge population one may expect complex socio-economic organization.

The North-east of Brazil can be divided, geographically and agriculturally, into three main regions, as follows;

- (1) the "Zona da Mata" or coastal lowlands,
- (2) the "Sertão" or arid interior, and
- (3) the "Agreste" or agricultural hinterland.

These regions have their own economic characteristics which are described briefly here so that Paraíba can be seen within its context of growth and development.

(1) The "Zona da Mata" or coastal lands

The "Zona da Mata" with its hot, humid climate and two well

defined seasons - one rainy and the other dry - has the great urban concentrations.

Historically, the Zona da Mata was devoted to sugar production on large latifundios. The main crop was sugar, and the region was prosperous, at least in the sense that sugar cane was a profitable crop. There was, however, an extremely large gulf between the rich land owners and the slaves, and subsequently peasant classes. In the production of sugar the North-east has suffered from the disadvantages of its poorly developed system of communication, and distance from major markets, both in Brazilian terms and in international terms. The sugar industry has been in more or less continuous decline for two centuries, while sugar production in the south of Brazil has increased. The result of this has been an increasing impoverishment of the Zona da Mata, imposed on a social order which means that the poor have suffered extreme privation.

More recently, industrialisation has come to the North-east, principally to the Zona da Mata. The availability of concentrations of capital in the hands of a small and powerful elite, linked with Federal Government aid policies, have meant that the industrial developments which have been sponsored have been capital rather than labour intensive, and that industrial expansion has taken place within the existing social order rather than reforming it. The social structure of the cities is still similar to that of the agricultural society which preceded

urbanization, with a great divide between the rich and poor.

(2) The "Sertao" or arid interior

The Sertao is also hot but dry, where drought has periodically destroyed the vegetation, wreaked havoc on the animals and forced people to migrate.

Apart from the fact that the major agricultural activity is the raising of cattle rather than sugar production, many of the remarks on the Zona da Mata apply with equal force to the Sertao. In the nineteenth century it was discovered that cotton could be grown successfully in this region, and many people moved to the area to establish smallholdings (Mitchell, 1981, p.3). However, this development took place within the context of large scale land holdings owned by a small class, and tenancy agreements are generally unfavourable to the smallholders. A further complication is added by the fact that this region, which is always dry, is subject to periods of devastating drought. In these periods the region is unable to support its population, and migration or starvation are the natural consequences. It is estimated that the drought of 1877-78 resulted in the deaths of half a million people (Ibid.).

(3) The "Agreste" or agricultural hinterland

The Agreste, with its smallholdings and mixed farming is a transitional area between the Zona da Mata and the Sertao, with some stretches of land almost as humid as the Zona da Mata, and others as dry as the Sertao. The Agreste has largely been

populated by people fleeing the harsh conditions, social and economic as well as climatic, in the other two regions. The farmers grow a variety of agricultural products on relatively small plots. Farming of this type has been the major growth area in agriculture in Paraiba, producing the bulk of food for the whole state. It should again be noted that land ownership presents a major source of power, and that much of the land is owned by a relatively small number of people.

The State of Paraiba cuts across these three regions, with roughly half of the interior being "Sertao". The agricultural patterns of these regions are common to all the states of the North-east (Vaughan-Williams, 1981, p.118).

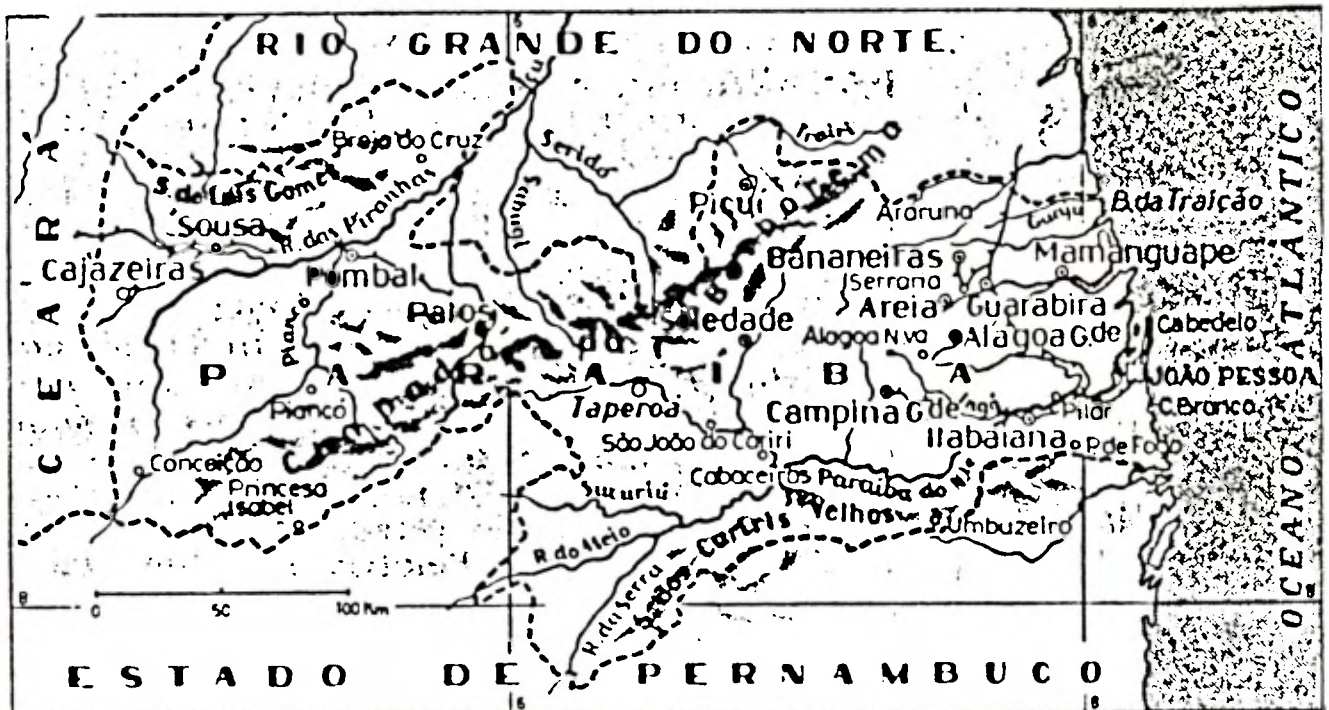
A map of the State of Paraiba is given below, in Section 6.2.3.

6.2.3 Location of Physical Features, Population and Socio-Economic Structure of Paraiba

(1) Location of Physical Features

The map below shows that Paraiba is situated in the eastern region of the North-east of Brazil and occupies an area of 56,372 km² on the Atlantic coast, which represents 6.66% of the Brazilian territory. It borders the states of Rio Grande do Norte (north), Ceara (west), and Pernambuco (south). Its chief river, the Paraiba, rises on the Pernambuco border and flows toward the sea past the state capital, Joao Pessoa, 11 miles from the port of Cabedelo.

In the east Paraíba has a narrow coastline of sandy beaches and dunes. There is no coastal plain; from the sea-board the land rises abruptly to the coastal mesas (taboleiros), which together with a few inland river valleys, provides the principal wealth of the state (cotton, sugar, sisal, tobacco, corn (maize), cocoa, oiticica oil and hides).



Source: J.Lelio and E.Lelio (1961) *Dicionario Practico Ilustrado*: Porto, p.1945.

(2) Population

In 1970 the population of Paraíba was more than 2,383,000, and in 1980 it exceeded 2,77,000, registering a birthrate of 1.51 per cent per annum. Over this period, the infant mortality rate was 153.5 per 1,000 live births, and the urban migration rate (male

and female together) was 12.9 per cent per annum.

(3) Socio-economic Structure of Paraíba and Its Implications for Education Policies

In Paraíba, fifty per cent of the economically active population is concentrated in the primary activities of agriculture including cattle-raising, vegetable cultivation and fishing. A great majority of the population is concentrated in badly paid activities. Over the last five years, 88 per cent of the territory of Paraíba has been devastated by drought, thus reducing economic productivity to very low levels. This has had a major impact on the economy of the state, which is still heavily dependent on agriculture. The revenue per capita of the state in 1980 was the second lowest in the country.

In Paraíba, the rapid growth of the secondary and tertiary economic sectors is very noticeable, especially in the trade and service industries. (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Economically Active Population by Sector of Activity - 1960/1980

SECTOR OF ACTIVITY	1960		1970		1980	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Cattle farming, vegetable cultivation and fishing	436,526	13.3	437,937	64.8	421,545	50.0
2. Industrial activities	35,285	6.0	58,576	8.7	120,785	14.3
3. Tertiary Sector	125,543	20.7	178,896	26.5	300,976	35.7
3.1. Trade and Commerce	26,224	4.4	39,677	5.9	77,100	9.1
3.2. Sub-contract Services	49,933	8.4	52,083	7.7	84,131	10.0
3.3. Transport and Communication and Storage	14,848	2.5	16,521	2.4	29,545	3.5
3.4. Social Activity	12,451	2.1	26,472	3.9	29,545	3.5
3.5. Public Administration	11,482	1.9	20,690	3.1	28,608	3.4
3.6. Other Activities	8,604	1.4	23,455	3.5	12,201	1.5
Total	595,354	100.0	675,409	100.0	843,305	100.0

Source: FIPLAN, Social Indicators of Paraíba State, in **Plano Estadual de Educacao : 1984-1987**, Joao Pessoa, Pb, 1983b, p.21.

The economic problems of the region can only be overcome with the assistance of concerted action from the Federal Government. This has long been recognised, with Federal support to the region being coordinated through the **Superintendencia para o Desenvolvimento do Nordeste** - SUDENE - and a good deal of assistance for agriculture and industry has been provided (Brazilian Embassy, 1965, p.20). However, the drought control support typifies both the style of assistance and many of the consequences.

The Federal Government has funded a small number of large scale projects, including dams and reservoirs for irrigation purposes. The precise location of these projects has been decided by local political considerations, which has generally meant that they have served the interests of one principal land owner rather than the broader range of the population. This led to the government programme being called "The Drought Business" (Mitchell, 1981, p.4). Similarly, assistance to industry, generally in the form of reduced taxation, has encouraged the development of industries which employ very few people.

Some Federal Government programmes have been directed towards increasing employment, notably the building of roads in periods of drought, but the fact remains that such schemes have had very little impact on social conditions. The very large majority of people in the region are on very low incomes, live in poor housing conditions with minimal amenities. Poor social conditions are the general rule in both rural and urban areas. The demand for labour in the state is growing much less rapidly than the population, and the labour market has not been able to absorb the increasing number of people in the area. This has depressed wages, and makes the North-eastern states the part of the country with the biggest emmigration rates, as people move towards the urban South in search of employment.

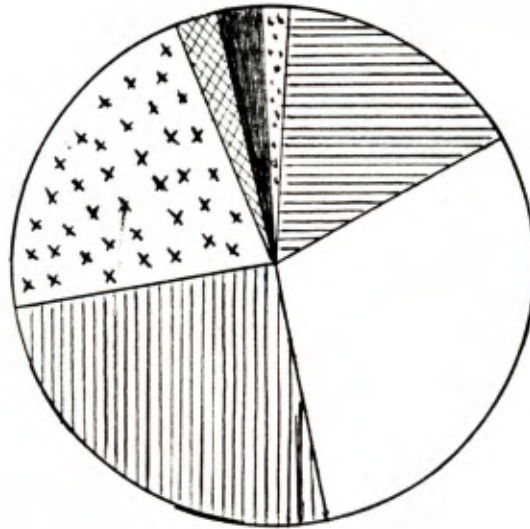
In this context, even the simple facts of income distribution








need to be interpreted rather differently than would be necessary in other regions. Figure 6.1 shows the distribution of incomes in terms of the statutory minimum wage. It should be noted, however, that the statutory minimum wage is low (\$68 per month in 1972) and of virtually no practical significance. S.Mitchell (1981, p.1) observes that, "This minimum salary is notional, since many of those who are salaried are paid less, and those paid more are persuaded to think that any extra is a high favour", and that the income of a reasonably successful doctor would be about fifteen times the statutory minimum. There is therefore some difficulty in identifying a "middle class", as this class has not developed to any appreciable extent in Paraiba.

In 1980, amongst the economically active population (individuals of 10 or more years of age, who were economically active), 16.2 per cent had no cash income. 71.8 per cent of the population of the state earned less than the statutory minimum salary (including those who had no cash income at all). Only 3.1 per cent of the active population received more than five times minimum salary. The percentage of the population with no monthly income is the second highest in the North-east (Figure 6.1). the percentage of the population with no monthly income is the second highest in the North-east (Governo do Estado da Paraiba, 1983b).

Figure 6.1: Distribution of the Economically Active Population by Monthly Income(*)

(Fractions of the minimum wage)



	16.2% without salary		0.9% undeclared
	29.4% less than 1/2		26.2% 1/2 to 1
	20.9% 1 to 3		3.3% 3 to 5
	3.1% more than 5		

(*) Including 32,973 people looking for employment

Source: Secretaria da Educacao e Cultura, Plano Estadual de Educacao: 1984-1987, Joao Pessoa, 1983, p.23.

The worst problems of the state are political, and can only be overcome by political reforms, among which the most important would be land reform. But the state government has kept away from any such controversial measures. Federal direction would be necessary to bring any major improvement to the state, and, ironically, Federal aid to Paraiba has actually decreased over the last twenty years, as the Federal Government has become more interested in the development of the Amazon Region.

Against this background it should perhaps be noted that those trends remarked by Lawlor (1985) in Brazil generally, the growth of industrialisation and the development of a middle class, have had some effect in Paraiba, only later and slower than the rest of Brazil. In agriculture the major growth has been in smallholdings which produce a variety of fruits and vegetables, and the industrial sector has grown, though not rapidly enough to absorb the growing population. It is in the developing areas of agriculture and industry that a role for education can be identified which might help further development.

An education system which promoted skills which were relevant to the development of small scale industrial concerns, whether in agriculture or industry, could do something to spread the benefits of economic development more widely than they are at present. The exact detail of such curricular developments would need to be linked to local conditions, to take into account the regional variation even within the State of Paraiba, but what is very clear is that the present academic and literary curriculum

cannot serve these functions. Nor has the "professionalization" of education had much impact.

The education system is over-stretched by the number of students who need to be catered for. The poor economy of the region has been further damaged by drought, and insufficient resources are available for any of the social services, including education. The North-east of Brazil has a higher proportion of young people than the national average. In 1976, 34 per cent of all children of school age in the country lived in the North-east, and the concentrations were highest in the rural areas, where the poorest people were (Carvalho, 1981, p.20). This places great strain on the finances of municipalities in these areas, because the municipalities have traditionally been, and to a large extent still are, responsible for the provision of first level education, but are unable to raise finances locally.

In these circumstances the most pressing economic need of poor students in the schools is employment, any kind of employment. There are few jobs open to them, and none which are well paid. Educational qualifications are practically irrelevant to the majority, and the content of education even more so. When employment is available, students leave school, without giving much consideration to the benefits which education might offer. Only the learned professions of medicine and law offer any real escape from the trap of poverty, and this involves such a great investment of time to education as to be virtually unattainable

for the vast majority of people in Paraiba. Teaching offers escape from starvation, but not from poverty.

For the vast majority of students, therefore, education is little more than a waiting period before employment. They leave when economic circumstances dictate, with the result that a large proportion of the adult population are illiterate. This is also reflected in the high drop out rate in the state.

Repetition and drop out are very common within the poorer segments of the population and are responsible for much of the difference between the goals and the actual results of the efforts to universalize elementary education. Repetition and drop out can be partly accounted for by the unfavourable conditions of the schools, such as;

- (i) poor location,
- (ii) inadequate time schedule,
- (iii) deprived environment, and
- (iv) poor quality of teaching.

However, there is general agreement that the main cause of repetition and drop out is the inadequacy of the mental development and behaviour of the poor children. A large number of those poor children, those who either do not have access to school or do not adjust to it, go through life assuring the continuity of the cycle of poverty (misery) by the formation of families with the same conditions of penury (hardship), and "marginalization" in which they have lived themselves (da Silva,

1979).

"Marginalization" and "Cultural Marginalization" have been among the factors most frequently cited to account for repetition and subsequent drop out of poor children. "Cultural Marginalization" was a term proposed by Poppovic (1973, in Dantas, 1979) to describe a range of dynamic and mutable environmental characteristics. Werebe (1963, in Dantas, 1979, p.97) has also pointed out that if the percentage of repetition is calculated by social class, it is seen that repetition and drop out are more significant within schools attended by the children of the lower social classes, the so called "poor children".

In this social context attending school is a privilege. Of those who are 5 years old and more 56.3 per cent have no schooling. Only 8 per cent of the population reach the level of the former "Ginasio", i.e. the second phase of the first level education. In the second level of education, only 3.8 per cent are enrolled. Higher education is a privilege of 1.7 per cent. (All figures for 1983, from Governo do Estado da Paraiba, 1983b, p.20.) As well as these low schooling statistics, the educational "marginalization" of great segments of the population manifests itself in the internal organization of the system by the phenomenon of the distortion of the relationship between age and grade. This phenomenon is related to the lack of access to school at the right age, and the fact that many students return to school after a temporary exclusion, and to repetition, which are

symptoms of "marginalization". This is a result, in part, of the curriculum at school: content, methods of teaching and the process of evaluating the pupils' learning. Law No.5692/71 requires schools to provide "recovery classes" for those children who have fallen behind in their studies in this way, but in Paraiba very few schools provide such classes (Ministerio da Educacao e Cultura, 19/1a, Article 14).

6.3. The Educational System

6.3.1. Pre-School: enrolment

In 1978 there were in the whole state only 124 pre-schools (Table 6.2) with a total of 8,198 pupils and 415 teachers. There were no pre-schools in rural areas. 86 per cent of all pre-school provision was in private control. This minimal level of pre-school education represents provision for only a tiny fraction of the total population between the ages of two and six, the ages for which these schools cater. Overall, about 3 percent of children in the state are in pre-school institutions, and in rural areas even less (Peres, 1984).

Table 6.2: Summary of Educational Statistics for the State of
Paraiba - 1978 - Pre-School Education

Administrative Authority	Location	Schools	Classrooms	Initial Enrolment	Teachers
Federal	Total	-	-	-	-
	Rural	-	-	-	-
State	Total	8	15	507	22
	Rural	-	-	-	-
Municipal	Total	9	12	491	24
	Rural	-	-	-	-
Private	Total	107	202	7,200	369
	Rural	-	-	-	-
Total	Total	124	229	8,198	415
	Rural	-	-	-	-

Source: ASINE - Secretaria da Educacao e Cultura, Pb, in Peres, J., (1984) *Educacao na Paraiba: problemas e desafios*, Joao Pessoa, Secretaria da Educacao e Cultura, p.70.

There was a substantial and rapid increase in the level of provision between 1978 (124 schools) and 1982 (341 schools). This increase of 175 percent, was more than matched by the increase of enrolments, as the average size of pre-school establishment increased. Over the same period the number of children enrolled increased from 8,198 to 25,606. There were 415 teachers in 1978 and 1,089 in 1982. (See Table 6.3). Again, in spite of the improvement which was brought about, in one sense, it should be noted that the average teacher pupil ration deteriorated during this period of expansion.

Table 6.3: Summary of Educational Statistics for the State of
Paraiba - 1982 - Pre-School Education

Administrative Authority	Location	Schools	Classrooms	Initial Enrolment	Teachers
Federal	Total	2	3	96	6
	Rural	1	2	36	3
State	Total	76	94	4,714	149
	Rural	2	2	98	3
Municipal	Total	65	86	3,709	168
	Rural	4	5	204	14
Private	Total	198	418	17,087	766
	Rural	2	4	195	5
Total	Total	341	601	25,606	1,089
	Rural	9	13	533	25

Source: ASINE - Secretaria da Educacao e Cultura, Pb, in Peres, J., (1984) **Educacao na Paraiba: problemas e desafios**, Joao Pessoa, Secretaria da Educacao e Cultura, p.75.

Despite the increase of enrolment in pre-school the pupils of state schools constituted only 18 per cent of the total enrolments in 1982, while 67 per cent were enrolled in private schools and 14 per cent in municipal schools.

Over the whole country, according to data of the Ministry of Education-Statistics Department (1975-1983), there were in 1978, 12,997 pre-school establishments; of those 5,946 were private. The number of children enrolled in the same year was 944,589.

The number of pre-schools increased in Brazil as a whole between 1978 and 1982 from 12,997 to 23,098. The number of children

enrolled increased to 3,866,868. (This total includes children under two years of age, who technically should not have been in pre-school establishments at all.) There were 45,255 teachers in 1978, and 81,049 in 1982.

6.3.2. Teachers

If one divides the teachers of the pre-school in Paraíba according to their educational background, the largest single group, 47 per cent in 1982, were unqualified. Even among the qualified a great number had not special training to teach in pre-schools (Table 6.4).

The situation in relation to the whole country was the following, in 1982:- Of a total of 81,049 teachers, 5,012 had only the first level education and 49,109 second level education in Normal School and 3,012 other second level education courses.

Table 6.4: Teachers in Pre-School Education by Level of Education
1982

Administrative Authority	Location	Total	Teachers							
			1st Level	2nd Level	3rd Level	Other	Form Pedagog.	Other		
			Comp-lete	Comp. Incom-lete	Comp. Incom-lete	Comp. Incom-lete	Comp. Incom-lete	Comp. Incom-lete	Comp. Incom-lete	
Federal	Total	6	-	2	-	3	-	-	-	-
	Rural	3	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
State	Total	149	2	74	7	7	2	23	18	9
	Rural	3	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Municipal	Total	168	10	69	13	7	7	7	19	2
	Rural	14	1	1	2	1	1	-	-	-
Private	Total	766	46	262	103	70	50	78	68	16
	Rural	5	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-
Total	Total	1,089	58	407	123	87	59	108	105	27
	Rural	25	1	3	4	3	2	-	-	-

Source: ASINE - Secretaria da Educacao e Cultura, Pb, in Peres, J., (1984) **Educacao na Paraiba: problemas e desafios**, Joao Pessoa, Secretaria da Educacao e Cultura, p.76.

The overall picture which emerges from these figures, and one which is reinforced by the information which follows on other levels of education, is that Paraiba is still in the early stages of expansion, where the emphasis is on increasing enrolments, with little attention being paid to the quality of education. It was noted in connection with Latin America as a whole and Brazil that this early phase was commonly followed by a period in which increasing attention was paid to quality. In Paraiba, where material resources for education are scarce, the expansion of enrolments has not yet reached a point where quality becomes the major focus of attention. Naturally, this does not indicate that quality is not an important issue in Paraiba, but does indicate that it has not yet been raised to the level where it has a major impact on policy. Thus the **State Plan for Education 1984 to 1987** sets the expansion of education as the main priority, although stating that quality will also need to be improved (Governo do Estado da Paraíba, Secretaria da Educacao, 1983b, p.45).

In this plan a number of measures are proposed which are designed to improve the quality of the educational system, which would indicate that, even though quality is not the first priority of the government, issues of the quality of education are important in Paraiba as they are in the rest of Brazil. These measures deal with (Ibid, p.97);

1. Salaries and status of teachers,
2. Pre-school education,
3. Community education, and
4. Improvement of physical education and sport.

6.3.3. First level Education

Despite Law 5,692/71 which established that first level education must be compulsory and free, in Paraíba state the population enrolled (7 to 14 years old) does not correspond to the demand. In 1977 the rate of enrolment was 66.4 per cent of the population between 7 to 14 years of age, well below the national average for that period. Considering that over the period 1977 - 1982 the population of school age increased by 8.4 per cent, it can be seen that competition to enter school is still a big problem (Table 6.5). This poor performance of the first level educational system was reflected in high rates of illiteracy. Between 1970 and 1976 the North-east had one of the highest illiteracy rates in the country, and achieved least in reducing it over that period. Illiteracy stood at 54.7 per cent in 1970 and 44.3 per cent in 1976 (Carvalho, 1981, p.23).

Taking into account the population in rural and urban areas one can see that the former is at a disadvantage in relation to the latter. While the demand decreased between 1977 and 1980 (1.41%) the availability of places decreased: from 61.7 per cent in 1977 its rate was 59.5 per cent in 1982 (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: First Level Education, and School Age Population (7 to 14); population enrolled and ratio of attendance by location
Paraiba - 1977/1982

Year	School Age Population 7 to 14 years (1)			Enrolment 7 to 14 years			Rate of Enrolment (2)		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
1977	571,087	266,265	304,822	378,947	190,921	188,026	66.4	71.7	61.7
1978	580,427	276,174	304,253	391,401	201,465	189,936	67.4	72.9	62.4
1979	589,919	286,451	303,468	385,247	209,653	175,954	65.3	73.2	57.9
1980	599,568	297,110	302,458	388,361	220,583	167,778	64.8	74.2	55.5
1981	609,373	308,166	301,207	401,358	230,163	171,195	65.9	74.7	56.8
1982	618,789	318,255	300,534	421,402	242,547	178,855	68.0	76.2	59.5

Source: ASINE - Secretaria da Educacao e Cultura, Pb, in Peres, J., (1984) **Educacao na Paraiba: problemas e desafios**, Joao Pessoa, Secretaria da Educacao e Cultura, p.89.

Notes: (1) Estimated Figures

(2) $\frac{\text{Enrolments between 7 and 14}}{\text{School Age Population between 7 and 14}} \times 100$

The problems of repetition and drop-out are the most serious (Table 6.6). At various levels of the educational system these problems are acute, with the largest problems in the first, second and fifth grades of first level education (Table 6.7).

Table 6.6: First Level Education, Total Enrolment by Grade
Paraiba - 1979/1981

Grade	Total Enrolment		
	1979	1980	1981
1a	233,393	236,730	249,384
2a	75,053	78,441	80,842
3a	54,474	57,656	59,731
4a	43,505	43,708	45,044
5a	38,593	40,506	43,033
6a	30,888	31,375	32,788
7a	26,116	27,552	27,642
8a	20,563	22,189	23,411
TOTAL	522,585	538,157	561,875

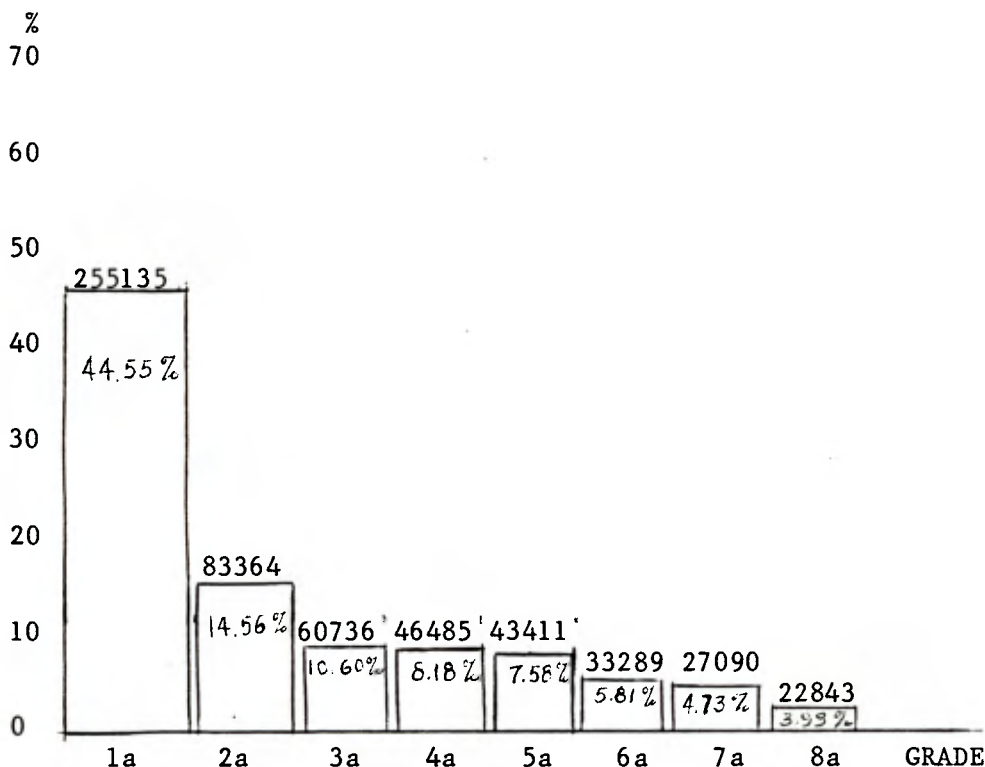
Source: ASINE - Secretaria da Educacao e Cultura, Pb, in Peres, J., (1984) **Educacao na Paraiba: problemas e desafios**, Joao Pessoa, Secretaria da Educacao e Cultura, p.130.

Table 6.7: First Level Education, Drop-outs by Grade
Paraiba - 1979/1981

Grade	1979		1980		1981	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1a	32,393	13.9	36,156	15.3	39,068	15.7
2a	7,340	9.8	9,044	11.5	10,302	12.7
3a	5,037	9.2	6,206	10.8	6,729	11.3
4a	3,579	8.2	4,317	9.9	4,442	9.9
5a	4,396	11.4	5,555	13.7	6,430	14.9
6a	2,891	9.4	3,584	11.4	4,018	12.3
7a	2,378	9.1	2,745	10.0	3,206	11.6
8a	1,251	6.1	1,726	7.8	2,083	8.9
TOTAL	59,265	11.3	69,333	12.9	76,278	13.6

Source: ASINE - Secretaria da Educacao e Cultura, Pb, in Peres, J., (1984) **Educacao na Paraiba: problemas e desafios**, Joao Pessoa, Secretaria da Educacao e Cultura, pp.131-132.

Figure 6.3: Distribution of the Initial Enrolment in the First Level Education by Grade - Paraiba 1982



Source: Secretaria da Educacao da Paraiba, Plano Estadual de Educacao: 1984-1987, Joao Pessoa, 1983, p.39.

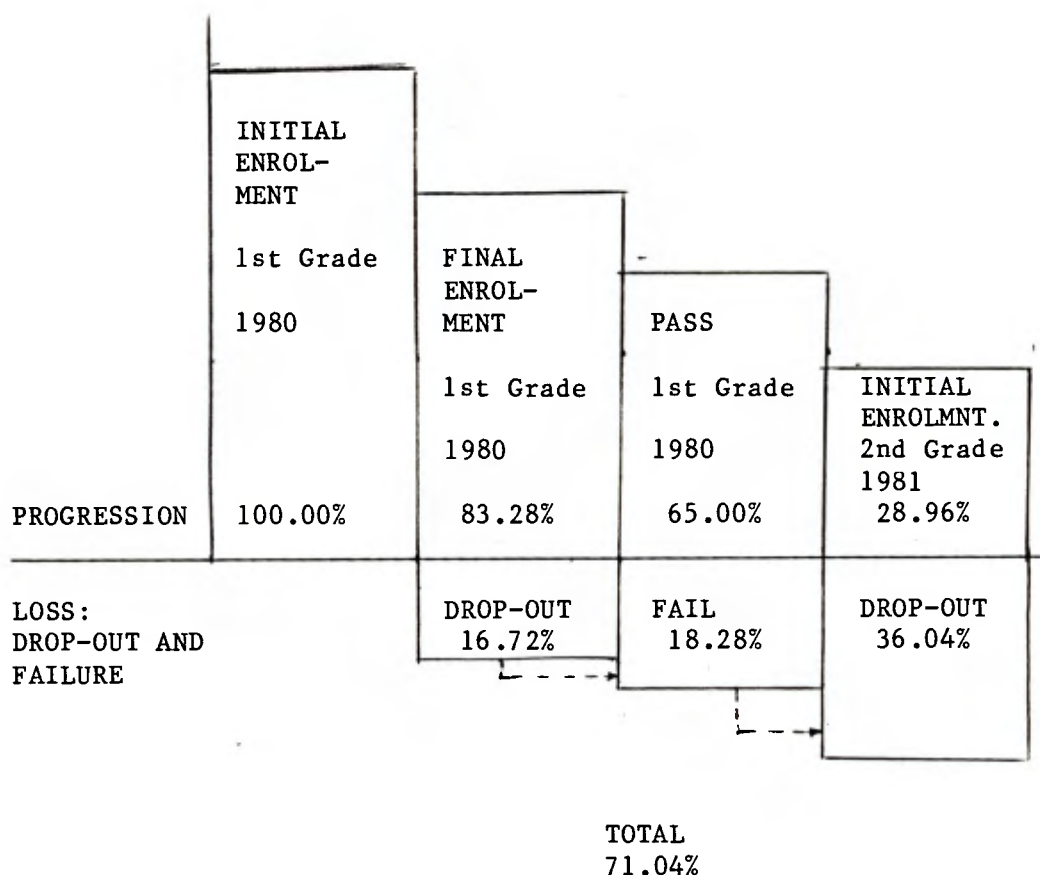
The rate of progression from the first to the second grade, (1977-1982) was worse than 29 per cent of the total initial enrolment in the first grade, which means that 71 per cent of the children either repeat the same year or drop out. In 1980, in relation to the initial enrolment the real drop-out in the first grade of the first level education was of 52.76 per cent and the number of failures was of 18.28 per cent (Table 6.8 and Figure 6.4).

Table 6.8: Progression from the First to Second Grade (First Level Education) Paraiba 1977/1982

Year	First Grade	Enrolment Second Grade		Progression (1) %	
		with repeaters	without repeaters	Apparent	Real
1977	243,698				
1978		72,476	63,817	29.74	26.19
1978	247,434				
1979		73,922	63,771	29.88	25.77
1979	233,764				
1980		76,662	65,682	32.79	28.15
1980	230,993				
1981		78,332	66,905	33.91	28.96
1981	244,268				
1982		83,364	70,207	34.13	28.74

Source: Secretaria da Educacao da Paraiba, **Plano Estadual de Educacao: 1984-1987**, Joao Pessoa, 1983b, p.35.

Figure 6.4: Progression, Failure and Drop-out of Pupils of the First Grade of First Level Education



Source: Secretaria da Educacao da Paraiba, *Plano Estadual de Educacao: 1984-1987*, Joao Pessoa, 1983, p.37.

The enrolment in the eighth grade was in 1982 less than 4 per cent of the total enrolment of the first level education in 1982, while 44.55 per cent was in the first grade (Figure 6.3).

In relation to the whole country, data of the Ministry of Education-Statistics Department (year 1973-1983) shows that in 1977 the initial enrolment in the first level education was 20,566,760. In 1980 the total enrolment was of 19,384,642. Of those 4,656,012 were in the rural area. In 1981, the total enrolment was 22,472,979 (Ministerio da Educacao, 1984).

The rate of drop-out in the whole country in 1981 was 10.37 per cent. The percentage of repeaters was 20.37 in the same year (Ibid). In discussing drop-out rates and grade repeating in connection with Brazil as a whole, the connection has already been drawn between high rates and poor quality in education. From these figures it is clear that although less attention has focused on this issue in Paraiba, the problems of quality in first level education are as severe as, or more severe than, in other parts of the country.

In fact, repetition and drop-out rates are lower in Paraiba and other states in the North-east than the national average. But the national picture is complex, and these raw repetition and drop-out rates are difficult to interpret. In part, Paraiba has low rates of repetition and drop-out because it has low gross enrolment figures, which mean that many children who would drop out are not enrolled in the first place. But this is only part of the picture, as the South-east urban area of Brazil has the lowest drop-out rates and highest enrolment in the country. Preventing drop-out is therefore closely linked to the level of provision in some regions. In this connection it is worth noting that in Paraiba and the North-east drop-out is a larger problem in rural areas (See Table 6.9).

6.3.4. Teacher Qualification

In terms of the quality of education, the case has already been made that the quality of teacher preparation is of central importance. The central issue of this study is the failure of teacher preparation to keep pace with the changes in the schools. This relates to the quality of the courses which are provided to prepare teachers. However, in Paraíba, the question of what kind of teacher preparation is given is almost dwarfed by the question of whether teachers receive any specific preparation at all.

In 1981 there were in the whole state of Paraíba, according to data of the Secretary of Education-PB, 66.1 per cent of teachers (first level education) without qualification. In 1982 the percentage slightly decreased to 65.67 per cent. This problem was a great deal worse in the rural areas where, in 1982, this percentage of unqualified teachers was 85.93 per cent.

Considering that these rates of unqualified teachers, whose level of education does not go further than the first level (the total of these teachers was 9,356), and also considering that 3,157 who do not have pedagogical preparation of second level education (Normal School), we have a total of 12,553 teachers that need special attention.

Once again, this does not mean that the quality of teacher education is not a problem in Paraíba, and this forms the specific issue dealt with in the next chapter. It should be

noted, however, that in spite of the federal legislation, simply providing some training for teachers presents considerable difficulties in Paraiba, as in other poor parts of Brazil (Ministerio da Educacao e Cultura, 1971, Article 30, a).

6.3.5 The Training in The Normal Schools

Given the grave situation outlined in the previous section, serious attention must be paid to the general level of teacher education. A report of the situation in the institutions for training primary school teachers in Paraiba state is presented here.

The training of teachers for pre-school and first level education (grades 1 to 4) is responsibility of the Normal Schools. The number of qualified teachers for those level of education is not sufficient yet, as was shown previously. In view of this shortfall in the performance of the Normal Schools, and in order to reduce the number of unqualified teachers the state government established a short-term training, but it is still a long way from getting a reasonable number of qualified teachers.

Even so, some advances have been made, and according to data (Table 6.9) the enrolment in Normal Schools increased by 38 per cent in the period of 1980-1982. This increase, although considerably less than the targets set in the Unesco Regional Conferences, does mean that in relative terms, the increase which

occurred in this sector of education was greater than that in initial enrolment in the whole of second level education.

Table 6.9: Normal Schools - Initial Enrolment

Year	Initial Enrolment	Index
1980	4,206	100
1981	4,450	106
1982	5,816	138

Source: ASINE - Secretaria da Educacao e Cultura, Pb, in Peres, J., (1984) **Educacao na Paraiba: problemas e desafios**, Joao Pessoa, Secretaria da Educacao e Cultura, p.281.

In relation to the teachers who teach in the Normal Schools, in the main they have teacher training certificate or pedagogical preparation. Those who have a qualification inferior to the university level correspond to 18 per cent of the total.

Considering second level education as a whole, the number of teachers was 4,008 in 1982. Of those 16 per cent or 554 were teaching in the Normal Schools.

In 1982 the other courses of second level education had an enrolment of 53,519 pupils and the number of teachers was 3,454. The Normal Schools enrolled 5,736 pupils and the number of teachers working in those schools was 554. This means that, on average, staffing levels were more favourable in Normal Schools

than in other areas of secondary education. Such figures are difficult to interpret. Looked at positively, this could well represent a resource in the Normal Schools which could be devoted to the improvement of quality and quantity in teacher preparation. However, on the more negative side, it may also reflect a certain amount of difficulty in attracting students of the right calibre to the teaching profession.

There is considerable variation within Paraiba, when one takes into account the size of the state the number of the establishments offering teaching courses. The number of institutions is small, and its distribution is unequal; in some cases there is only one school covering more than five municipalities. Also, it has to be pointed out that there is no Normal School in rural areas where there is a great number of unqualified teachers teaching in grades 1 to 4 of the first level education.

In 1982 a third of those institutions belonged to the state government and 64 per cent to private institutions. Since 1982, at least four new Normal Schools have been opened, but these are in similar locations to the longer established Normal Schools, and none are in rural areas.

This preliminary considerations indicate a historical condition of under-development, familiar to all who deals with education in the North-east of Brazil, and in particular, in Paraiba state.

6.4. Priorities and Directives of The Secretary of Education-Paraiba

The proposal of the State Educational Plan for the period 1984 to 1987, is to attend to the priorities and directives defined by the analysis of the state educational system.

In his speech, in December, 1983, the Secretary of Education-Paraiba declared:

"The fulfilment of the Constitutional duty of guaranteeing education for all "Paraibanos" of school age and the consequent right of the individual to first-level education constitutes the basic priority of the Secretary of Education, in his obligation to coordinate all the effort of the 'paraiban' society to execute the duty to educate and make favourable the right to education" (Governo do Estado da Paraiba, 1983, p.13).

Such a statement emphasises, as was noted before, the fact that in policy terms the government of Paraiba is very much more concerned with increasing the enrolments in schools than in safeguarding quality. In accordance with this view, the priorities established in the State Educational Plan put access to first level education for all as the basic priority, and concern over the distribution of education to less privileged groups as a second priority:

A - Basic Priority

- To guarantee education, at least from the first to the fourth grade of first level education to the school age population, emphasizing the rural areas and the deprived urban areas.

B - Second Priority

- To guarantee supplementary education to deprived areas.

The government sought to establish these priorities in practice by issuing four directives on the focus of educational policy in the state:

1. Expansion of the educational opportunities in the first level, assuring the access and permanence of the school age population in the system;
2. Improvement of the quality of teaching aiming at the progress of the pupil and correction of the distortion age/grade;
3. Progressive reduction of the number of unqualified teachers in the fourth grades of the first level education.
4. Improvement of human resources and technical administrative reorganisation in the Normal Schools.

(Governo da Paraiba, 1983b, pp.46-47)

Those priorities and directives are included in the "Emergency Programmes", and include the expansion and improvement of the fourth grades of the first level education as well as the absorption of the school age population (7 to 14 years).

In order to achieve these priorities the government of Paraiba introduced specific plans to improve the educational system. Among measures which it felt would be helpful in increasing induction into the first grade of education it included the improvement of school buildings and the physical environment of

the school, and improving the supply of human resources (teachers) to the schools. In general this meant increasing the level of provision within specific schools, which was to be achieved by increasing the participation of the community, and by increasing state support, technical and pedagogical assistance, to the municipalities.

To improve the retention of pupils in the system, and promote their progress through the schools the state government proposed the improvement of in-service training, of salaries and status of teachers, combined with improved supervision of the teachers' work. It was also proposed that the school day be extended, and that the school calendar be adjusted to local requirements (so as to accommodate harvesting local crops in rural areas and so on). The extension of the school day would involve improvement in the school meal service.

The improvement of the involvement of the community was to be brought about by opening channels of communication through parent teachers' associations, clubs, and using the school buildings for community associations.

The problem of adjusting the relationship between school grade and age centres on the problem of enrolling children in the first grade at the age of seven. Although it is compounded by later repetition of grades, much of this problem is created by children entering the educational system when they are older than they

should be. In Paraiba, nine out of every ten children are older than they should be for the grade of schooling they are attending, and in the first grade it is estimated that 86.6 per cent of pupils are over seven (Governo de Estado da Paraiba, 1983b, p.81).

To rectify this situation, the government proposes that there should be special classes for over-age first grade pupils, an increase in the time in class, through the extension of the school term, and coordination with health services to identify physical and medical difficulties the children may have. More importantly from the point of view of this study, the government suggests that an important goal in promoting the proper progress of pupils through the early grades of school is the adjustment of the curriculum and teaching methods to the interests of the pupils. This has been mentioned as one of the major problems facing education in Brazil, and is identified as such by the Paraiba government (Ibid). This improvement of teaching methods and content is seen as being most crucial in the area of teaching children how to read and write.

Many of these concerns of the Paraiba government serve to emphasize the importance of reforming the system of teacher preparation. Teachers in the first four grades of school, prepared in the Normal Schools, are generalists, with no special preparation in the skills required to teach reading and writing. The professionalization of secondary education has even more severely limited the time which could be made available for

introducing teaching of such skills.

In spite of these measures which are designed to improve provision of primary education, in Brazil as a whole, and in Paraiba especially, the reorganization of the first eight years of education into a unified level of basic education has had important and negative implications on the level of material resources available. Before 1971 the municipalities were responsible for the first four years of education, with minimal support from the state. The second four years of education, or lower secondary education, were largely provided by private schools and the state.

With the unification of these two level of education, responsibility for the first eight years of education passed to the municipalities, with more, but inadequate, support from the state. The situation was made worse by the fact that many of the poorer private schools could not compete with the state and municipal schools where education was provided free, and as a result closed down. Effectively, apart from a few expensive and prestigious schools, the private educational system withdrew from first level education, leaving the municipalities with state support to meet the additional burden of providing the statutory eight years of schooling for all children.

In Paraiba, where the municipalities had very little latitude to increase local taxes, because of the generally poor condition of

the local economy, this had severe implications for the quality of education which could be provided. The municipalities therefore frequently find themselves in a position where they are unable even to maintain the level of education which they are currently providing, at the same time as coming under considerable pressure from state and federal governments to expand the schools. Law No.5692/71 included the possibility of the federal government applying sanctions to municipalities failing to spend at least 20 per cent of their income on compulsory education (Ministerio da Educacao e Cultura, 1971a, Article 59). However, a typical municipality in the North-east has one half of the national average of resources available to it, one third if one considers rural municipalities. In some regions of the North-east, there are rural municipalities with one twentieth of the resources per capita that one might find in a municipality in the state of Sao Paulo (Carvalho, 1981, pp.27-28).

The first level education, foreseen in Law 5,692/71 as compulsory and accessible to all, is in reality, the privilege of few. As has been demonstrated earlier, for every 100 children of school age, in Paraiba State, 32 are out of school. The situation is even worse if one considers the rural areas of Paraiba. Another aspect of this problem is that, of every 100 pupils who begin first level education, only 8 finish (Governo do Estado da Paraiba, 1983b, p.55).

The major preoccupation which remains for those who wish to

improve education at the first level, is simply to absorb the population into the schools. However, improvement of the enrolment rates and retention rates, and securing a more steady progress of all pupils through the schools will do very little to improve the education provided in the classroom unless it is backed up with improvements in the qualifications of teachers.

The improvement of the quality of teaching implies, necessarily, an adequate supply of teachers as well as an increase in the value of their activity. This applies not only to the initial supply and preparation of teachers, but also to the ability of the profession to remain attractive economically and to retain efficient and well qualified teachers. This in turn requires a plan for career development for teachers, and adequate salary levels.

The economic and social position of teachers in the lowest four grades of first level education (formerly primary school teachers) is even worse than for other sections of the teaching profession. Many of these teachers in Paraiba State, especially in rural areas, have salaries which are below the statutory minimum wage for the region, and are obliged to take on more than one position, or take on additional work outside the schools, even to have a modest standard of living. This is a powerful disincentive to staying in the profession, and the most highly qualified teachers frequently leave the profession to seek more lucrative work. For those who stay in the profession, the strain

of long hours of work and working in more than one place has a direct impact on the level of efficiency at which they can perform.

Among the "Emergency Programmes" of the Secretary of Education for the years 1984 to 1987 is one for the training of non-qualified teachers. The objective of this training is to give pedagogical preparation to the teachers of the first level of education, especially those who teach in the first four grades.

6.5 Teacher Preparation

Elementary teachers (now first level school teachers) are prepared in public Normal Schools, private Normal Schools, and municipal schools. These schools are sometimes referred to as second level education school teaching preparation. For students who have graduated from secondary school, it is a three year course, leading to qualification as a teacher of first level school (grades 1 to 4).

To be admitted to a public or state Normal School, a student must first have completed 8 years of first level education (equivalent to 4 years of primary and 4 years of secondary school). The number of students to be admitted is determined each year. The overall number of students the school can accommodate is decided by the school administrators on the basis of guidelines from the Secretary of Education on material resources available and staff/student ratios. However, the number who can be admitted

must be arrived at by subtracting grade repeaters from the overall student figures for the school, as grade repeaters automatically take up their place in the school. Once the number of new entrants is decided, candidates are selected on the basis of tests covering mathematics and communication and expression (Portuguese language and Brazilian literature), their answers to an initial questionnaire, and an interview after they have passed written examinations.

Altogether, a normal school graduate has three years of education in addition to elementary and secondary education. This means that normal school education is equivalent in length, and therefore comes under the same general heading as, other second level professionalizing courses.

In the first year the emphasis in the course is on the general education of the student, and includes communication and expression, social studies and the sciences. As the student progresses through the course, more time is devoted to professional studies, which are further sub-divided into instrumental subjects and specific subjects. The specific subjects represent the theory which directly relates to the students future performance as a teacher, while the instrumental courses are more closely linked to general education appropriate for teachers.

The course of study for the public normal schools is a minimum of

2,850 hours over three years. From this total, 1,620 hours are dedicated to the specific subjects of the course, and of these 810 hours, or 50 per cent, are reserved for instrumental subjects, and the other 810 hours is devoted to special studies (see Table 6.10).

Teaching practice is conducted in first level schools run by the government or municipality. A total of 150 hours of practice is divided into; observation, participation and teaching. For students who are already working as teachers in first level schools (grades 1 to 4) their work may be counted as teaching practice, provided that the teaching practice coordinator is present for at least 30 hours in the school where they work.

When he/she has satisfactorily completed the normal school course, the student receives his/her licence to teach as a permanent primary school teacher (first level school teacher grades 1 to 4).

Table 6.10: Curriculum of the Normal Schools in Paraiba State According to Published Documents

Parts	Subjects	Hours per week			Total Hours by Subject	Hours by Part	
		1st	2nd	3rd			
G E N C E O R M A M L O N E D C U O C R A E T I O N	Commun- ication and Express- ion	Portuguese Language & Brazilian Literature	5			150	
		Foreign Language			2	60	
		Social Studies	History	2			60
			Geography	2			60
			O.S.P.B.		1		30
		Sciences	Mathematics	5			150
			Physical & Biological Sciences				
			- Physics	2			60
			- Chemistry	2			60
			- Biology	2			60
		Subjects of Art.7	EMC/Religious Educ. Artistic Education		2		60
		Law 5962/71	Health Programme Physical Education	3	3	3	270
	Total "A"			23	8	5	1080
S P E C I A L S T U D I E S	I N S T R U C T I O N A L	Artistic Education			2	60	
		Communication & Exp.	3	4		210	
		Social Integration	3	3		180	
		Mathematics	3	4		210	
		Sciences	2	3		150	
		Education Foundation	3	3		180	
		Structure of the Educational System					
		1st Level Educ.	2				60
		Didactics and Teaching Practice					
			- General Didactics	2			60
		- Didactics of Speech		2	3	150	
		- Didactics of Maths.		2	2	120	
		- Didactics of Sciences		2	2	120	
		- Didactics of Soc.Sci.		2	2	120	
Total "B"			7	22	25	1620	
Teaching Practice						150	
General Total			30	30	30	2850	

Source: Secretaria da Educacao e Cultura, Coordenacao do Ensino de 2o Grau, Divisao de Apoio ao Ensino Normal, / 1982

6.6 Curriculum Proposal

The state of Paraiba organised the curriculum for the Normal Schools according to "Opinion" No.349/72 that established the minimum content for professional courses (Table 5.10).

According to the proceedings of the 1983 Seminar for Technicians in Education and Teachers Involved with Normal Schools, the curriculum of Normal Schools in Paraiba state does not match that of the schools of first level education (grades 1 to 4), although many attempts have been undertaken to improve this situation (Governo de Estado da Paraiba, 1983a).

In those meetings problems which make the activities developed in Normal Schools difficult were discussed and analysed. Proposals were suggested in order to improve the teacher training, such as: a salary improvement for teachers, complementary courses, more integration between Normal Schools and schools of first level education, reorganisation of teaching practice, and so on.

Although those actions have been carried out and solutions presented the situation in the Normal Schools is still the same. First, because the state does not have the financial conditions to support all first and second level schools properly and secondly, because of the conservative attitude towards changes especially from the older teachers.

6.7 The Teacher in Service (working conditions)

Public primary school teachers are subject to the general legal requirements governing all public employees and to the Teachers' Statute pertaining specifically to the teaching profession. It performs the same function for teachers of the first and second level education, defining their functional life, their rights, duties and other matters (Governo do Estado da Paraíba, 1981).

To receive a regular appointment as a teacher in any of the public schools, primary school teachers must possess a qualification conferred by the second level school and registered by the Secretary of Education.

Should there be a problem in finding teachers who possess the required qualification, Law 5,692/71, Chapter 8, Article 77 specifies the order of preference according to which candidates will be appointed on a provisional basis.

In the state of Paraíba, appointment of a teacher in the first 4 grades of first level education is made by the Governor of the state. There are two types of contract; emergency for a fixed period, and permanent.

The normal working regime for state teachers is T-20, which corresponds to twenty hours teaching either in the morning or afternoon shift, or serving at one of the system's offices a week. On average a primary school teacher, in Paraíba state works

30 hours per week; 20 hours in the classroom and 10 hours in other activities.

Salaries for primary school teachers are very low in relation to salaries of other professionals. According to Article 80 of the Teacher Statute, teachers will receive payment of salary according to the following criteria;

T-20 number of hours up to 90 work-hours per month;

T-32 number of hours up to 91 to 144 work-hours per month;

T-40 number of hours up to 145 to 180 work-hours per month.

This clearly means that the average teacher in Paraiba is receiving the minimum salary which is legal under the Teachers' Statute.

6.8 In-Service Education for Teachers

With so many teachers (64%) without qualifications (1985), the matter of in-service education assumes great importance. The Secretary of Education has provided programmes for in-service education of teachers such as: training for unqualified teachers; improvement for first level school teachers (grades 1 to 4), improvement for first level school teachers (grades 1 to 8); improvement of teacher in the Normal Schools, and so on.

This in-service training is optional and does not help the promotion prospects of the teacher.

6.9 Problems of the Profession

Primary school teachers in Paraiba state are confronted by many grave problems, such as the poor condition of school buildings, and the lack of instructional materials (books, chalks and maps). Additional problems are those concerning teachers low salaries, frequent lack of qualification, and so on.

The lack of qualification is worse in rural areas. In general, rural teachers are unqualified, they do not have a certificate and are poorly trained. Their working conditions are sometimes difficult; generally they teach the 4 grades in the same room, the so-called "one teacher school". Besides his/her teaching activities, the teacher is also responsible for providing school meals, and carrying out administrative tasks, such as the enrolment of pupils at the beginning of the academic year. There were, in 1985, 425 "one teacher school" in the rural areas of Paraiba state, according to data from the Secretary of Education.

For one thing, young people have tended to bypass the teaching profession for the very reason that its monetary rewards are so low. Consequently, teacher training institutions could not be selective in admitting students.

The prejudices against primary school teachers are reinforced by the salary inequalities. In the state schools, for example, the primary school teacher with university degree gets a higher salary than those who only have a primary school certificate,

even though the university degree cannot be directly relevant to teaching in first level schools (grade 1 to 4) because no university offers courses directly related to this level of education.

6.10 Conclusion

It is clear from the analysis so far that Paraíba exhibits many of the general problems which face first level education in Brazil as a whole. The schools have expanded rapidly, and a group of children are now being drawn into the education system who would previously have been excluded. The Normal Schools have had great difficulties in adjusting to the changing conditions. In Paraíba, the Normal Schools not only face the same problems of preparing for rapid expansion as are faced by Normal Schools all over Brazil, but also face low levels of resources because of the general economic conditions in the state. Moreover, the Normal Schools are not well located geographically to meet the demand for more teachers in all parts of the state.

To some extent the problems of improving the links between the education provided in first level schools and the preparation of teachers for that level have been masked in Paraíba by the more immediate problems of expanding education in purely quantitative terms. However, given the general level of educational provision in Paraíba, there is every reason to suppose that the former group of problems associated with the quality, and specifically

the external efficiency, of the system are as severe in Paraiba as anywhere in Brazil.

The key issue in this area, and a central concern of this study, is whether the Normal Schools provide their students with the experiences, skills, motivation, and above all attitudes to enable them to introduce new curriculum material and teaching methods to first level education, to adapt themselves to the needs of the expanding school population, and to encourage open and questioning attitudes in their pupils.

The most direct and simple way of assessing whether the Normal Schools are providing their students with appropriate attitudes is to ask the students. The next chapter of this study is devoted to the analysis of a small scale study of the attitudes of students, ex-students and teachers of four Normal Schools in Paraiba. The study covers a range of questions, including the subjects' attitudes towards more relevant and less bookish aims in education, towards teaching as a career, and towards the course of teacher preparation they have experience. These questions will allow a fuller exploration of the main problems which have been identified so far.

CHAPTER 7.0: Teachers' Views on Teacher Education and the Teaching Profession in Paraiba State

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter the views of trainee and practising teachers about the relevance of their preparation for teaching in the first level schools (grades 1 to 4) are examined. An attempt is made also to enquire into whether teacher trainees themselves perceive as important the problem of the lack of relevance of teacher training courses to the circumstances in which trainee teachers will find themselves after training. That is to say, this chapter explores the impact of the major problems of teacher preparation in Brazil, as identified in the earlier chapters of this thesis, on the approach and attitudes of the teachers in preparation themselves.

Husen (1979), commenting on ineffective teaching practices in schools, asserts that the inadequacies in teaching skills in schools among trained teachers could be traced back to the lack of a link between theory and practice in teacher education programmes. This survey examines the link, or lack of link, between theory and practice in teacher education in Paraiba.

This survey is therefore relevant because information obtained from the questionnaires will be useful in improving the content and methods of Normal School programmes in Paraiba. Such improvement would have an eventual spin-off in teaching in the

schools.

Three main research questions were posed to trainee teachers, teacher trainers and practising teachers, as follows:

1. What kind of students apply to Normal Schools in Paraiba State?
2. What are the primary motivations of trainee teachers for entry into teacher education institutions?
3. How adequate are the experiences provided in the Normal Schools, as perceived by trainee teachers, teachers and teacher trainers in terms of:
 - a) content of topics in the curriculum;
 - b) methods of teaching;
 - c) the design and creation of curriculum topics;
 - d) understanding the social needs of pupils;
 - e) providing for socially disadvantaged children; and
 - f) responding to the needs of the local community?

A number of subsidiary questions, relating to the trainee teachers' social backgrounds, level of education, employment positions and working experience were also included on the questionnaires. The official syllabuses of the Normal Schools were taken into account in evaluating the questionnaire responses.

7.2 Methodology and Design

7.2.1 Area of Study

This study was carried out in the publicly sponsored Normal Schools of the state of Paraiba. These schools are distributed in the Regional Centres of Education (CRECs). Each CREC covers several municipalities, and may include a number of Normal Schools. CREC 1 includes the municipalities of Joao Pessoa, Santa Rita and Sape, all of which have publicly sponsored Normal Schools; CREC 2 includes Bananeiras, and its Normal School; CREC 3, Campina Grande, and Alagoa Grande; CREC 6 Patos and Princesa Izabel; CREC 7 Itaporanga and Conceicao; CREC 9, Sousa. (See Table 7.1) There is no Normal School in the CRECs 4, 5 and 8.

For the purposes of the study, four out of eleven Normal Schools were selected; I Joao Pessoa, II Sape, III Campina Grande; and IV Santa Rita. The main criteria for selection of the schools were accessibility to the researcher, and the concern that the staff expressed for the issues under examination in the study.

Table 7.1 Distribution of Normal Schools according to the Regional Centres of Education (CRECs) of Paraiba State in 1984

Teaching Units	Municipality	CREC
Institute of Education of Paraiba	Joao Pessoa	1
State Normal School Anisio Pereira Borges	St.Rita	1
Normal School of Sape	Sape	1
School of 1st and 2nd Grades Jose Rocha Sobrinho	Bananeiras	2
State Normal School Father Emidio Viana Correia	Campina Grande	3
State Normal School of Alagoa Grande	Alagoa Grande	3
State Normal School Dom Expedito E.de Oliveira	Patos	6
State School of 1st and 2nd Grades Ministro Alcides Vieira Carneiro	Prin.Isabel	6
State School of 1st and 2nd Grades Adalgisa T. Fonseca	Itaporanga	7
State School of 1st and 2nd Grades of Conceicao	Conceicao	7
Normal School of Jose de Paiva Gadelha	Sousa	9

Source: Support Division for Normal Schools - DAEN - Secretary of Education and Culture of Paraiba State

7.2.2 Subjects

This study is concerned with three target groups;

- (1) Trainee teachers (2nd and 3rd years only)
- (2) Teacher trainers, and
- (3) Practising teachers of first level schools (grades 1 to 4).

Table 7.2 gives the sample distribution by school and target groups (1), (2) and (3).

Table 7.2 Number of Subjects Included in this Study

Schools	I Joao Pessoa	II Sape	III Campina Grande	IV Santa Rita	Total
Subjects					
Trainees	59	27	47	14	147
Teachers	8	3	-*	3	14
Practising Teachers	24	7	7	-**	38
Total	91	37	54	17	199

* Declined to participate

** No representation at time of data collection

(1) Trainee Teachers

There were data available for ten out of the eleven schools in the state in 1984 (Secretary of Education of Paraiba State). The total population of the second and third years were 1,211 and 1,050 respectively. There were 584 trainees in the second year, and 571 in the third year, at the four target schools for this study. Of these, 147 were selected for the sample, as indicated in Table 7.2.

(2) Teacher Trainers

There were, in 1984, 275 teacher trainers in the whole state of Paraiba. From the four target schools only fourteen teachers agreed to participate in this study. The small number agreeing to participate must be viewed as a major constraint which will limit

the scope of the conclusions of this thesis with respect to the teacher trainers.

(3) Practising Teachers

This was a group of thirty eight practising teachers, who were former students of a Normal School and worked in the vicinity of one of the Normal Schools in the study. The Normal School which they attended was not identified. All of them were first level teachers (grade 1 to 4) and were teaching in Joao Pessoa, Sape or Campine Grande. The year in which they completed their training ranged from 1972 to 1984.

7.2.3 The Instruments

The instruments used for eliciting information, as has already been noted, were three questionnaires and the official syllabuses of the Normal Schools.

(1) The Questionnaires

Each target group had its own questionnaire (Appendices I, II and III). The central questions of these instruments were the same for all three groups, with variations appropriate to the position of each group. As has already been mentioned, there were three main research questions which were structured to elicit detailed information. This basic structure of the questions is set out here.

Question 1 was administered only to the trainee teachers:

1. What kind of students apply to Normal Schools in Paraiba State?

The answers to this question provide data about the family background and social origins of trainee teachers.

Question 2 was administered to trainee teachers and practising teachers:

2. What are the primary motivations of trainee teachers for entry into teacher education institutions?

This question was to be answered in terms of the career aspirations of the students themselves, and whether entrants to Normal Schools intend to become teachers, or to use the general education elements of teacher preparation to gain access to higher levels of education. This is directly related to one of the major concerns of this thesis, that is whether the way in which teacher education has been institutionalized in the second level of education attracts candidates who wish to teach.

Question 3 was administered to all three target groups:

3. How adequate are the experiences provided in the Normal Schools, as perceived by trainee teachers, teachers and teacher trainers in terms of:
 - a) content of topics in the curriculum;
 - b) methods of teaching;
 - c) the design and creation of curriculum topics;
 - d) understanding the social needs of pupils;
 - e) providing for socially disadvantaged children; and

f) responding to the needs of the local community?

These questions are related to the two aspects of adequacy of teacher preparation which have previously been identified, namely the internal and external relations of the curriculum in teacher preparation. Items a) to c) are linked to the question of how, and to what extent, teacher training courses have responded to the changes introduced to the first level curriculum, especially the introduction of activity methods in teaching young children. The other items relate to the other major change identified in the rapidly expanding first level of education and the broader social background of pupils.

a) Trainee Teachers' Questionnaire

The content of the questionnaire for the students includes information such as: (a) the level of education; (b) general information (sex, age, etc); (c) social background; (d) motivation for entering teaching; (e) kind of preparation received; (f) working experience; (g) aspiration when finishing the course.

b) Teacher Trainers' Questionnaire

The content of the questionnaire for the teachers includes the following information: (a) years of services; (b) grade which they teach; (c) subject taught; (d) educational background; (e) professional background; (f) preparation given to the students at Normal School; (g) in-service training received; (h) view of the new pedagogical course.

c) Practising Teachers' Questionnaire

The information obtained by the questionnaire for the practising teachers students is as follows: (a) present position; (b) level which they teach at primary school; (c) educational background; (d) professional background; (e) motivation for entering teaching; (f) kind of preparation received.

The content validity of the questionnaires was ascertained before it was administered, and an initial copy was validated by the supervisor of this research and one Brazilian specialist in education who had experience in training for primary school teachers. Suggestions were made on the appropriateness of the information required in relation to the topic, the research questions posed, the content and the format. Corrections were implemented before the final copy of the questionnaires were produced and mailed to Brazil.

The difficulty of identifying a comparable group in the United Kingdom, (of second level students in teacher preparation courses) and the difficulty of arranging a pilot testing of the questionnaire in Brazil, precluded the possibility of any tests of construct validity on the instruments. Hence the results cannot be used as the basis of any sophisticated statistical analysis.

7.3 Results and Discussion

The data is descriptive and the results and discussion can best be formulated in terms of the original research questions, taking into account the documentary sources (syllabuses) as appropriate.

7.3.1 Trainees: Background and Employment

Tables 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5 summarize the data of the students' age, working experience and kind of experience respectively.

Table 7.3: Age of Trainee Teachers

SCHOOLS	School 1		School 2		School 3		School 4		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age Group										
15 - 19	40	67.8	17	63.0	36	76.6	4	28.6	97	66.0
20 - 24	15	25.4	8	29.6	9	19.2	9	64.3	41	27.9
25 - 29	-	-	1	3.7	-	-	-	-	1	0.7
30 - 34	3	5.1	1	3.7	1	2.1	1	7.1	6	4.0
35 - 39	-	-	-	-	1	2.1	-	-	1	0.7
40 - 44	1	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.7
TOTAL	59	100.0	27	100.0	47	100.0	14	100.0	147	100.0

Table 7.4 Working Experience (Trainee Teachers)

SCHOOLS	School 1		School 2		School 3		School 4	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
ANSWERS								
Yes	30	51.0	21	77.8	29	61.7	10	71.4
No	29	49.0	6	22.2	15	31.9	4	28.6
Not answered	-	-	-	-	3	6.4	-	-
TOTAL	59	100.0	27	100.0	47	100.0	14	100.0

Table 7.5: Kinds of Experience (Trainee Teachers)

SCHOOLS	School 1		School 2		School 3		School 4	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Kind of Experience								
Teaching	28	47.4	19	70.4	25	53.2	7	50.0
Other(s)	2	3.4	1	3.7	4	8.5	-	-
Not answered	29	49.1	7	25.9	18	38.3	7	50.0
TOTAL	59	100.0	27	100.0	47	100.0	14	100.0

Some general observations on the schools and students sampled are in order before looking in detail at the survey. In Normal Schools in general the age group covered is 15 to 18, and admit candidates from the complete first-level education (regular course), and "supletivo" course (short-cycle first-level school). Theoretically they must be between 15 to 18 years of age or 16 to 19, however, the population of the samples is far from this. As is demonstrated by Table 7.3, the population of this investigation aged between 15 to 40 years. This situation of so

many students over the age established is represented in Tables 7.4 and 7.5 which show that a substantial number of the trainee teachers have previous work experience of different kinds. Thus 51.0% of the sample of the School I (Joao Pessoa) had already a working experience and 47.4% was in teaching; the same happens with the other schools (II, Sape; III, Campina Grande; IV, Santa Rita). This means that the ones who already teach are unqualified, and that is why they are doing this training course so late.

These results offer a partial view of the situation in the Normal Schools of Paraiba State. It would therefore be unwise to attempt to generalise from any of the results reached in the study, or to view the results as anything more than indicative of an area of research which would merit further investigation. One feature of the sample which is, however, of value, is the fact that the four Normal Schools selected covered a variety of locations, one being in the centre of the state capital, one in the suburbs and two in provincial towns.

7.3.2 Entry to the Teaching Profession

In this section the results of the first two questions are dealt with, and the responses of both trainee teachers and practising teachers. These two questions both relate to the people who are attracted to teaching, their background and their aspirations on entering the profession.

(1) Research Question I

What kind of students apply to Normal Schools in Paraíba state?

An initial examination of the data reveals, as other studies had already shown, (Rodrigues, 1983b; Gouveia, 1970), that there is a reasonable homogeneity related to the social-economic background of those students (Tables 7.6 and 7.7). Although a high percentage of the students (57%) own houses, approximately 58% of them have a family income between 1 to 3 minimum wages, which is relatively poor. This situation is aggravated when the whole population of Paraíba state is analysed. As it was already demonstrated in Chapter 6.0 (Figure 6.1) the majority of the active population, in 1980, earned less than the minimum wage.

Table 7.6: Housing (Trainee Teachers)

SCHOOLS	School 1		School 2		School 3		School 4		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Housing									
Owner	39	66.1	22	81.5	35	74.5	8	57.0	104
Mortgage	12	20.3	3	11.1	1	2.3	2	14.3	18
Rented	7	12.0	2	7.4	11	23.2	4	28.7	24
Not answered	1	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	59	100.0	27	100.0	47	100.0	14	100.0	147

Table 7.7: Family Income (Trainee Teachers)

SCHOOLS	School 1		School 2		School 3		School 4		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Family Income									
½ 1 minimum wage	7	12.0	9	33.3	3	7.0	2	14.3	21
1 to 3 min. wages	28	47.4	14	52.0	35	74.5	8	57.0	85
4 to 6 min. wages	7	12.0	3	11.1	7	15.9	1	7.2	18
¾ 6 minimum wages	9	15.2	1	3.6	1	2.3	1	7.2	12
Not answered	8	13.4	-	-	1	2.3	2	14.3	11
TOTAL	59	100.0	27	100.0	47	100.0	14	100.0	147

Nowadays the majority of the clientele comes from the lower class which earns up to three times the minimum wage. For them, the University course is still seen as an utopia and the title of primary school teacher offers professional and social mobility (Rodrigues, 1983a).

For the upper and middle classes access to university is a natural step and aspiration in planning a career. Obtaining a certificate as a primary school teacher no longer has much importance.

On the other hand, holding a university degree and being a primary school teacher is seen as a conflicting situation since the university qualification confers more status, unlike a

primary school teacher certificate.

In general the information about the social background of the teachers in first level education come from families which are neither upper class nor well educated. This has an important impact upon the quality of first level education because it means that the main social interest of such trainee teachers is securing their own social status and position. Through their own personal efforts, they are attempting to raise themselves out of the lower social and economic background. This may make them less sympathetic to the needs of pupils who come from similar backgrounds, firstly, because they are trying to distance themselves from those circumstances, and secondly because they may feel that they have been successful and that their pupils should therefore be successful without external assistance.

Further information on the background of the trainees was obtained. This concerned the level of education of their parents. The results are shown in Table 7.8 below.

Table 7.8: Level of Education of Parents

SCHOOLS	School 1		School 2		School 3		School 4		Total									
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father								
Level of Education	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%								
Primary (incomplete)	12	20.3	15	25.4	8	29.6	10	31.0	15	32.0	16	34.0	6	43.0	6	43.0	41	41
Primary (complete)	18	30.4	19	32.2	13	48.1	7	26.0	17	36.1	15	32.0	4	28.6	6	43.0	52	41
Lower secondary (incomplete)	3	5.1	-	-	1	3.7	1	3.7	1	2.1	4	8.5	-	-	-	-	5	5
Lower secondary (complete)	7	11.9	8	13.5	-	-	1	3.7	3	6.4	4	8.5	1	7.2	-	-	11	13
Upper secondary (incomplete)	5	8.5	2	3.4	-	-	1	3.7	-	-	4	8.5	1	7.2	-	-	6	7
Upper secondary (complete)	4	6.8	5	8.5	4	14.9	2	7.4	7	14.9	3	6.4	2	14.0	-	-	11	10
Higher education (incomplete)	3	5.1	2	3.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	14.0	3	4
Higher education (complete)	4	6.8	5	8.5	1	3.7	-	-	4	8.5	1	2.1	-	-	-	-	9	6
Not answered	3	5.1	3	5.1	-	-	5	18.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	8
TOTAL	59	100	59	100	27	100	27	100	47	100	47	100	14	100	14	100	147	147

The results in Table 1.8 show that in the majority of cases, parents of trainee teachers have only primary education, either complete or incomplete. This is understandable in a country where a great part of the population over forty did not have much opportunity of continuing their education, especially if they came from the lower classes.

The answers given to the questions related to the level of education of parents, housing, and family income suggest the hypothesis that "the population of the Normal Schools in Paraíba State, in its majority, comes from the lower social classes". This would require further examination before it could be definitely asserted, but does fit in with other evidence reviewed earlier in this thesis.

(2) Research Question II

What is the primary motivation of trainee teachers for entry into teacher education institutions?

In order to answer this question the trainees were asked to rank some specified motives for being trained as a teacher (Appendices IVa, IVb, IVc and IVd, Question 10) in order of priority as they saw them in choosing to apply to Normal Schools. The reasons were ranked 1 to 9, with 1 being the most important and 9 the least.

In order to calculate the total ranking, the frequency of each ranking for each motivation was calculated. The frequency for

each weighting was multiplied by the weighting given, and these products summed and used to indicate the overall rank (see Appendices IVa, IVb, IVc and IVd).

For example, the overall ranking score for, "Your parents recommended it", as a motivation for entering teaching for students in School 1 (Appendix IVa) was obtained thus: $(16 \times 9) + (10 \times 8) + (6 \times 7) + (8 \times 6) + (1 \times 5) + (2 \times 4) + (3 \times 3) + (1 \times 2) + (1 \times 1)$ gives a total of 339.

The sum of ranks for the four schools are shown in Table 7.9 below.

As can be observed in Table 7.9, the highest motivators for trainee teachers to enter into teacher education course are, in order of importance;

- 1) "Your friends were enrolled on the course",
- 2) "The course is easier than other second level courses",
- 3) "The course enables you to enter higher education".

The alternative, "You want to be a primary school teacher" ranked ninth, and is therefore the least preferred choice. This confirms the case presented in Chapter 6.0 that trainees enter Normal Schools not because they wish to be primary school teachers after graduating but because it serves an important social function in offering secondary level education to lower class students, and prepares them for entry into higher education.

Table 7.9: Trainees' Motivation for Entering Teaching
Sum of Total Ranks of the Motivations

S/N	Motivation	Overall Ranking Score	Overall Rank Order
1	Your parents recommended it	717	2
2	Your friends were enrolled in this course	801	1
3	The course is easier than other second level courses	693	3
4	The course gives you a general education and job qualification	378	8
5	The course gives you a chance to obtain a certificate in a short time	523	5
6	You want to be a primary school teacher	368	9
7	The course permits you to enter the job market quickly	467	7
8	The course enables you to enter higher education	545	4
9	Other	469	6

Source: Responses to Questionnaire

Research carried out by Rodrigues (1983b) in Paraiba state, and Gouveia (1964) in Sao Paulo and Minas Gerais states, showed that not all students aimed to be a primary school teacher, on the contrary, the majority had other objectives in mind when they enrolled in this course.

In a work carried out by the Brazilian Centre of Educational Research, in 1968, including the states of: Pernambuco, Sergipe, Bahia, Minas Gerais, Sao Paulo, Parana, Rio Grande do Sul, and Goias, this result was confirmed, showing that only 59% of the

students who were in the last year of the Normal School, those included in the sample studied, intended to be a primary school teacher. Of this total 27% wanted to enter university what means that 68% of those students were not interested in a teaching career (Innocencio,1978,p.73).

In this connection, it is important to note that the integration of teacher preparation into 'professionalized' secondary education has done nothing to improve the recruitment of intending primary school teachers into the Normal Schools, and may have had a damaging effect.

On the question, "Do you intend to enter teaching or another occupation?" it can be seen from Table 7.10 that 64 per cent of the trainee teachers indicated that they would stay in the teaching profession, while 36 per cent may not remain there.

Table 7.10: Expectations for when Finishing Training

SCHOOLS Alternatives	School 1		School 2		School 3		School 4		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Stay in Teaching	29	49.2	24	88.9	30	63.8	11	78.6	94	64.0
Teaching and Another Occupation	22	37.3	2	7.4	12	25.5	2	14.3	38	25.9
Another Occupation	8	13.5	1	3.7	5	10.7	1	7.1	15	10.1
TOTAL	59	100.0	27	100.0	47	100.0	14	100.0	147	100.0

Source: Responses to Questionnaire

Comparing the responses to question 10 with those to question 13, one can detect a certain lack of consistency in the answers given. On the one hand, "You want to be a primary school teacher" was ranked last among the motivations for entering training, while on the other hand the majority of trainee teachers expected to stay in teaching. This gives a picture of a developing profession which attracts rather unwilling entrants, who follow teaching as the only available way of improving their own social position, rather than having any particular vocation for teaching.

The possible role that teachers could play in the development of the country, in preparing its future parents and social leaders, is an important one, but can only be achieved if teachers are committed to their task. Those who train as teachers should be convinced about their choice. Such conviction is essential if trainees are to acquire the necessary experiences at college and practice effectively in school after training. These results suggest that at present the teaching profession is failing to attract trainee teachers of the right calibre, but more importantly with the right level of commitment.

7.3.3 Adequacy of Preparation

In this section the views of all three target groups on the third research question are evaluated. In this way the judgements of

trainee teachers can be compared with those of practising teachers to assess how realistic they are. Moreover, the responses of the teacher trainers give some indication of how likely reforms from within the Normal Schools are.

(3) Research Question III

How adequate are the experiences provided as perceived by trainee teachers, practising teachers and teacher trainers?

In order to answer this question responses of trainee teachers on Question 11 (Appendix I) were analysed. The results are shown in Tables 7.11, 7.12 and 7.13, and Appendices IVa, IVb, IVc and IVd.

a) Trainee Teachers

Taking the results of the 4 Schools together, as it is shown in the Table 7.11, the higher rate of satisfactory answers is related to the area of learning content and methods of teaching. In general, (Appendices IVa, IVb, IVc and IVd) the samples of the 4 Schools are happier with this area than the one related to the social background of the children and their needs.

Table 7.11: Trainees' Opinions of the Preparation Received in Normal Schools

SCHOOLS	School 1		School 2		School 3		School 4		Total Rating*
	Good	Poor	Good	Poor	Good	Poor	Good	Poor	
Alternatives	33	24	25	22	17	8	9	3	367
11.1 Learning the content of topics in the curriculum									
11.2 Learning the methods of teaching	36	18	24	22	13	13	7	6	361
11.3 Learning how to design and create curriculum topics	31	18	4	21	8	13	2	6	337
11.4 Understanding the social background and needs of pupils	28	23	6	12	9	16	1	5	313
11.5 Providing for socially disadvantaged pupils	16	29	7	10	6	8	1	4	282
11.6 Learning to respond to the needs of the local community	20	25	7	5	22	15	1	5	281

Source: Responses to Questionnaire

Note: * Good = 3, Adequate = 2, Poor = 1.

One point in common among the 4 samples is that they considered the preparation given for "learning the content of topics", "learning methods of teaching", "learning how to design and create curriculum topics" as done best.

b) Practising Teachers

The information given by the sample of practising teachers (Table 7.12) is that the preparation received in terms of "learning the content of topics in the curriculum", "learning methods of teaching" and "learning how to respond to the needs of local community" were done best. It confirms what was said by the present students of the 4 Schools related to the first two alternatives. It means that the course is much more related to the content itself, and to methods of teaching, than to the preparation for working in primary schools with pupils from different social classes and with different needs.

The preparation for understanding the social background and needs of pupils, and providing for socially disadvantage pupils were considered the worst by the former students. Once again this demonstrates that the course for training primary school teachers is more theoretical and neglects the social needs of pupils at primary school.

Table 7.12: Practising Teachers' Opinions of the Preparation Received in Normal Schools

SCHOOLS	School 1			School 2			School 3			Total Rating*
	Good	Adequate	Poor	Good	Adequate	Poor	Good	Adequate	Poor	
Alternatives	8	12	3	3	4	-	3	4	-	85
7.1 Learning the content of topics in the curriculum										
7.2 Learning the methods of teaching	13	6	3	4	3	-	3	2	2	87
7.3 Learning how to design and create curriculum topics	7	11	5	1	5	1	1	4	2	75
7.4 Understanding the social background and needs of pupils	2	7	2	3	3	-	4	-	3	52
7.5 Providing for socially disadvantaged pupils	6	7	7	-	6	-	2	1	4	63
7.6 Learning to respond to the needs of the local community	3	12	7	7	-	-	4	1	2	77

Source: Responses to Questionnaire

Note: * Good = 3, Adequate = 2, Poor = 1.

c) Teacher Trainers

When it comes to teachers of the Normal Schools, they considered given a better preparation for "learning how to design and create curriculum topics", understanding the "social background and needs of pupils" and "learning methods of teaching". The alternatives, "learning the content of topics in the curriculum", "providing for socially disadvantage pupils", and "learning how to respond to the needs of the local community" received less attention by teachers (Table 7.13).

Maybe this kind of answer is related to the fact that teachers want to give a positive image of themselves. In fact, the answers given by the students and former students shows the contrary. The course is almost exclusively focused on passing information, neglecting the aspect related to the social needs of the pupils at primary school.

When asked to qualify the preparation of students in the Normal School for the real classroom practice, 71.43% said that was just adequate followed by 21.43% that said it was 'good' and 7.4% not answered. They also considered their teaching half theoretical and half practical. The same answer was given by the practising teachers.

Table 7.13: Teacher Trainers' Opinions of the Preparation Received in Normal Schools

SCHOOLS	School 1		School 2		School 3		Total Rating*			
	Good	Adequate	Poor	Good	Adequate	Poor				
10.1 Learning the content of topics in the curriculum	1	2	-	-	3	-	4	2	-	29
10.2 Learning the methods of teaching	-	3	-	-	3	-	4	3	-	30
10.3 Learning how to design and create curriculum topics	-	3	-	-	3	-	7	1	-	35
10.4 Understanding the social background and needs of pupils	1	2	-	1	-	2	3	5	-	31
10.5 Providing for socially disadvantaged pupils	-	3	-	1	-	2	2	5	1	28
10.6 Learning to respond to the needs of the local community	-	3	-	-	1	2	2	6	-	28

Source: Responses to Questionnaire

Note: * Good = 3, Adequate = 2, Poor = 1.

Considering the subjects taught in the Normal Schools the sample of practising teachers classified Psychology of Education, and General Didactics as done best in relation to their qualification. The subject Specific Didactics was also considered 'good' by the sample of 2 Schools. Philosophy of Education and Sociology of Education were considered by the sample of Sape and Joao Pessoa as done worst. History of Education was considered bad by the sample of Sape and Campina Grande.

When asked to qualify their training in relation to the real classroom practice in primary school the sample of Joao Pessoa and Campina Grande said that it was just 'adequate' and the ones in Sape said it was 'good'. And the percentage they gave to their training in terms of theoretical and practical was half and half.

Although the trainees, practising teachers and teachers at Normal School say that the preparation at that institution has been done well in the area of content, methods of teaching and so on, the syllabuses show that the emphasis is much more on how to teach but without any connection with the practice at primary school, as has already been mentioned in Chapter 6.0. The syllabuses are more theoretical than practical and do not stress the preparation for learning the content of topics in the curriculum; learning how to design and create curriculum topics.

There is no balance between the subjects of general education and professional subjects. Both are very much theoretical and repetitive. How to teach is not linked with what to teach.

The social background of the pupils is not specifically stressed in the content. On the whole the aim for the preparation of primary school teacher in Paraíba state fail to serve the needs of the children at primary school as well as the needs of the local community. The curricula are encyclopedic and rigid, quite remote from the daily lives and experiences of the pupils, and tend to lose sight of the basic aims of the general education, encouraging memorization and verbalism.

These data suggest that the hypothesis that "the course for the preparation of future primary school teacher neglects the needs of the pupils at primary school in favour of passing on information", would warrant further investigation, especially as this is in line with the general conclusions arrived at from the broader analysis of the educational system presented earlier in this thesis.

7.4 Reflections on the Syllabuses

Although the curricular structure has been changed, the means by which the contents are taught is the same as before. For example, according to Law 5,692/71 the subject "Social Studies" must be taught in an integrated fashion: through studying the state, and social and economic growth since the start of colonization. Through this approach, the student rediscovers his/her own region. Instead, teachers are teaching Geography and History as

separate subjects without emphasis on the social-political reality.

The subject "Structure of the Educational System- first-level education" should stress the legal, technical and administrative aspects of the school in relation to its administrative and legal aspects. But in practice the social and political implications of this organization are not stressed. It would be interesting if this subject located the education in a social and political dimension, establishing the link between school and society.

The subject "Structure of the Educational System- First-level school" has been criticized for being an arid knowledge due to the predominance of the legislative treatment given to the education.

In "General Didactics", the technical elements such as, planning, strategies, evaluation are being stressed more than its foundations.

Another aspect that could benefit from more attention in "Didactics" is the analysis of the curriculum for first-level school (grades 1 to 4). This would give the teacher the opportunity of evaluating the adjustment of this structure to the needs of the society, school and pupils.

In this subject creativity is ignored. Also there is no link with other areas of knowledge, particularly those of "Specific

Didactics" (Didactics of Speech, Didactics of Sciences, Didactics of Social Studies, Didactics of Mathematics).

The subject "Foundations of Education" that should provide the future teacher with a critical-reflexive attitude towards the reality in which he/she is going to perform is a mere repetition of what is in books.

"History of Education" is rather descriptive. It does not provide the future first-level school teacher with a critical attitude to analyse Brazilian education. The same is true of "Philosophy of Education". The criticism, the reflexion, the investigation and understanding of the educational problems are not taken into consideration in those programmes.

The subject "Psychology of Education" does not prepare teachers to teach in the first-level school. The understanding of the pupils's process of maturation and learning is not focused in the syllabus. This area should provide students with knowledge of the major aspects of child development and the nature and conditions of classroom learning as well as with certain skills in the use of tests and other devices for assessing children, diagnostic procedures, and so on.

In 'Teaching Practice' students receive little feedback on their performance. Supervision tends to be sporadic. The way in which teaching practice is structured gives the student teacher the

worst of both worlds. On the one hand, he never experiences "the real thing"- never gets the feel of what teaching is actually like. Because the classroom teacher remains responsible for everything that goes on his/her room, the student teacher can not feel the full impact of that responsibility. Neither does he experience the full challenge of being a teacher. He or she is, after all, a visitor in someone else's classroom.

The brevity of the student teaching assignment, and the fact that it generally begins in the second semester of the third year means that the student teacher has no option but to follow the classroom teacher's lesson plan.

The emphasis on academic objectives in the curriculum, as well as its lack of connection with reality, have been important issues among educators.

One shortcoming in teacher training is the dichotomy between the subjects of general education and 'special studies'. All subjects must, independent of their nature, converge on the same purpose: training teachers for first-level schools. The failure to produce an integrated course is a very serious problem in the Normal Schools in Paraiba state. Although there is a pedagogical coordination for the whole course and a specific coordination for each area of study there is no integration among the subjects. Through analysing the curriculum and syllabuses in the Normal Schools one can identify the theoretical orientation prevailing in teacher training in Paraiba state.

Despite the changes that have been occurred in society since 1971 there have been no meaningful changes in the process of teacher training for first-level school teachers. It is still the conservative pedagogical attitude that dominated since 1971 when the first and second-level education were reformulated through Law 5,692.

7.5 Conclusion

Information obtained from the questionnaire and the analysis of the syllabus, while not sufficient for drawing general conclusions alone, produce a very similar picture of the shortcomings of the system of teacher preparation as found in the earlier review of the development of that system. Taken all together, the evidence is overwhelming that the teacher education programmes are inadequate, and that many trainees enter teacher training for motives which have nothing to do with a desire to become a teacher. Teacher education programmes over-emphasize content and ignore the social perspectives of the learner. Teaching is more theoretical than practical, and therefore cannot prepare trainees adequately for teaching in the field after training. The teaching profession still attracts unwilling entrants who follow teaching as a stepping-stone into other professions and institutions of higher learning. This lack of vocation for teaching among some entrants will have serious implications for their commitment to teaching after training.

CHAPTER 8.0 Conclusions

The analysis which has been presented in this thesis leads to conclusions and recommendations about teacher preparation for the first four grades of first level education which can be classified into three broad groups. The first group concerns the level at which such teacher preparation is institutionalized. The second concerns the curriculum and teaching methods of teacher preparation. And the third group deals with the issue of relating the preparation of teachers to the social conditions which prevail in the first level schools as a result of social changes in Brazil.

8.1 Status of Teacher Preparation for Grades 1 to 4

Considerable attention has been paid in this thesis, particularly in Chapter 5.0, to the effects of Law 5,692 on teacher preparation for the first level teachers. The major practical impact of this law was organizational. The 'professionalization' of teacher education has meant that teacher preparation courses are now integrated in a broader system of vocational education. Teacher preparation for this level is now firmly placed in second level institutions, and a number of changes have been introduced to harmonize these courses with other vocational courses.

As a result of these changes, teacher preparation courses, and the Normal Schools in general, have lost their specific character, and are dominated by general concerns which have

nothing to do with the preparation of future teachers. Out of a three year course, one year is entirely devoted to general education and course components which are common to all 'professionalized' courses. The consequence of this has been a reduction of the time for topics which are directly related to teacher education.

As has been seen in the analysis of the development of the system of teacher preparation, these changes were introduced for reasons which were not directly concerned with teacher education. The primary purpose was to reduce the number of applicants to universities and institutions of higher learning.

It was anticipated in the analysis of these changes that the loss of the special character of teacher preparation courses would result in an increase in the influx of students who had no interest in teaching in first level schools to the teacher preparation programmes, and this was largely borne out by the results of the questionnaires administered to students in Normal Schools.

This leads to the conclusion that to improve the level of teacher performance in first level schools, the first step should be to restore the distinctive character of teacher preparation courses, by separating them from other 'professionalized' courses. This result could be most fully implemented by putting into practice the commitment the government already has to conducting all

teacher preparation in institutions of university level. Any movement towards this goal has been effectively stopped by the integration of teacher education with second level courses, and this should be immediately reversed.

One can envisage a time, perhaps ten or fifteen years in the future, when all first level teachers are trained in universities or institutions of higher education. The changes which would necessarily accompany such a move would make it possible to institutionalize many of the other recommendations which are put forward in this chapter. For example, entry to such courses would require complete secondary education, and the professional courses would therefore need to devote less time to the general education of students. As a result, more time could be devoted to courses which had a direct bearing on the teaching process. This will be discussed in more detail in the next two sections.

Similarly, the lengthening of the course of professional preparation of teachers would some way to raising the professional status of teachers. It would be necessary to improve the economic conditions of teachers to attract capable candidates to the courses, and the improvements in the economic and social position of teachers would do much to remove some of the problems which have been set out in this thesis. This would result in a general raising of the standards of teacher preparation, and as a consequence teacher performance.

Finally, the incorporation of teacher preparation in university

level institutions would secure increased federal government involvement, and hence funding, in the preparation of teachers. At the moment, the states and municipalities are responsible for first and second level education including teacher education. Federal support is given to the states in a block grant, which then has to be divided among the various demands upon the educational system. However, currently the federal government exerts pressure to ensure that the resources go into the expansion of first level schools, and away from teacher education. Since the federal government is the principal agent responsible for higher education, the institutionalization of teacher training at this level would reduce some of the difficulties of allocating resources.

One could not expect such changes to be achieved overnight. What is required is a phased programme of development which provided for immediate re-establishment of Normal Schools with their distinctive character. This should be backed up with a two pronged development to provide increasing federal support for these institutions, and increasing links with universities, at the same time as the standards of these institutions are gradually raised.

8.2 New Curricula for First Level Schools

Law 5,692/71 established that the curriculum of the first four grades of education should be organized according to activities,

rather than on traditional discipline lines. The law also recognized the need for adapting programmes of teacher preparation so that teachers could develop curriculum material in line with these new guidelines. To date nothing has been done in either of these areas. In Chapter 7.0, the analysis of questionnaires indicated that students in Normal Schools felt this to be a failure of the courses which they followed. Teachers in Normal Schools appear to disagree with their students on this matter, and feel that teacher preparation is at least adequate in this area. This does not suggest that any major reforms are likely to come about as the result of the activities of teachers in Normal Schools.

There are two steps which could be taken which, in conjunction with improved links between the Normal Schools and universities, could improve this situation. The first is most simply achieved, simply by virtue of the increase in time available for professional courses brought about by the reorganization of Normal Schools already proposed. Teachers should be prepared in such a way that they come directly into contact with, and experience for themselves, activity methods of learning. This need not necessarily mean an immediate or total shift away from the current curriculum organization of the Normal Schools, but should involve the trainee teachers in some activity learning, the development of curriculum materials, and the testing of those materials in classroom situations.

It is here that links with the universities could make the

greatest contribution to the preparation of teachers; by instilling in the trainee teachers, and their teachers, a spirit and tradition of original and practical research. Links between Normal Schools and universities would stimulate, on the one hand, among university staff the attitude that education was an appropriate field of research, and on the other hand, on the part of teachers and taught in the Normal School, a more enquiring and open approach to curriculum reform.

Ideally the Normal Schools should have experimental schools where such research, as well as teaching practice, could take place. However, failing that, the schools should be more fully involved in the process of teacher education. The current requirement for 150 hours of teaching practice, including observation and assisting the teachers in the schools, means that the majority of teachers qualify having taught as few as ten lessons, and all of this experience has been gained late in their training. The trainee teachers should be encouraged to see the learning experience of children, particularly the exploration of conditions which promote learning, as central to their preparation. This can only be achieved by increasing the time students spend in schools, and by encouraging the integration of teacher preparation around the experience of children.

It would be much easier to attain these two goals in conjunction with the reorganization of Normal Schools set out in the previous section.

8.3 Responding to Social Conditions

By far the most intractable and serious problem which has been analysed in this thesis is that which is brought about by the entry of social classes who have never previously enjoyed the benefits of an education entering the schools. Of all the aspects of the educational system which educationists have criticized, this is the one which they have stressed most forcefully. It is also the area where trainee teachers feel themselves to be worst prepared. The demographic changes and expansion of the educational system which have produced these problems have been analysed in detail in this thesis, and there can be no expectation that the problems will solve themselves. Positive and direct steps need to be taken to prepare teachers better to meet the social conditions which now prevail in first level schools.

As has already been noted, more than fifty per cent of the children never proceed beyond the first grade: they drop out or repeat, and are virtually excluded from any further educational experiences. The school thereby sets aside its first duty and social responsibility - to teach. These problems of repetition and drop out should be seen as issues of the internal efficiency of the educational system, but not only as that. They should also be seen in a wider social context, and achieving a full understanding of them implies looking into the political dimension. A better way of teaching the majority of children who are currently being excluded should be found. It is not possible

to train future primary school teachers adequately without a clear idea of the role they are to play in the actual conditions of the primary school.

Unhappily, this is also an area in which teachers in Normal Schools feel that the preparation given to future teachers is at least adequate, and improvements are unlikely to take place without positive intervention.

One form which such intervention could take place is in providing an improved theoretical understanding of social conditions in the schools for trainee teachers. The combination of the increased involvement of the universities, the increased time available for professional courses and the general raising of the standards of teacher preparation, would make it possible to provide better courses in the sociology and psychology of education. The study of sociology of education should be directed towards the problems of the school, community and pupils, and the study of philosophy of education should help the trainees to think critically about educational issues, including those raised by psychologists and other professional educators. The history of education should be a study of the Brazilian education system and provide a better comprehension for trainees of the political foundations of the educational system, and linking more fully with other courses in the teacher preparation programme. Such studies as these would should provide the student teachers with a theoretical framework within which to understand their experiences of the changing

social circumstances in the schools.

The second form which intervention could take would be ensuring that the experiences of the trainee teachers in their teaching practice includes a realization of the social circumstances of the pupils. As with the case for curriculum innovation mentioned in the previous section, a great deal could be achieved in experimental schools and by involving other schools more fully in the process of teacher education. However, practical professional experience should go beyond this.

There is the danger that experimental schools could become isolated from some of the social conditions which prevail in other first level schools. To prevent this, trainee teachers should be involved in educational projects with marginalized communities in both urban and rural areas in the course of their preparation. This would have the additional benefit that those communities who have most difficulty in adjusting to the conditions in schools would also have enhanced educational provision. These provisions might therefore have the effect of reducing repetition and drop out among the children of marginalized groups at the same time as enriching the programmes of teacher education. In short, they might improve the quality of education in first level schools on the measures adopted in this thesis.

8.4 Towards a National System of Teacher Preparation

The recommendations put forward here amount to a programme for the development of a national system of teacher preparation. Upgrading teacher education to the level of higher education would involve the federal government in drawing up guidelines and providing a major part of the funding. This is desirable, because it has been shown here that many states such as Paraíba do not have the resources to develop teacher preparation in this way. What is required is a national programme to improve the quality of teacher education, and hence the quality of education in general.

However, teacher preparation should also be responsive to local needs and conditions. The involvement of the universities, and the development of a local base of research on which teacher preparation could be developed, should ensure that such a national system would not become bureaucratic and sterile.

At the level of broad government policy, the proposals set out here require very little change. The government has made a commitment to the upgrading of teacher education to university level institutions, and through its participation in regional conferences has endorsed concerns about the quality of education, the quality of teacher preparation, equality of access to education and the links between education and broader social and economic developments.

At a practical level, however, the actions of the Brazilian government have not been designed to meet these broader aims, and in some cases have actually been directly opposed to their achievement. Given the political circumstances in Brazil after 1964, this is not entirely surprising. The new political circumstances in Brazil afford an opportunity to make positive steps towards the meeting of government goals and the satisfaction of popular aspirations. The adoption of a ten to fifteen year plan incorporating the recommendations of this thesis would constitute a step in this direction.

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Appendix I

Questionnaire for Trainee Teachers

1. School _____
2. Town _____
3. Year/Grade _____
4. Age _____ Sex _____
5. Single/Married _____
6. Previous level of education:
 - _____ grades 1 to 8, regular course
 - _____ grades 1 to 8, "supletivo" course
 - _____ Other (please specify) _____
7. Level of education of your parents:

Mother	Father	
_____	_____	Primary (incomplete)
_____	_____	Primary (complete)
_____	_____	Lower Secondary (incomplete)
_____	_____	Lower Secondary (complete)
_____	_____	Upper Secondary (incomplete)
_____	_____	Upper Secondary (complete)
_____	_____	Higher Education (incomplete)
_____	_____	Higher Education (complete)
8. Family income*:
 - _____ less than 1 minimum wage
 - _____ from 1 to 3 minimum wages
 - _____ from 4 to 6 minimum wages
 - _____ more than 6 minimum wages

* If single, income of parents. If married, income of spouse and self.

9. Housing:

 Owner Mortgage Rented

10. Rank in order of priority when you enrolled in teacher training to be a primary school teacher the following influences:

10.1 Your parents recommended it

10.2 Your friends were enrolled in this course

10.3 The course is easier than other second level courses

10.4 The course gives you a general education and job qualification

10.5 The course gives you a chance to obtain a certificate in a short time

10.6 You want to be a primary school teacher

10.7 The course permits you to enter the job market quickly

10.8 The course enables you to enter higher education

10.9 Other (please specify) _____

11 What preparation has the course given you for:

Good Adequate Poor

11.1 Learning the content of topics in _____
the curriculum

11.2 Learning the methods of teaching _____

11.3 Learning how to design and create _____
curriculum topics11.4 Understanding the social background _____
and needs of pupils11.5 Providing for socially _____
disadvantaged pupils11.6 Learning to respond to the needs of _____
the local community

11.7 Rank in order of priority which of the above are done best:

11.8 Rank in order of priority which of the above are done worst:

12 Have you had working experience already?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, the experience has been in:

Teaching _____ Other (please specify) _____

13 Do you intend to enter:

Teaching? _____ Another occupation? _____

Appendix II

Questionnaire for Practising Teachers

Age _____ Sex _____

Present Position _____

If teaching, which level? _____

School _____ Town _____

1. Previous level of education:

_____ grades 1 to 8, regular course

_____ grades 1 to 8, "supletivo" course

_____ second level (3 years)

_____ second level (4 years)

_____ higher education (incomplete)

_____ higher education (complete)

2. Level of education of your parents:

Mother Father

_____ _____ Primary (incomplete)

_____ _____ Primary (complete)

_____ _____ Lower Secondary (incomplete)

_____ _____ Lower Secondary (complete)

_____ _____ Upper Secondary (incomplete)

_____ _____ Upper Secondary (complete)

_____ _____ Higher Education (incomplete)

_____ _____ Higher Education (complete)

3. Family income*:

- _____ less than 1 minimum wage
 _____ from 1 to 3 minimum wages
 _____ from 4 to 6 minimum wages
 _____ more than 6 minimum wages

* If single, income of parents. If married, income of spouse and self.

4. Housing:

- _____ Owner
 _____ Mortgage
 _____ Rented

5. Professional background:

- _____ primary school teacher
 _____ secondary school teacher
 _____ school administrator
 _____ school supervisor
 _____ educational advisor

6. Rank in order of priority when you enrolled in teacher training to be a primary school teacher the following influences:

- 6.1 Your parents recommended it
 6.2 Your friends were enrolled in this course
 6.3 The course is easier than other second level courses
 6.4 The course gives you a general education and job qualification
 6.5 The course gives you a chance to obtain a certificate in a short time
 6.6 You want to be a primary school teacher
 6.7 The course permits you to enter the job market quickly
 6.8 The course enables you to enter higher education
 6.9 Other (please specify) _____

7 What preparation has the course given you for:

Good Adequate Poor

7.1 Learning the content of topics in _____
the curriculum

7.2 Learning the methods of teaching _____

7.3 Learning how to design and create _____
curriculum topics

7.4 Understanding the social background _____
and needs of pupils

7.5 Providing for socially _____
disadvantaged pupils

7.6 Learning to respond to the needs of _____
the local community

7.7 Rank in order of priority which of the above are done best:

7.8 Rank in order of priority which of the above are done worst:

8 How would you rank the disciplines below in relation to your
qualification as a primary school teacher:

Good Adequate Poor

8.1 Psychology of Education _____

8.2 Biology of Education _____

8.3 Philosophy of Education _____

8.4 History of Education _____

8.5 Sociology of Education _____

8.6 General Didactics/Teaching Practice _____

8.7 Specific Didactics _____

8.8 Rank in order of priority which of the above are done best:

8.9 Rank in order of priority which of the above are done worst:

- 9 How would you qualify the training you had in relation to the real classroom practice in primary school?

Good Adequate Poor

- 10 What is the percentage you give to the training you had?

Theoretical _____ Practical _____

Appendix III

Questionnaire for Teacher Trainers

1. Age _____ Sex _____
2. School _____ Town _____
3. How long have you been teaching for?
4. Which year do you teach in the Normal School?
_____ First year
_____ Second year
_____ Third year
5. Which subject/discipline(s) do you teach?

6. Level of education:
_____ grades 1 to 8, regular course
_____ grades 1 to 8, "supletivo" course
_____ second level (3 years)
_____ second level (4 years)
_____ higher education (incomplete)
_____ higher education (complete)
Institution _____
Branch of study _____

7. Level of education of your parents:

Mother	Father	
_____	_____	Primary (incomplete)
_____	_____	Primary (complete)
_____	_____	Lower Secondary (incomplete)
_____	_____	Lower Secondary (complete)
_____	_____	Upper Secondary (incomplete)
_____	_____	Upper Secondary (complete)
_____	_____	Higher Education (incomplete)
_____	_____	Higher Education (complete)

8. Family income*:

_____ less than 1 minimum wage

_____ from 1 to 3 minimum wages

_____ from 4 to 6 minimum wages

_____ more than 6 minimum wages

* If single, income of parents. If married, income of spouse and self.

9. Housing:

_____ Owner

_____ Mortgage

_____ Rented

10 What preparation does your teaching give your pupils/students for:

Good Adequate Poor

10.1 Learning the content of topics in _____
the curriculum _____

10.2 Learning the methods of teaching _____

10.3 Learning how to design and create _____
curriculum topics _____

10.4 Understanding the social background _____
and needs of pupils _____

10.5 Providing for socially _____
disadvantaged pupils _____

10.6 Learning to respond to the needs of _____
the local community _____

10.7 Rank in order of priority which of the above are done best:

10.8 Rank in order of priority which of the above are done worst:

11 How would you quality the preparation of students for real classroom practice in the Normal School?

Good Adequate Poor

12 What is the percentage you give to your teaching?

Theoretical _____ Practical _____

13 What is your experience in education:

Primary school teacher _____ years

Secondary school teacher _____ years

School administrator _____ years

Kind of institution _____

Level of post _____

Duties/responsibilities _____

School supervision _____ years

Kind of institution _____

Level of post _____

Duties/responsibilities _____

14 Have you had in-service training?

Yes _____ No _____

15 If yes;

15.1 Frequency: _____ quarterly _____ semestral _____ yearly

15.2 Subject: _____ Method retraining _____ content retraining

16 Did the new techniques introduced by Law 5,692/71, i.e. teaching by activites have any impact on your teachng?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, please specify _____

Appendix IVa

Trainees Motivation for Entering Teaching

School 1

OPINION	FREQUENCY OF RANKING POSITION									TOTAL RANK SCORE	OVERALL RANKING
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
1	16	10	6	8	1	2	3	1	1	339	2
2	8	17	13	2	3	2	1	3	0	343	1
3	3	4	9	11	10	6	4	3	3	283	3
4	0	1	4	2	4	5	4	19	16	154	8
5	3	1	4	4	3	7	13	6	2	183	7
6	0	2	1	3	3	3	5	10	33	136	9
7	3	4	1	4	6	14	7	9	6	221	5
8	5	3	5	6	8	8	8	8	1	253	4
9	10	5	3	2	3	0	5	1	3	198	6

Total Rank Score was obtained by giving a score of 9 for first ranking, 8 for second ranking and so on, multiplying these scores by the frequency of that ranking, and adding the results.

Appendix IVb

Trainees Motivation for Entering Teaching

School 2

OPINION	FREQUENCY OF RANKING POSITION									TOTAL RANK SCORE	OVERALL RANKING
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
1	6	4	3	1	2	1	0	0	3	130	2
2	2	8	5	3	1	0	0	0	0	140	1
3	0	3	4	6	3	0	0	0	0	103	3
4	0	1	0	1	3	3	3	6	7	69	8
5	0	2	1	2	4	4	3	3	2	88	5
6	0	0	3	0	0	0	4	5	13	56	9
7	0	0	2	1	3	3	8	3	1	78	7
8	0	0	2	3	4	3	4	2	1	81	6
9	5	2	2	1	0	1	1	1	0	90	4

Total Rank Score was obtained by giving a score of 9 for first ranking, 8 for second ranking and so on, multiplying these scores by the frequency of that ranking, and adding the results.

Appendix IVc

Trainees Motivation for Entering Teaching

School 3

OPINION	FREQUENCY OF RANKING POSITION									TOTAL RANK SCORE	OVERALL RANKING
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
1	3	7	5	8	4	2	1	3	5	208	3
2	8	15	6	3	0	1	0	2	0	260	1
3	11	6	9	2	4	3	0	1	2	258	2
4	0	0	1	4	2	6	10	10	12	127	9
5	1	3	4	5	12	9	3	4	0	204	4
6	2	0	3	1	3	5	8	8	15	135	7
7	1	0	4	1	2	6	12	7	6	133	8
8	1	2	3	3	8	7	7	7	2	171	5
9	6	3	1	4	3	1	3	2	6	147	6

Total Rank Score was obtained by giving a score of 9 for first ranking, 8 for second ranking and so on, multiplying these scores by the frequency of that ranking, and adding the results.

Appendix IVd

Trainees Motivation for Entering Teaching

School 4

OPINION	FREQUENCY OF RANKING POSITION									TOTAL RANK SCORE	OVERALL RANKING
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
1	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	2	1	40	5
2	3	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	58	1
3	3	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	49	2
4	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	4	28	9
5	2	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	48	3
6	1	0	1	0	2	0	2	1	7	41	4
7	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	2	35	7
8	2	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	3	40	5
9	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	34	8

Total Rank Score was obtained by giving a score of 9 for first ranking, 8 for second ranking and so on, multiplying these scores by the frequency of that ranking, and adding the results.

Appendix Va

Kind of Preparation received by Trainee Teachers in the Normal
Schools

School 1

Alternatives	Good	Adequate	Poor	Rating*
11.1 Learning the content of topics in the curriculum	33	24	-	147
11.2 Learning the methods of teaching	36	18	-	144
11.3 Learning how to design and create curriculum topics	31	18	4	133
11.4 Understanding the social background and needs of pupils	28	23	6	136
11.5 Providing for socially disadvantaged pupils	16	29	7	113
11.6 Learning to respond to the needs of the local community	20	25	7	117

Note: * Good = 3, Adequate = 2, Poor = 1.

Appendix Vb

Kind of Preparation received by Trainee Teachers in the Normal
Schools

School 2

Alternatives	Good	Adequate	Poor	Rating*
11.1 Learning the content of topics in the curriculum	25	22	-	119
11.2 Learning the methods of teaching	24	22	1	117
11.3 Learning how to design and create curriculum topics	21	18	8	107
11.4 Understanding the social background and needs of pupils	12	22	9	89
11.5 Providing for socially disadvantaged pupils	10	30	6	96
11.6 Learning to respond to the needs of the local community	5	22	15	74

Note: * Good = 3, Adequate = 2, Poor = 1.

Appendix Vc

Kind of Preparation received by Trainee Teachers in the Normal
Schools

School 3

Alternatives	Good	Adequate	Poor	Rating*
11.1 Learning the content of topics in the curriculum	17	8	1	68
11.2 Learning the methods of teaching	13	13	1	66
11.3 Learning how to design and create curriculum topics	13	12	2	65
11.4 Understanding the social background and needs of pupils	9	16	1	60
11.5 Providing for socially disadvantaged pupils	11	8	1	50
11.6 Learning to respond to the needs of the local community	13	9	1	58

Note: * Good = 3, Adequate = 2, Poor = 1.

Appendix Vd

Kind of Preparation received by Trainee Teachers in the Normal
Schools

School 4

Alternatives	Good	Adequate	Poor	Rating*
11.1 Learning the content of topics in the curriculum	9	3	-	33
11.2 Learning the methods of teaching	7	6	-	33
11.3 Learning how to design and create curriculum topics	6	7	-	32
11.4 Understanding the social background and needs of pupils	5	6	1	27
11.5 Providing for socially disadvantaged pupils	4	5	1	22
11.6 Learning to respond to the needs of the local community	5	8	1	31

Note: * Good = 3, Adequate = 2, Poor = 1.