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1953

THE YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION 1953

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Published in association with
THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
and TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK
by
EVANS BROTHERS LTD., RUSSELL SQUARE, LONDON

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INTRODUCTION

THIS is the first issue of the YEAR BOOK to be published under the joint editorial responsibility of the University of London Institute of Education and Teachers College, Columbia University. It is an outward and visible sign of a collaboration between educationists on the two sides of the Atlantic and especially between these two institutions, a collaboration which has long been close, cordial, and growing in intensity and fruitfulness.

The machinery, compared with that of other forms of trans-atlantic co-operation, is simple. The College and the Institute will each appoint Editors who will be jointly responsible to both institutions for the preparation of each volume. Arrangements have been made by which there can be personal consultation between the Editors from time to time. The Editors will receive advice from two panels of the Editorial Board, one under the chairmanship of the Director of the Institute in London, and the other under the chairmanship of the President of the College in New York.

This new and happy arrangement does not imply any change in the fundamental policy of the YEAR BOOK, which is as it has been for more than twenty years, to invite contributions from educationists of repute in all parts of the world, leaving them entirely free to write what they wish from their own experience and against the background of their own national circumstances and philosophy. It is a necessary consequence of this policy that the responsibility for any opinions expressed must rest with the contributing author, and that it must not be assumed that any such opinions would necessarily find favour within either the Institute or the College.

On this clear understanding, the YEAR BOOK will have available far greater resources for the implementation of its policy than it has had in the past.

The new Editorial Board has advised the continuation of the recent policy of choosing each year a special theme for comparative study. The present volume deals with the social and economic position of teachers. It becomes clear that everywhere an important difficulty in pursuing enlightened educational policy lies in the recruitment of a sufficient number of really good teachers.

It is often urged that this difficulty can be overcome only if the economic rewards offered to teachers are greatly increased. This volume reveals considerable evidence in support of this view, for everywhere the economic and financial position of teachers is a difficult one. Nowhere are they really well paid and, in many

countries, they cannot attain even a moderate standard of reasonable comfort.

Yet it may well be doubted whether efforts to raise teachers' salaries would in themselves achieve the desired end. More is at stake than can be measured in money. One cannot hope to recruit good teachers for our schools unless teachers themselves are respected and honoured members of the society they serve. Thus this volume is concerned not merely to collect the statistics of salaries but to find out how teachers are appointed and dismissed, what social class they come from, what sort of friends they meet, and what sort of lives they lead. The endeavour has been to discover the social and economic status of the teaching profession, and in what way that status is changing as society evolves.

Perhaps the most potent instrument for improvement would be a more conscious realisation of the responsibilities which every country is now expecting its teachers and its schools to discharge—that of being an instrument used by society for its own improvement.

We may be forgiven a special pride that our two institutions, so long linked by many personal ties, should have the opportunity to work together in this great enterprise.

G. B. JEFFERY.
WILLIAM F. RUSSELL.

SECTION I

SPECIAL STUDIES

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIAL POSITION OF TEACHERS

DURING the Second World War, the magazine *Fortune* published a memorable photograph as part of an issue devoted to an interpretation of the Japanese people with whom the Allies were then at war. It showed a Japanese schoolmaster standing with his back to the camera, facing the regimented lines of his young charges. In the photograph were all the poignant and conflicting characteristics of his profession, all the subtle tragedy of the teacher in his ambiguous relation to society.

Actually one sees only the silhouette of a little man standing stiffly at attention. Yet no one could possibly doubt that he was both a Japanese and a schoolmaster. He is dressed in a black suit, his trousers slightly rumpled around the tops of carefully polished black shoes. His collar is white and stiff and high. His hat is perched exactly and squarely upon his head. His stance reveals the dignity of one who commands the respect of his fellows. And the intensity that flows from every line of the pose shows his full consciousness of the responsibility to destiny which falls on his shoulders. He knows that in his care is the youth and the future of his nation. His words, his ideas, the disciplines he imparts, are more important than machines or food or bullets to the survival of his country.

The photograph does not show it, but one can almost feel the physical presence of the bicycle on which he will ride home from school. One can sense the frayed cuffs and mended socks. One knows that he will read only the conservative *Asahi*, and that he prefers the ancient *Nō* drama to frivolous *Kabuki* or Western movies. He prides himself on 'thinking for himself', has read translations of some of the books banned by the Thought Control Bureau, such as Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* and the works of H. G. Wells and Bertrand Russell. Yet he faithfully follows the official ideology of the Imperial Way outlined by that same Bureau in its manual for teachers, the *Kokutai no Hongi*. It is almost with a sense of shock that one realises he will return to a home and remove the impersonal formality of his coat, talk with his wife, and play with children who are not merely statistics of 'average daily attend-

ance' or disciplinary cases. And that he will take them to the park at week-ends and be hidden by the protective colouring of the *petite bourgeoisie*.

This anonymous stereotype of a schoolmaster, surviving only in the files of a magazine, dramatically affirms the puzzling paradox of the status of teachers. For the teacher is both a beloved leader and a neglected public servant. He may enjoy a prestige that approaches veneration and yet starve unnoticed by the parents of the very children entrusted to his care.

No one who knows the respect which a Japanese expresses when he uses the term *sensei*—master—can possibly doubt the elevated status of the teaching profession. It is the ultimate accolade of the intellectual. In India a *guru* stands in relation to his pupil as a religious leader to his disciple. Christ, Mohammed, Buddha, and Gandhi were 'teachers', they were of those who give to their followers the inestimable gift of enlightenment. It is not an accident that in every culture the religious leader and the 'teacher', in the word's broadest and most generic sense, are virtually synonymous. In the Voodoo cults of the Caribbean it is the witch-doctor who possesses esoteric knowledge, who instructs his followers in the essential rites and practices which will bring them earthly fortune and control their ultimate destiny. Similarly, the *mãe de santo* of the *candomblé* fetish cults of Brazil are the repositories and transmitters of sacred knowledge to their adherents. The traditional teacher of the Moslem world has been the Arabian *imam*, Persian *mullah*, or Turkish *hoça*, teaching in the various mosque schools. In the Western European tradition it was the priest and later the Protestant minister who explored new ideas, perpetuated formal learning, and instructed the young.

These traditional attitudes towards the great scholar, or the religious leader who teaches his disciples, have undergone a profound change. When the 'teacher' instructed only the élite in religious dogma or in the classical *trivium* and *quadrivium* of the Middle Ages, then that teacher was indeed a 'master', a man who had devoted his life to mastering the learning of his age and who had it within his power to hand on esoteric knowledge from which stemmed political, religious, and economic power. With the development of the common school, designed to impart to all young people certain rudiments of knowledge considered indispensable to the economic and political structure of society, then the status of the teacher radically changed. The immortal "Mr. Chips" is still a revered archetype of the English public school master, because in Great Britain there still survives a secondary school for an élite. But the hard-working, dedicated mediocrity who teaches from a more or less standardised syllabus in one of the less progressive secondary modern schools of England or high schools of the United States is neither a 'master' nor a 'Mr. Chips'. He is an adequate

but unimpressive member of the undifferentiated horde that walks briskly from subway to office in C. Wright Mills's *White Collar*.

Our first difficulty, then, when thinking of the status and social position of 'teachers', is to decide upon the meaning of the term. We are prone to lump together the scholar and the instructor, the research worker and the professor, the theoretician and the coach in practical skills. In the Renaissance university of Western Europe, the 'teacher' was all these. He was a master of logic and rhetoric, an artisan, penman, illustrator, and bookbinder of great skill, an instructor of youth, and a tireless investigator both of scientific experiments and of historical documents. He held a status commensurate with the dignity and eminence of those duties. His position was unique, and he was not confused with a sergeant who taught swordsmanship in a page school at the court. Both were 'teachers', but only the university scholar was a master.

In modern times all this has changed. Not even a university professor of the greatest eminence can become expert in more than one or two disciplines, and his reputation usually rests on the investigation and teaching of a small fragment of a single specialisation. He is no longer a professor of 'natural philosophy' but of 'physical optics' or even of 'spectroscopy'. His life may be devoted to a study of the Fraunhofer lines of the solar spectrum or of the wave theory of gratings. His instruments are made by professional instrument craftsmen; his mathematical calculations carried out on an 'electronic brain' leased from a commercial firm; his data collected by scientists with whom he may have no personal contact; and his theory based on research published in languages which he cannot understand but which have been translated by specialists in a central scientific library.

Concurrently with this intense specialisation of the work of the 'teacher' at the university level, there has come an enormous multiplication and diffusion of 'teaching' tasks to meet the insistent demands of a modern technological culture. Mass education has shattered the simple archetype of the educated *élite*, the 'complete man' who was able to master the major essentials from an encyclopaedia of human knowledge. No such man can exist. The realm of knowledge has grown too vast. A society, if it is to survive, must now train thousands of different types of specialists, technicians, craftsmen, and simple skilled labourers. And so there has been introduced into most modern educational systems an impressive array of technicians who are generally termed '*teachers*' but who are remote from the classical model of the university professor. They teach how to find oil beneath a desert or wash a dirty dish efficiently; how to read, write, and speak ancient, modern, and exotic tribal languages; how to build a house, plan a city, or divert a river; how to change mass into energy; how to organise a union, predict an election, or extract philanthropy out of

the parsimonious. . . . And any man who discovers, or orders, or transmits, or disseminates, or appraises, or administers in this fantastically extensive and complicated learning and teaching process may be called 'teacher.'

It is obvious, then, that those who teach are unlikely to have assigned to them identical ranking in any system of social status. The principal or president of a university, the professor of surgery, the coach of an athletic team, the Red Cross nurse who teaches first aid, the medical practitioner in a tropical village who shows the inhabitants the rudiments of sanitary hygiene—these are all teachers, but they are not all awarded the same social status.

Historical Background

Discussion can be somewhat clarified through an historical approach. Under primitive conditions, a tribe must hand on from generation to generation its language and its way of life as well as the skills which provide for the daily needs of the community. Three levels of instruction are necessary. The young child must learn the tribal language and the elementary rules of behaviour. The boy and girl must be trained in the arts and crafts which are the basis of subsistence. Adolescents have to be initiated into tribal mysteries and taboos before they are accepted as full members of their tribe. There are, of course, no special institutions and no professional teachers to perform these tasks. The mothers teach young children to speak and to walk, to eat and to dress: they were kindergarten mistresses long before Froebel invented the term. The fathers and the male relatives teach the boys how to fish, to hunt, to fight, and to care for domesticated animals: they are master craftsmen, the direct ancestors of our vocational teachers. And the priests or medicine-men initiate the young men into the tribal lore and culture: they are the precursors of our academic teachers in university and secondary school.

Thus, from the very beginning, there were three groups of teachers, each with a different social status. The women, who taught infants and girls, were on the lowest rung of the ladder; no man would condescend to teach infants to speak or girls to cook. Is it altogether fanciful to suppose that the relatively low esteem now accorded to primary and elementary teachers is connected with the high percentage of women, still everywhere the disadvantaged sex, employed at that level? It is at least noteworthy that in Denmark, where young children have long been taught mainly by men, elementary teachers enjoy a status probably higher than that held in any other country. But to return to tribal conditions—only in those exceptional cases where there was a separate language, which women were forbidden to speak, did the men instruct boys in the secret language: a strange analogy to the classical masters and monks of later times. Training in crafts and skills was not yet

as systematic as in the mediaeval guilds, but the status of the adult fisherman, hunter, or warrior was superior to that of a woman, and the things taught by him were more important than those taught by a woman. The initiation rites and rituals were entrusted to a special body of persons, namely, to the guardians of tribal culture, who enjoyed a privileged status and who were the first professional teachers.. There was no possibility at all of promotion from mother-nurse to master-craftsman or to priest-teacher. It was not thought that all three performed essentially similar functions—all equally necessary to survival. Nor could anyone have foreseen that the time would come when primary school teachers, secondary school masters, and academic teachers would all be thought of as belonging to the same profession: for this is a modern idea. During the Middle Ages, for example, each of the three chief classes of Europe—the producers, the warriors, the clerics—was given different training under different teachers. Future clerics were trained by members of the clergy, who enjoyed a relatively high status with legally defined privileges. Future warriors were trained by retainers of the nobles who were valued for their proficiency in arms, horsemanship, or singing, but who were definitely inferior to the knights and to the clergy. Future craftsmen were trained within the guilds through the apprenticeship system. While the first two groups slowly developed into professional bodies specifically devoted to teaching, the master-craftsmen seldom thought of themselves as teachers.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and especially in north-western Europe, teachers in post-primary schools became divided into two distinct professional bodies. The Latin masters were, as a rule, graduates of a university and often combined the duties of a teacher with those of a priest or clergyman. Their incomes, though moderate, were assured by school foundations and church emoluments, and they had a chance of promotion to headships of famous schools, to university teaching, or to higher ranks in the church. The specialist teachers were in a different position. They taught in private academies or schools dependent largely on their ability to attract fee-paying pupils, and often had to supplement teaching with craftsmanship.

During the eighteenth century, two new groups of teachers came into being within this framework. These were the teachers of mathematics and the writing masters. The teachers of mathematics were neither clerics nor graduates. They acquired their knowledge in private academies, by their own efforts from books, through apprenticeship or by attending public lectures. They taught all branches of mathematics, navigation, astronomy, and mechanics. Often, they were also instrument-makers and opticians. By origin they were the sons or grandsons of farmers and artisans. The opportunity of rising socially was not denied them, and the ablest

might become professors in military or naval academies with a high social status and a considerable income. The majority, however, earned a precarious livelihood by giving private lessons, and many died in poverty. They had a status definitely inferior to that of classical schoolmaster-clergymen. The writing masters were a similar group, teaching calligraphy, accountancy, shorthand, and the elements of legal practice. They had less possibility of promotion than the teachers of mathematics. Both groups were permanent professions engaged in teaching, and getting all or most of their income from it. The teachers of classical subjects, on the other hand, divided their time between teaching and preaching.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the dividing-line between the teachers of modern subjects at the secondary level and the teachers of classical languages lost its social significance, because by then both had to hold university degrees. The connection of holy orders with teaching in grammar schools was retained in England only in the case of headmasterships. The old teachers of mathematics acquired a higher social status, whereas the writing masters lost some of their prestige by being definitely relegated to the elementary school.

The intervention of the state in education and the gradual building up of national systems required large numbers of teachers for mass instruction in the three R's. The governments therefore resorted to various measures to recruit teachers. In Prussia, for example, Frederick the Great employed all the invalided sergeants and corporals of his army. In Russia, Peter the Great conscripted the pupils of orthodox theological seminaries, and the bishops, resenting this compulsory withdrawal of future clergymen to staff secular schools, issued orders to their seminaries to part only with the worst of their pupils—drunkards, insubordinates, and failures. As a result, the status of the elementary school teacher was very low, and in the opinion of contemporaries the very title became a synonym for a drunkard or an ignoramus. Teachers in secondary schools, on the other hand, became part of the Russian civil service, received ranks and uniforms, and even carried swords.

The establishment of elementary training colleges or normal schools and the issuing of state teachers' certificates did not make much difference. Almost everywhere the elementary school teachers, who were not academically trained, were the employees of religious bodies or local authorities, whereas the secondary school teachers, who were graduates and civil servants, were often employed by the state. Chances of transference from the elementary system to the secondary did not exist, and teaching in elementary schools became a blind alley, attracting only the sons of farmers or else those who had failed in other occupations. In the secondary school system there was the possibility of climbing the administrative ladder in the civil service, or of transference to the universi-

ties. Correspondingly, the social status of the two groups was quite different. The rural teacher was subordinate to the local priest, was subservient to the squire, and was treated by farmers as their equal. The grammar school master inherited the prestige of the mediaeval Latin master-cleric, with the added status of the civil servant. There was no consciousness of any unity among the teaching profession. One group taught the masses and belonged to them, the other taught the ruling class and more or less belonged to it.

The Social Functions of Teachers

When one notes how difficult it is to say precisely what is meant by a 'teacher', one begins to be assailed by doubt. Is there any point in attempting to group together into a single profession a mediaeval philosopher and a soldier instructing pages in swordsmanship, or a lecturer explaining how best to prepare salads for school lunches and a physicist working with a cyclotron? All these people do valuable work, of course. Indeed, it may well be that the eating habits of modern man acquired at mother's knee or in the nursery school, with all their implications for world economics, demographic pressures, and international strategy, may some day prove to have been more decisive than the quantum theory.

Even if this problem of classification and terminology were solved, there would remain the puzzling problem of determining the exact social status of so immensely variegated a group. Is it worth while to make the attempt? Is it not true that there will always be available a supply of persons able to do a reasonably adequate job of instructing the young—so why worry about their status? No doubt they will secure the remuneration they deserve and can reasonably command.

These are certainly legitimate questions. Yet we believe that the attempt is worth while and should be prosecuted vigorously. A task of increasing importance is being assigned to the teaching profession. Unless it is efficiently carried out, the prospects of further material advance and of social progress will be slight. It is our belief that the new responsibilities laid upon the teaching profession cannot be properly discharged unless the profession as a whole is everywhere regarded with more respect—that is, unless its social status is raised.

This view receives strong support from a consideration of the social functions of a teacher. It may be well to list here some of the more important of these, even at the risk of stressing the obvious. We should ask ourselves, as we take account of the different things that need to be done, whether the functions assigned to teachers can in fact be discharged by persons of low social status. Would a preacher despised by his hearers be accepted as a moral guide? Would a medical man respected no more than a domestic servant

be trusted by his patients, and would he be able to obtain from the community the material resources needed to apply modern scientific knowledge?

What, then, is a teacher in the twentieth century supposed to do? First, he has to transmit the accumulated knowledge of the past and interpret it with reference to the present. This function is not reserved only to the teacher of history and social studies, but equally it is the obligation of the teacher of science, art, language, and all the varied subjects found in a modern curriculum.

Next, he must be able to take this knowledge of the present into the future, because he is guiding his students in a society always evolving. At the very least, the teacher must understand major trends in contemporary civilisation, and prepare the young to meet adequately the problems they will encounter as they approach maturity.

Many would hold that even this is not enough. They would urge that the teacher should be an active agent for change and reform in culture—that not only should he foresee what is likely to occur, but that he should in part determine what does, and prepare his students to assist in achieving the desired reform. In such a role the teacher would be far from neutral: he would be deliberately reinforcing certain trends and opposing others.

It is precisely at this point that the position of the teacher becomes ambiguous in many societies, especially with mass-education systems, where the child is compelled by law to attend an official school until he reaches a certain age. It is argued that parents are compelled by the state to send their children to a school not of their choice, and to put them under the care and moral influence of a teacher only remotely under their control. Such a teacher, the argument runs, should not be granted full liberty under the guise of 'academic freedom' to work and teach for a different sort of social order from that which exists. At the very least the parents should have the protection of knowing that the government supervises and limits the action of the teacher. The parents, moreover, should enjoy the right to oppose even government policy, if this becomes too antagonistic to their personal moral views. The private school, parochial or lay, has served this purpose for many parents, but no fee-charging institution can offer full liberty to the dissident section of a society, because the cost automatically puts this school out of the reach of the majority of families. If this principle of the fundamental right of a parent to determine the kind of education given to his children is accepted, then the 'right of teaching' becomes redefined in terms of the 'right of learning'. The teacher in a free society has the right to teach what he pleases (within broad limits), but not necessarily in a compulsory or tax-supported school. There teaching is a privilege, not a right. And the fundamental right is that of the parent as a citizen to determine

(again, within broad limits) what his child shall learn.

An essential element in determining the status of the teaching profession is the prevalent attitude and public acceptance of the value and reputability of the material taught. And in this matter, the public is not in the least reticent. A teacher of science or of the humanities, in most cultures, definitely holds a higher position in the eyes of the public than does a teacher of carpentry, typewriting, or hair-dressing.

Directly linked with this public evaluation of the educational programme is another and extremely important factor—the public support of the educational system. In a system which has decentralised administration and finance, such public support is of crucial importance, because without it there is little possibility of securing adequate funds on which to operate. The teacher is in the position of a salesman of a highly specialised service. If he does not convince the public of the value of that service, he cannot continue to sell it, and the public funds are cut off. In a centrally administered and financed system, the impact of public reaction to the educational system is less in degree and slower in effect, for it is applied only indirectly. On major issues, however, it may be equally decisive. As an example, it would be almost impossible for an avowed atheist to hold a teaching position in a system where the government was officially dedicated to a state religion—in Spain, Argentina, most Moslem countries, or pre-war Japan. The removal of popular support from even a centrally financed system would quickly wither that system—an illustration is found in the stagnation and partial extinction of the *classes nouvelles* in post-war France.

The implications of all this are wider still. The final test of any educational system is its contribution to the culture in which it exists. No dynamic modern technological culture could possibly survive without an adequate educational system. To the extent to which this is not only intellectually but emotionally realised by the members of a society, to that extent does the teacher employed in such a vitally necessary social instrument take on the prestige of his profession, and acquire high status. But the work of members of the teaching profession requires a long time to demonstrate in full degree its influence upon the lives of men and the structure of society. There is none of the dramatic and emotional intensity of the surgeon's deft incisions. Life does not drain out in an awful, conclusive, irrevocable stream when the teacher fails. Children grow up, read, write, marry, and work—and it is only when social institutions crumble under the tread of a totalitarian *Führer,* or when the silent wasting of a great depression is witnessed, that the people realise the failure of their schools to prepare for full citizenship.

Taking all this into account, the following propositions might be

put forward, both as a guide to the contents of the present YEAR BOOK and as a justification for presenting it:

(1) The determination of the status of teachers is no more complex and the results need be no less accurate than the determination of the status structure of the society as a whole, or of the position within it of any other profession. Such a study should, in effect, fairly accurately place the teacher in his relationship to the other major groups of the population.

(2) The results of such an analysis would help to demonstrate the relationship of the individual teacher to other segments of his own profession, and might perhaps lessen tensions and misunderstandings between various categories of colleagues. It might thus promote a feeling of unity among the various branches of the teaching profession.

(3) The findings might help to demonstrate the relationship of the various segments of the teaching profession to the other segments of the society within which it operates, and lessen tensions and misunderstandings between the public and the profession. Thereby, indirectly, it might perhaps help to secure from the public the resources and funds needed to operate educational systems more effectively and to ensure for teachers more adequate remuneration.

(4) Finally, such an analysis should reveal at what points the status of teachers is unnecessarily subordinate to that of other professions, so that a positive programme of action may be taken to improve the status of the profession, and thus to attract towards it recruits of markedly higher quality.

The Social Status of Teachers

When planning the present YEAR BOOK, the Editors prepared a long list of questions in the belief that the answers would help to determine the social status of teachers in a number of important countries, as well as the nature of the factors which affect it. The list was divided into seven sections, and it may be interesting to summarise them here. We asked for information about:

(1) *Salaries.* This is perhaps the most significant of all the factors involved, since remuneration reflects the social valuation accorded to the teaching profession, and at the same time affects it. But by itself information about pay does not convey much meaning, because the purchasing power of money varies, and because socially expected expenditure (e.g. on clothes or housing) also varies. Furthermore, the value of public social services (health service, family allowances, old-age pensions, etc.) differs widely. Nevertheless, it is well to note the range of salaries paid, the differences between the various ranks, whether men and women receive the same salaries, whether adequate pensions are paid.

(2) *Mobility and Promotion.* Free movement from region to region, or from one rank of the profession to another, increases the

attractiveness of a profession. If many teachers leave the profession, it is evident that conditions are unsatisfactory and status low.

(3) *Appointment and Dismissal.* Complete security of tenure, public advertising of vacancies, appointments by committee, freedom to choose the school in which one works, absence of religious or political tests, are all of them attractions as well as indices to status.

(4) *Selection, Recruitment, and Training.* Compulsory professional education and training, attendance at universities, possibility of obtaining higher (doctoral) university degrees, in-service training, control of admissions and of training courses by the profession itself, are all indices of the existence and strength of a well-established profession. The payment of grants to teachers in training helps to lower salaries and to diminish status.

(5) *Conditions of Work.* Complete freedom on the part of teachers to go in and out of school when not teaching, freedom to join professional unions or political parties, long periods of paid leave (e.g. sabbatical years), easy interchange between schools or with other countries, a democratic and non-authoritarian attitude on the part of principals, supervisors, inspectors, are all indices of professional status as well as conditions for doing truly creative work.

(6) *Professional Organisations.* The existence of well-organised professional associations, able and willing to defend the economic interests of their members as well as to support scholarly research activities, is essential for high status.

(7) *General Social Status.* Rich and varied social life, comparable to that enjoyed by other professions, not only enables teachers to do their work well, but is an index of high status in the community.

It must be stressed that the above summary is a very bare outline of the questions actually asked. Unfortunately, the data needed to answer them do not exist: there is much variation within each country and, moreover, too little research has been done in education and sociology. Thus our preliminary analysis did not help our contributors as much as we had hoped. Nevertheless, general conclusions emerge from the articles published in the present volume. Let us turn to these conclusions.

The position and prestige of a person in any society depends, of course, not only upon the work he does but upon factors such as his birth, his wealth, his personality, his physical appearance, and so on. So, too, with teachers, but *qua* teacher the status of any particular individual depends upon (*a*) the status of the profession as a whole, compared with other occupations, and (*b*) his position in the hierarchy of his own profession. Thus, an elementary teacher, even at the bottom of the ladder, is everywhere more highly considered than, say, a bricklayer or domestic servant. On the other hand, a professor of education or the head teacher of a school

is less highly respected than a professor of medicine or the chief of a hospital.

Let us, then, think first of the ranking given to the 'teaching profession' in comparison with others. Evidently, it is usually considered lower than the medical, legal, or military professions. Why? What are the operative factors? What are the qualities which human beings everywhere consider with high regard? Virtue, knowledge, courage, intelligence; certainly—but above all power, power over things, power over people. Any group of persons who can as a group command, direct, or manage other human beings, is looked upon with respect—officers in the army, judges in law courts, managers of great enterprises. And any group which can, thanks to its mysterious and esoteric knowledge, command nature, is looked upon with awe—in primitive societies, those who can make the rain fall; in modern societies, those who can cure obscure diseases in a quasi-magical manner. Again, those who belong to well-organised groups, who can by co-operative effort modify policy or events, will be respected. Power, in a word, may take different forms—managerial, intellectual, associational—but it will always earn respect, and those who wield it in any form will be accorded high status. Furthermore, they will always command a privileged share of whatever material resources are available: their economic status will be correlated with their social status. It will be noted, too, that entry into privileged professions is never easy: a long and often expensive period of training and probation is the general rule.

It is unnecessary to pursue here this problem of the ranking of the professions and of the factors that determine it. Every book on sociology or social institutions considers it. Let us turn, rather, to the question of intra-professional status. What are the factors which determine the prestige of a particular teacher among his own colleagues? Evidently they cannot easily be expressed by statistical indices: they are somewhat vague but recognisable attainments. For example, there is the length and kind of general education pursued, including the subjects studied, the prestige of the institution attended, and the academic success achieved. Occasionally, the amount and kind of professional preparation is taken into account. Publication of original work or of textbooks also exerts a certain influence. Membership of professional and learned societies counts, so do invitations to lecture or to attend exclusive conferences, so does the award of prizes and decorations. In some parts of the world, the holding of government licences or diplomas has great importance—the French *agrégation* being an outstanding example.

The above factors are important chiefly in determining the regard paid to a teacher by his own colleagues. There are, however, other factors which play a part not only with colleagues, but also in the

community at large. Tentatively, one might list them—at the risk of repetition—saying that the status accorded to a teacher by his fellow citizens is—at least in most countries—influenced by:

(*a*) Sex: teachers who teach in establishments employing many women tend to be rather less respected than those teaching in all-male schools.

(*b*) Social class of pupils: teachers who deal with pupils whose parents belong to the upper classes tend to become identified with those classes.

(*c*) Social origin of the teachers themselves: the status of an individual depends not only upon his personal qualities and the functions he discharges, but also upon his birth and social background.

(*d*) The age of the pupils taught: it is generally thought that no special qualifications are needed to teach infants and young children, but that the task of teaching grows more difficult as the pupils grow older. This is one reason for the high status of university teachers.

(*e*) The subjects taught: here present-day evaluation is affected not only by present-day importance but by the inherited traditions. Thus, in some countries, philosophy and Latin are considered rather more reputable than vocational or technological subjects.

(*f*) The qualifications of the teacher, and the length and cost of the training required to obtain these qualifications.

A remark should be added. Clearly the factors mentioned always have their effects in combination with one another. Often any one or more of them may be completely obscured by others. For example, an elementary teacher in a rural area may command much respect in intellectual circles because he is looked upon by them as a sort of cultural missionary or as a genuine representative of 'the people'. Or, again, the first factor mentioned (sex) will not operate so powerfully if the general position of women is very high. All that can be done here is to draw attention, as a tentative generalisation, to factors which do operate in some areas, and which might be taken into account when analysing any particular situation.

Community Controls and Social Status

The teaching profession in nearly every culture is considered by the community to demand certain special moral and spiritual qualities, even in a lay system. The public establishes standards of conduct for the teacher which it does not demand of other professions. In some societies it is not enough that the teacher be 'good', but it is required that he be 'considered good'—on the assumption that even suspicion and rumour of violation of these special ethical standards would destroy his moral influence over the students and render him unfit to be their instructor.

Obviously these conduct codes vary widely: extra-marital sexual

experience, for example, is tacitly accepted in some cultures, at least in the case of male teachers, while such a lapse from the conduct code might be enough in some parts of the United States and Great Britain to jeopardise a man's position, and proof of such an act might be legal grounds for dismissal. In some Moslem communities no teacher would be employed if it were known that he drank spirituous liquors, and many sections of the United States prohibited in the past not only drinking, but smoking, public dancing, gambling, and even the normal social and political activities which were permitted to other citizens. Most of these prohibitory controls of the community have now been abandoned, and the tendency is growing everywhere to treat the teacher as just another normally acceptable citizen who has certain professional skills in teaching. Community controls are not only of the prohibitory type, but also of the pre-requisite type. For decades, teachers in the United States were required to contribute to certain community activities as an indispensable condition of employment. Thus, they were expected to help in church and charitable works, to assist in the direction of clubs and extra-curricular activities of the children, to purchase their requirements from local stores (on the theory that teachers were supported by taxes on the local economy), and to serve in various civic (but non-partisan) capacities. Again, most of these are disappearing from the American scene. But in those societies where the teacher is considered a civil servant of the government, special codes developed by the bureaucracy frequently apply.

Perhaps the most powerful, though subtle, community control on the teacher is that which is applied to him in his role as a 'stranger'. In nearly every educational system there is a considerable movement of the teachers from one community to another. This inescapably casts the teacher in the role of a 'stranger' in the community with each change of position. Only when the teacher, for economic and social reasons, becomes fixed in a community, puts down roots, and identifies himself with that community, do these controls tend to disappear.

It is hardly necessary to add that the acceptance of foolish restrictions, often enforced by unenlightened supervisors or principals, lowers professional status. Members of no other profession, for example, could be forbidden to smoke in staff common rooms! Yet, the undignified spectacle of teachers hurrying out of school to enjoy a cigarette is not unknown. It is well to accept willingly restrictions which are based on sound moral principles; altogether wrong to put up with petty tyranny.

University Teachers

At this stage, it will be worthwhile attempting to describe in general terms the position of teachers in various parts of the world,

drawing mainly upon material gathered in this YEAR BOOK. It will obviously be easiest to deal separately with the three chief levels of instruction: the university, the secondary school, and the primary or elementary school.

Everywhere, university professors, as well as their junior colleagues, enjoy high respect and prestige. They are thought of as men of deep learning, devoted to the search for truth, scrupulous and honest, unworldly and wise. For the most part, they tend to be drawn from the upper-middle classes, since they need a long and expensive training, and since the early stages of a university career are usually very poorly rewarded. They carry out their work in buildings which, though often antiquated, are usually large, conspicuous, and frequently beautiful. They are everywhere given an astonishing degree of freedom: they themselves decide upon their hours of work and may usually stay away when they choose without asking anyone's permission. University holidays are long, and opportunities for earning additional income are plentiful. In many ways, then, the position of a university teacher is among the best. Nevertheless, there are some odd features about it. The respect given to professors is not unmixed with a certain contempt: one has but to observe the 'professor-stereotype' as it is represented in caricatures and popular journals. Above all, the financial rewards seem meagre when compared to those earned in business or in the independent professions. All this holds good both in countries like France, where professors are civil servants, and the U.S.A., where many are employed by entirely independent corporations.

Let us consider, as an example, the position in the United States, richest of modern countries and the one perhaps most explicitly dedicated to education as an instrument of social and political action. Two of the past seven Presidents of the United States have been university presidents. Hardly an advisory committee to the President on any major question of public policy has been constituted without its membership including presidents or deans of universities. During the Second World War, the most important technical commissions in existence—on atomic energy, radar, synthetic rubber, and synthetic gasoline—were largely directed by university presidents and professors. The planning staffs of most American military headquarters were filled with technical experts drawn from the faculties of the universities. The social revolution of the 'New Deal' was planned and in a large measure carried out with personnel from the universities. America's roving Ambassador, and for a long time its representative in the United Nations following the Second World War, was a professor. Professors sit on the United States Supreme Court. They help to direct the largest philanthropic foundations. They contribute an overwhelmingly large percentage to the ten thousand books annually

published in the United States. They devise the processes on which modern industry operates. And they constitute by far the largest class to be listed in such directories as *Who's Who in America*. It can be truthfully said that there is probably no more respected profession in the United States, nor one which, purely on the basis of status, ensures a member a more respectful hearing. Yet the median university president receives less than the average licensed physician or dentist. And the average full professor of even the largest and wealthiest universities makes less than half what the students will receive, in medicine or law, ten years after graduation.

Within the American university one can detect signs of a prestige hierarchy. There was a time when the theologian, philosopher, or historian looked with some misgiving upon those who worked in physical, chemical, and biological laboratories. Science seemed a smelly, manual, pragmatic sort of occupation. Now it is accepted, and the natural scientist in his turn has been somewhat sceptical of the economist, psychologist, sociologist, and anthropologist attempting to claim the mantle of academic respectability and scientific sanctity with their 'social studies'. One thing has tended to unite the old and the new: the appearance of an even less 'academic' intruder, namely the professional educationist.

The school of education, in spite of the fact that it trains for the largest single profession in the United States, is often looked upon as hardly more than a 'trade school', offering pompous and verbose lectures on the most absurdly minute fractions of the teaching process. Variations of Shaw's famous quip that "he who can, does; and he who can't, teaches", are quoted in disparagement of the mushrooming activities of such schools. Schools or departments of education are now at least two generations old and with this maturity has come a differentiation of the status-strata even within their highly specialised ranks. Thus the professor of philosophy, or history, or sociology, or psychology of education cannot quite believe that a professor of educational administration or curriculum or methodology is really as 'academic' and hence as acceptable as he is. And all these probably secretly consider their studies to be intrinsically somewhat above those of professors of folk dancing, or swimming, or making a salad.

The position in Latin-American countries contrasts rather sharply with all this and yet is strangely similar. In Mexico, for example, an academic chair still holds something of the prestige attached to it in Renaissance Spain. It is a prize eagerly sought by the professional classes of the capital city, even though the monthly stipend is only a few dollars—hardly enough to pay for the taxi between office and lecture room. The title of 'Professor' in the national university assures one of a social status which no amount of economic or political power can bestow: a status which goes back

to the days when family tradition, personal wealth, or the benevolence of a great patron made possible the scholar's complete devotion to learning, untroubled by preoccupation with salary or with the commercialisation of scholarship. His intellect was his passport to the inner circles of society, and his companions were the more studious of the aristocracy, who sought outlets for their energy in adventures in the new learning, instead of dilettantism, conquest, or intrigue. Despite a socialist revolution, Mexico still retains much of this in its university life.

In varying degrees the other nations of Latin America have also clung to the tradition that teaching at the university level was an honour adequately recompensed by the mere title of Professor or *Catedrático,* and the social prestige attached to that position. It is only since the university reforms that started at the University of Cordoba in Argentina shortly after the First World War, that there has grown up a class of professional university teachers, who devote their full energies to working in a faculty and are paid a salary commensurate with the dignity and academic demands of such a post. Even to-day there are few Latin-American nations where more than a tiny minority of the professional university teachers can live solely on their salaries—perhaps in Venezuela, Mexico, Argentina, Peru, Uruguay, and Brazil—though even in these the number is very small. There are none where the professor can approach the incomes of other learned professions.

The Secondary School

In general, those who teach in secondary schools do not enjoy even the social regard which partly compensates the university professor. In Latin America, for example, the shabby genteel *profesor* who teaches a few hours a week in a *colegio, liceo,* or *gymnasio,* was in the past almost as much of a stereotype as the Japanese teacher that has been preserved in the *Fortune* photograph. His black coat and striped trousers, his poetic hair-cut, are a faded photograph of the Parisian intellectual at the end of the last century. He is even now still found in the provincial cities, yellowed and thin with malaria, reading his classics, nursing the exaggerated finger-nails which prove that he does no manual labour. But his modern colleague in the secondary schools of the cities is as much a stereotype, though a less theatrical one. He is a quiet, pedestrian, clerk-like 'functionary' who supplements his salary with private language lessons to students in his home, writes occasional articles for the local newspapers, and lives on the dream of political appointment to the security of some civil service sinecure. He frequently has had only a secondary school training himself, and at best has been 'formed' in an independent faculty or in one of the lesser universities. He feels pride in his appointment, and receives a degree of social recognition that places him, in the

protocol of the provincial city, above the bank clerk and municipal bureaucrat, but below the local priest, field-grade military officer, and physician. Certainly this picture does not describe conditions in north-western Europe or among the English-speaking nations. But there are features in it which, *mutatis mutandis*, cut uncomfortably close to the bone.

From what social classes are secondary school teachers drawn? How do they get their education and training? Why do they choose to become teachers? The answers from all countries are much the same. Roughly, they come from those classes which also provide clergyman, journalists, bank clerks, and so on; in a word, from typically middle- or lower-middle-class families and from the lower professional ranks. Their parents, serious and hard-working folk, ambitious to give their sons or daughters a better social position than they themselves hold, early imbue them with respect for learning and develop in them habits of study. They encourage them to prepare themselves thoroughly for examinations. They hold out before the young people the advantages of a fixed and secure position, with regular increases in salary and long vacations. Having enjoyed successful careers at school, the young men and women feel little reluctance to return as teachers, and usually discharge their duties conscientiously and ably. Yet a certain doubt creeps into one's mind: what sort of persons will be amenable to such inducements? One cannot answer with certainty, but it is quite possible that they will tend to be rather more docile and quiet than the average. And the community at large will be reluctant to award high status to persons whom it suspects of being of that type. And again: most intending secondary school teachers, throughout the world, attend universities. During their courses fresh horizons and new possibilities open up. Often they desire, at this stage, to take up more adventurous careers . . . and enter teaching only if thwarted. Thus, a certain percentage of the entrants are disappointed young men and women, of somewhat lower calibre than those who join other professions.

In quite a number of countries, such as France, Japan, and the Philippines, teachers are members of the civil service. Strangely enough, it seems that this has very little influence upon their status, nor even upon their salaries. It may be that everywhere the teaching profession has become so thoroughly bureaucratised, so fixed and settled and secure, that public opinion rightly attaches small importance to any formal connection between it and the administrative apparatus of the state. After all, what difference would it make in England, for instance, if all teachers really were civil servants, local or national, in the full sense of the term? Besides, the status accorded to the various ranks of the civil service, from the second-in-command of a minister to the village postman, is quite as varied as that granted to the different kinds of 'teacher.'

There is an important exception to all this. It has already been said that Peter the Great introduced into Russia a system of grading and a semi-military organisation of the public services which lasted, of course with modifications, until the Revolution. Under this system, every grade of teacher was assimilated to a rank in the civil service. For example, full university professors with experience and the principals of large secondary schools had the same rank as a full general in the army, wore uniform with two-star epaulettes, were addressed as 'Your Excellency', and were treated as equals by generals. Their sons entered the hereditary nobility. In the same way, secondary school masters were all equated with rankings in the army, the navy, or the clerical civil service; all habitually wore uniforms, with badges of rank, and were treated with the respect due to these. One is reminded of what happened in Anglo-Saxon countries, during the last war, when university personnel was drafted into the technical services of the armed forces: in England, for instance, a full professor was usually granted the rank of brigadier or colonel; an associate professor became a colonel; a senior lecturer, a major, and so on. In the present-day U.S.S.R., and in many other communist states, this system of grading continues, though it has been much changed, and the various levels of the teaching profession in consequence enjoy higher status than they otherwise would. Iran has adopted the same idea and, in consequence, secondary teachers and university personnel are well-paid people of high status.

From the point of view of the school, what matters more than civil service grading is the degree to which teachers are granted reasonable freedom. If their work is closely controlled by rigid syllabuses and regulations—which may happen in decentralised as well as in centralised systems, the quality of the personnel is lowered, because free and independent minds avoid conditions which prevent their full activity. Another factor of some, though not decisive, importance, is whether the administration is highly centralised, as in France, or decentralised, as in the U.S.A. The former favours uniform national salary scales; the second, local scales. The former gives greater security and prevents the payment of the astoundingly inadequate salaries paid in some poverty-stricken areas of the U.S.A. But local scales tend to increase the prospects of financial betterment for the abler and more ambitious: it may seem unfair that cities like New York should attract the best teachers, but the New York salaries are perhaps so high that they could not be paid everywhere in the U.S.A.

We have already, and more than once, given reasons which explain the higher status accorded to secondary than to elementary teachers, chief among which has been their association with the children of well-to-do parents, with the professions, and with the universities. In a word, their fairly high status has been a function

of the fact that they have taught in socially selective schools. And wherever the secondary school continues to be selective, wherever the large majority of its pupils proceeds to the university, the masters or mistresses enjoy prestige: the articles on Sweden and on the Netherlands illustrate this fact. We find, in those countries, well-paid secondary school teachers with high academic qualifications. But the status of the different ranks of a profession is itself dependent upon the structure of the whole society within which it operates. As the latter changes, so does the former. Now, in many countries, class structure has been changing and the old middle classes have come much nearer to the manual workers. On the educational plane, the projection of this change has been a gradual amalgamation of the old elementary school with the first years of the old secondary school, until now these two overlap everywhere and in many lands have even been fused into a single 'common school'. Correspondingly, the status of secondary teachers in these countries has moved towards that of the elementary teachers: the purchasing power of their salaries also has gone down and down. Fifty years ago, the French *agregé* in a *lycée,* the Belgian professor in an *athénée,* or the English public school master, was a gentleman of leisure and means, who could think of expensive holidays abroad and whose position was about equal to that of a doctor. But now all of them are financially worried, look for ways of earning a little extra money, and help their wives to wash up the dishes.

The financial position of secondary teachers has, in addition, been greatly worsened as a result of the ongoing social and technological revolution and, above all, of the world-wide depreciation of the value of money, as a result of wars. Salaries usually fixed by long-term agreement, as are those of the civil service, have utterly failed to keep pace with a constantly rising cost of living. What seemed adequate five years earlier, turns out to be poverty. Other workers, strongly organised in powerful unions or syndicates, defend their interests. Skilful business men and independent professional men either increase their fees or learn to manoeuvre in the new conditions. Teachers are hampered by their desire to keep distinct from manual workers—a desire which prevents them from taking militant trade-union action to defend themselves—and, it must be admitted, by a social conscience which makes them sensitive to idealist appeals. In consequence, they have been far less successful, and their economic situation goes down and down everywhere, as does that of pensioners, the old, and all those whose incomes are fixed.

A continuing rise in the cost of living together with difficulties for the salaried classes appears to be inseparable from a rapidly expanding, dynamic economy. In consequence, increasing difficulties are being met in finding enough recruits to staff the schools in some countries. Canada reports such a shortage that there is no

further talk of selection, and New Zealand tells the same story. Only where opportunities for the middle classes are narrow, or the spirit of adventure weak, or the pace of economic development slow, does there appear to be an ample supply of would-be teachers. Incidentally, in connection with salaries: it is an interesting fact that many countries of Roman Catholic tradition report the payment of special family allowances, often quite ample, to their teachers.

One last rather curious point. Teachers are not often thought of as active in political life. Yet many countries report that they are: in England there are quite a number of teachers in Parliament, and both Ireland and Denmark mention that teachers do display interest in politics—though Belgium reports the opposite. It may be that, in countries where political and religious lines of division do not run parallel, it is easier for teachers to play their full part as citizens.

The Elementary School

Much of what has been said about secondary teachers applies, of course, to elementary school teachers. But the position of the latter is almost everywhere considerably worse, since they combine low social status with desperately inadequate pay. Take an extreme case —that of Latin America. It is not uncommon there for a rural school teacher to be paid as a monthly salary a sum less than the cost of a single night's lodging in a middle-class city hotel. Even in the provincial and capital cities, the elementary teacher's salary is so low that it tends to limit the applicants for appointment to young women awaiting marriage, widows desperate for some productive employment, men who have felt the bitterness of failure, the ambitious person from the interior who uses an urban appointment as a step to further advance, the educated unmarried daughters of families that feel a moral dedication to service. Yet in spite of the very low pay, in spite of the public's indifference to the struggling teacher and the urban sophisticate's amused condescension, the position of elementary school teacher still carries with it a certain prestige. It may be the only avenue through which the labouring classes can break through to the lower middle class. It is a 'respectable' profession, to be preferred to many more lucrative forms of commerce. It gains a certain aura of importance, even though very faint, by being connected with the various upper strata in the hierarchy of the teaching profession. In many of these Latin countries it has a quasi-political position, so that the teacher feels akin to the lesser levels of the governmental bureaucracy, and gains the security of the civil-service system.

Of course these teachers will probably be trying to earn extra money by pursuing side occupations, such as farming. But it should be asked: What is the effect of this on their social status? Clearly, if it is known that a teacher has to cultivate a plot of land in order to feed his family, or—the case occurred in England—has

to serve beer in a public-house in the evening to make ends meet, then the status of a profession which imposes such conditions on its members is lowered in the eyes of all.

Let us take a look at the other extreme: that of the U.S.A. Both in real wealth and in relative position the American elementary school teacher ranks well in comparison with his colleagues in other lands. He usually has a car, television, and a comfortable home with central heating, modern bathrooms, and a kitchen filled with gadgets. He travels extensively, dresses well, and can afford occasionally to attend the opera, theatre, and concerts. He is definitely middle-class in outlook and origin, and is accepted in nearly every segment of American society—with the possible exception of the tiny minorities at both extremes of wealth and poverty —as a respected equal. His formal education is almost certainly higher than that of his counterpart in any other nation. He is virtually certain to have at least two years of university training, while the majority have had four, and some five—with the M.A. degree. This education alone, with its common experiences and acquaintances during student days, goes far towards guaranteeing social acceptance by other members of the community who have shared those same experiences. Yet even in this relative abundance enjoyed by the average elementary school teacher, the paradox exists with ludicrous force. The teacher at the beginning of his service in one major industrial city in the Middle West actually receives less than the street cleaner, garbage collector, and dog-catcher of the city. The median salaries paid to teachers in some of the poorer areas of the United States are far less than those of almost any skilled trade—carpenter, bricklayer, pipe-fitter, or truck-driver. And the lowest wages are hardly more than those of the share-cropper in the Deep South.

What, then, is the explanation of this low status which expresses itself by miserable pay? In the first place, of course, the historical and social factors to which we have already referred. Public elementary education in many countries has its roots in charitable institutions set up as relief measures by the rich. The first elementary teachers were women, cripples, or men unable to do hard physical work. Usually they had received little education and no training. It seemed clear that the work needed no special skill and, in addition, there were not—and there are not—any easily applied criteria by which success or failure can immediately be appraised. And what sort of people are nowadays drawn to the work of teaching young children in elementary schools? Many women, and some men who have proved unable to secure better-paid or more highly considered work or who have failed to secure entrance to a liberal profession. And popular mythology adds: women who rightly believe they have little chance of getting married; men who are afraid to face other adults and who prefer

the safer world of the classroom; immature minds who prefer the society of children, or who wish to take refuge from their feelings of inferiority by moving into a sphere where they can assume authority over the young and weak. All this may be nonsense, but such opinions help to keep down the status of the profession.

In spite of its drawbacks, there is yet a certain security about the job of teacher and even a certain dignity, at least from the point of view of a manual worker who has experienced industrial depressions. Furthermore, the necessary training can usually be obtained at the cost of public authorities. Hence, the profession has for many years been recruited largely from among the children of small farmers and artisans—good, solid stock. With the passage of time, it was inevitable that such people should strive to better their position: and in several countries they are beginning to meet with success.

In the first phase of their struggle, elementary teachers tended to display a certain antagonism towards their secondary colleagues: Mr. Ronald Gould's article on England tells this story briefly. But in the second phase, the antagonism changes into co-operation when it becomes plain that to support one's colleagues is to support oneself. This is the position now reached in many countries, and it is a hopeful one.

There is, however, very little room for optimism. In industrialised countries almost everybody can now read and write. As a result the differential advantage conferred by literacy has disappeared: no one will pay extra for what everybody can do. The very success of the elementary and secondary schools in spreading education has served to diminish the price of their products: it is in some measure a question of supply and demand. Furthermore, public opinion considers that no special skill is needed to teach young children: thus elementary teachers are often looked upon as more or less unskilled clerical workers. The latter now earn no more than unskilled labourers. And thus we have a position in which the remuneration of elementary teachers approximates to that of ordinary manual workers. They are still, it is true, awarded higher respect—social and economic status are not exactly correlated. One way of correcting this situation, if one thinks it should be corrected, might be to insist upon a long and costly training. But the need for this must be implicit in the requirements of the professional task: it must not be a sort of trick to raise salary. It seems, then, that the more secondary schools and colleges there are, the more scholarships or grants-in-aid, the lower will be the salaries given to teachers and other clerical workers. Possibly the best they can hope for under such conditions is to improve their condition by participating in the over-all material improvement of the community consequent upon technological advance: they may hope to get the same proportion of a larger cake.

Salaries which are low in comparison even to those of manual workers mean that it is proving difficult to find sufficient recruits to staff elementary and primary schools. This is a powerful lever used to raise remuneration, but acts slowly. It is often neutralised simply by increasing the size of classes. The real trouble comes in finding teachers for rural schools, especially in countries like Australia, where the schools are often situated in isolated places, or like India, where village conditions are very unattractive to those who have learned to appreciate the amenities of town life. To meet this problem some countries simply post beginners to outlying areas, allowing them to move to cities only after a number of years. Elsewhere, special premiums are paid in addition to the normal salary. The problem is one peculiar to the elementary school, and it will be solved in ways adapted to the particular countries. It is mentioned since it brings into relief the social consequences of the ambivalent attitude of the public towards teachers.

The Multiple Role of the Teacher

One of the remarkable characteristics of the teaching profession is that in spite of its varied character, there still emerges in each culture something of a prototype 'teacher'. Frequently this 'teacher' is nothing more than a caricature of a depressed minority within the profession. In point of fact, however, there exists not only a very large range of different kinds of teachers, but each teacher as an individual plays a number of different roles. These roles stem from a number of different causes. The first and most decisive is the multiple objective of a modern educational system. Each of the objectives attempted imposes a pattern of social and cultural obligations upon the teacher, which in turn affects his status. The second of these roles is that of the teacher as a unit of some institution or instrument of the educational system. For the teacher does not, like the traditional Mark Hopkins, "sit on one end of a log with the student at the other", but teaches as a small but important integrated unit in what is probably the largest single industry of the world—certainly the largest in the United States. The third of these divergent roles of the teacher is that of an adherent of some social group. He is not a machine that teaches with the neutral impartiality of a calculating machine the data fed into it by some superior intelligence. It is suspected, in truth, that some teachers are just this! But even in these rare and disappointing cases, the partiality of the teacher still remains—for by his very act of uncritically accepting the dictum from above, he has revealed his partiality, his loyalty to the system and to the authority he quotes. And this loyalty of a teacher to some group or creed or social ideal inevitably affects his social status.

Every national system of education has some relatively clearly

defined objective. The primitive tribal objectives of the Duk-Duks of the Carnegie study were those of training the youth to prepare for tribal membership. The Nazi German objective for its educational system was that of creating a totalitarian society based upon faith in the leadership principle, dominance of the 'Nordic Race', and the creation of a good soldier. The communist objective of education, exemplified in Soviet Russia, is that of building a communist society and achieving a world revolution based on historical materialism, class war, and the leadership principle.

Stalin, in his much-quoted statement to H. G. Wells in the early 1930s, said: "Education is a weapon whose effect depends on who holds it in his hands and at whom it is aimed." The British educational objective, at least as epitomised in the Education Act of 1944, was to educate all individuals to the full extent of their interests and capacities, from cradle to grave, to participate in a democratic and technological society and to serve their country loyally.

The list might be extended indefinitely, but the principle is apparent: nations hold very different objectives for their official educational system, and those objectives reflect upon the teachers. The Duk-Duk teacher is the master of initiation into tribal rites. The Nazi teacher was a militant propagandist of racial theories and totalitarian techniques. The Russian is a missionary engaged in psychological warfare in a great social revolution. The English is a social reformer. Everywhere, the teacher is an instrument of society.

Teachers in modern societies are given the task not only of imparting a corpus of knowledge—they have also to inculcate attitudes, develop habits and skills, strengthen loyalties, promote allegiance, reinforce moral codes. . . . Two things would seem immediately evident. The first is that with this multiple objective, and the enormously expanded curriculum to meet it, there has come no comparable increase in school time in which these skills and knowledge and loyalties might be taught. Improved methods may have increased efficiency somewhat and thereby stretched the available time through more intensive use. But it seems evident that compensation has to be made somewhere, and it is suspected that it is made in the thoroughness of the instruction in certain of the traditional skills and disciplines. Again, the desirability of such a policy is not germane to this study, but the effect upon the status of teachers of being associated with a process that is severely criticised is pertinent. The teacher has been forced to spread his talents very thin. And he is judged not by his remarkable versatility, but by his obvious lack of depth in the separate areas that he deals with. The second result of this policy is that the type of professional preparation to meet this wide spread of interests has necessarily changed, and with it the type of teacher. There is a trend away from the rigorously trained specialist, frequently on a

par with the university professor in his academic preparation and scholarly attainments. Less emphasis is placed upon his command of a discipline, and more on his personality and command of methodology of teaching. Of course, few elementary teachers ever achieved a very high degree of academic training. But at the secondary level there has been a noticeable change. And with this change has come a markedly reduced status in relation to professional people with intensive training in a discipline.

Modern education is an institutional process. It is rarely carried out in the intimate personal contacts between master and pupil that once gave the teacher high status. To-day the teacher takes on in major part the coloration of the institution in which he works. He has a complex set of relationships to the various interested parties in the educational process. And in each of these roles he has a certain status. First, of course, is his relationship to the state or nation. Here, both his own position and the position of the educational institution will be derived from the theory of state, as well as from current political and economic conditions. Thus, for example, the theory of democracy as opposed to authoritarianism in the American concept of the state led to mass education instead of an education to select and train an *élite*, and this in turn led to the development of a 'common school'. There are other relationships that vitally affect the status of the teacher. He has a relationship to the various pressure groups of the community and the nation, to the non-official voluntary associations that work for certain political and social policies. He has a relationship to the parent, both as an individual and as a unit of organised parent-teacher associations. And he has a relationship to the child in his care.

These various relationships frequently present the teacher with conflicting demands on his loyalty, and he is also torn between conflicting loyalties with regard to his own personal identification with social groups and movements. He has his own loyalty to his profession, to a political party, to a religious sect, to an ethnic minority, to an economic class. He has equally strong loyalties to ideas and social ideals, to a concept of universal education, to a political ideology, to moral codes and ethics. In part, his status will be affected by his choice of loyalties. Thus, for example, the teacher who aligns himself with organised labour and links his professional career to a labour union will almost inevitably take on the status of the union member in that society. And the avowed communist or fellow traveller can hardly escape being ranked with other communists and fellow travellers outside the school system. The teacher, like the layman, will rarely be exclusively identified with any one group, or any one social movement. He represents a complex of loyalties and a complex of status rankings. When viewed from the various positions of the several observers noted above—the official of the state, neighbours, members of pressure

groups, parents, students, and colleagues—he will tend to hold the status of that group or ideological loyalty which appears to them most important.

Is Teaching a Profession?

Throughout this introduction, and the various articles of the YEAR BOOK, there has been constant reference to the 'profession' of the teacher. But the question must be asked: "Is there a teaching profession?"

Measured by the standards of other well-recognised professions —the law, medicine, the clergy, engineering, architecture, and a number of others—it is readily apparent that the teaching 'profession' does not have certain of their determining characteristics. The very variety of gainful employment which is collectively known as 'teaching' makes the teacher fundamentally different from members of other professions. What, then, are the decisive criteria of a 'profession'?

First, it is a vocation which is practised as a major source of livelihood. It is not an avocation or hobby. It is not an amateur's dilettantism. Now if this is the criterion, a very large proportion of teachers would qualify as members of the 'profession'—for certainly the coach of a football team as well as the kindergarten teacher live on the pay they get for their teaching efforts. But what of the distinguished professor in a graduate school or university? In some parts of the world, as has been noted, his salary is purely nominal, and the professor is by this criterion an amateur.

A second criterion of a profession is that its members control some esoteric knowledge, not available to the public. It is access to this knowledge or skill that makes possible that service of the profession which is marketable. It is a very moot point whether or not the teaching profession actually possesses such esoteric knowledge. At the university level there is undeniably a corpus of knowledge in each of the recognised disciplines which is not generally available to the lay public. To claim to be a member of the 'profession' of university professors, then, might well be justified on the basis of this criterion. But it is highly debatable whether the content of courses at the secondary and elementary school levels is or is not known by the educated lay public. If this is so, then only in terms of some esoteric skill in methodology could the teacher claim unusual ability. Professional teachers claim that they do have special skill in transmitting learning. But it is very doubtful if the lay public is convinced of this. It is generally held that 'anyone can teach' if he has a fair command of the subject-matter. On such an evaluation of needed skills, it would be difficult to classify teaching as a profession.

Closely akin to this is a third criterion—that of the measurable difference between the gifted amateur and the average professional.

In medicine, an amateur may bind up a cut, or administer a sedative, or even set a broken bone. But not even the most gifted layman could adequately remove an appendix or tonsils or diagnose the cause of a heart attack. Obviously in this recognised profession there exists an impassable gulf between the amateur and the professional, a gulf that is easily recognised, and one which cannot be passed by the amateur without grave and immediate peril. In the realm of teaching, however, every parent and nearly every person who has contact with personnel is perforce an amateur teacher. Now there may be some disastrous consequence to society in the distant future through having an amateur teach children to read, to spell, to write, to calculate, or the names and locations of the countries of the world. It seems unlikely—for such amateur teaching by harried parents is occurring every day. Again, then, on such a criterion, teaching hardly seems to be a profession.

There is public recognition of special competence in those vocations whose results are vital to the society, and where incompetence might bring immediate disaster. Thus, there is a limited licensing system in law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, architecture, engineering. Such a licence system might be a fourth criterion of a profession. It is true that such a system exists in most formal educational systems, but its real value is thrown in doubt by the almost universal practice of officially sanctioned exceptions and waivers. In many systems the teacher in the private school does not need a teaching licence—yet presumably the private school frequently gives equal or even superior education to that provided by the public tax-supported institution. And in the public school system, if there is a 'shortage of teachers' the licensing requirements are set aside and candidates are employed and permitted to teach with 'temporary licences' that require far less training and experience than that which has been set as the minimum needed for good teaching. This immediately poses the question: "Does the licence really indicate competence in teaching, or is it more in the nature of a union card that attempts to limit competition for the available jobs?" Few people would be willing to submit to a brain operation by a non-licensed surgeon, or fly an ocean with a non-licensed pilot. The licences here are clearly measures of his profession. Yet there seems little objection to leaving unlicensed teachers to run a school or to teach children. The licence fails to define a profession.

Finally, a profession might be defined by the criterion of clearly demonstrated and substantial social gains from improved techniques, organisations, and philosophy. Does education really produce substantial social gains? If it does, then merely by association with this process the teacher might claim to be a member of a 'profession'. Obviously education does make substantial social gains possible. If it did not, then the enormous public

budgets for the schools would have been drastically cut long ago. Instead, they have been justified and have steadily expanded. Perhaps the gains have not always been commensurate with the effort and expense, but gains there have been. Does this, then, mean that every professional teacher is a member of a profession? Probably not. But *some* of them may be. Every employee of an engineering firm or of a law office need not be a member of those professions. But the engineer and the lawyer are.

This, then, may well be an answer to the troublesome problem of teacher status. Mass-educational systems, stemming from democratic motives in society, applied a levelling process to their own employees. All were 'teachers', all were members of a 'profession'. But, in fact, the public never accepted this view. Some 'teachers' hold esoteric knowledge, exercise power over others, are able to command superior remuneration, and receive social recognition and prestige from their colleagues and from other learned professions. These people have an elevated social status: but they constitute only a small *élite* in the educational hierarchy.

What of the others? Is the pill too bitter to swallow, to be classed with clerks, draughtsmen, pharmacists, printers, or the hundreds of other honoured and indispensable adjuncts to the learned professions?

Those teachers who are not quite members of a learned profession need not submit supinely to a depressed economic and social position. They may inform—'educate'—the lay public to the importance of their contribution. They may engage in collective bargaining for higher salaries, and organise and licence their membership to limit competition. They may, in effect, become a guild of skilled and honoured craftsmen. They may extend their own profession and join professional organisations to increase their knowledge of the processes of teaching to the point where they really do command esoteric knowledge and are demonstrably better than gifted amateurs. And, lastly, by their conduct and behaviour, they may help slowly to change the popular stereotype of the 'teacher' into something more deserving of respect.

This is the honourable and dignified route to public recognition, the only way of substantially raising the status of teachers. Success would bring about the much-desired and much-needed improvement in their material condition, and it would help them to make of public education what we would like it to be: a social instrument for improving the lot of mankind.

EDITORS.

CHAPTER TWO

THE NATURE AND DETERMINANTS OF SOCIAL STATUS

In recent years there has been a veritable spate of argument and discussion, in homes, common rooms, and scientific journals, about the true nature of social class and social status. Although considerable progress has been made, it cannot be claimed that the problem has been solved or that full agreement has been reached. The dispute has been as much about words as about facts, with the result that, especially in informal discussion, it is often impossible to get beyond the "it depends what you mean by social status" stage. This is very tiresome and frustrating. One is liable to get bogged down in arguments about the definition of terms and to be led further and further away from a study of the real facts of the situation. All one really needs to start with is a first approximation sufficient to indicate what one is talking about; the fuller and more exact description should emerge later as the investigation progresses. But it is difficult for the sociologist to offer even this first approximation, when the words at his disposal mean one thing to some people and another to others. However, the task cannot be evaded.

Social status refers to one aspect of the phenomenon of stratification in society, and it will be best to deal with the more general concept before turning to the more limited one. Stratification, as the word implies, means the division of a society into strata, or layers, lying one above the other. It is a concept which belongs to the study of social structures, and we discover stratification by identifying those parts of the structure which have this character of superimposed layers and by seeing how they are related to one another and to the working of the social system as a whole. Each part, or stratum, is composed of large numbers of people who occupy the same, or closely similar, positions in the social structure.

There are, and have been, many different kinds of stratification in human societies, and there is fairly general agreement among sociologists that they can usefully be classified into three main types: Caste, Estate, and Class.

The most perfect example of Caste is found in India—not in our present age, but at that point in the past when the caste system was at its height. Its principal characteristics can be briefly summarised. Marriage takes place between members of the same caste, and the

children belong to the caste of their parents; these are the principles of endogamy and heredity. Membership is normally lifelong; there is, in other words, practically no social mobility. Caste members are united by distinctive social customs and separated from other castes by rules limiting contact or enjoining avoidance. These include the restrictions on intermarriage, and also limitations on eating together, accepting food and drink from, and even (in some cases) coming into close proximity to members of other castes. These are the outward expressions of social distance. Castes form a hierarchy, being arranged in an order of superiority and inferiority, which is associated with ideas of purity and impurity. Each caste, also, is linked with a limited range of permitted occupations (in some cases with one only), and the classification of occupations also brings in the idea of purity and impurity, especially at the extremes of the scale. The prestige order of castes is not based on wealth.

Clearly this is a very rigid system. It is also one which penetrates deeply into the lives of the members of society. There is no room for any other principle of stratification or social ranking to exist side by side with it or to challenge its supremacy. If the caste system is in full vigour, caste membership is an indisputable and unalterable fact by which a man's position in the social structure is wholly determined. And, in addition to this, the system as a whole is not regarded as something freely invented and constructed by man, which may be changed by him or which can be made different by the spread of different ideas. The basic beliefs are upheld, not because they are traditional, but because they are true. As a modern authority says: "The general Hindu feeling about the caste system is that it has been 'established by divine ordinance' or at least with divine approval." [1] It is rooted in the divine plan and in the nature of man and the universe. This is clearly seen in the doctrine of *Karma*, according to which "a man's condition in this life is the result of his conduct in his last incarnation; his high or low caste is therefore the reward or punishment of his past behaviour", that is, of his behaviour in a previous life on earth.[2]

The Estate system, too, is marked by rigidity, but less complete and of a different kind. It is more difficult to find a perfect example of an estate system, but its principles can be recognised in the middle period of feudalism and the aristocratic societies of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. An estate may be defined as a group of people having the same status, in the sense in which that word is used by lawyers. A status in this sense is a position to which is attached a bundle of rights and duties, privileges and obligations, legal capacities or incapacities, which are

[1] J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India*, p. 164.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

publicly recognised and which can be defined and enforced by public authority and in many cases by courts of law. The word is to-day so widely used by sociologists with a broader and less exact meaning [3] that, in order to avoid confusion, it is best to speak of 'legal status' when we refer to status in its original sense—the sense which has just been roughly defined above. We must add, also, that many legal statuses have little to do with stratification, for instance such statuses as those of minor, doctor, innkeeper, or married woman. We are concerned here only with those which distinguish a social stratum or at least a substantial part of one.

The most important status distinction of this kind in mediaeval society was that between the free and the unfree. We may say that the serfs constituted an estate because their legal status was marked by a lack of rights, especially the right to personal liberty and the right to own property. We may also say that in England the greater barons who established their claim to be personally summoned to the King's Council, and who developed into the hereditary peerage sitting in the House of Lords, had a distinctive legal status. In pre-revolutionary France the nobility were distinguished, not only by the use of titles, but also by the enjoyment of certain legally recognised rights or privileges affecting in particular taxation and landholding, and by separate representation as an estate in the national assembly. We can also recognise the power of the estate system in Germany, where "members of different estates could not intermarry at all, and later could at best enter into no marriage of full effect", and where "military [knightly] life, civic industry and rustic field work were mutually exclusive occupations in the law of status." [4]

Castes, as we saw, were endogamous and hereditary. Endogamy within estates was the normal practice but enforced more often by social custom (which could be defied) than by law. The French aristocrats, like the English, were not strictly endogamous; one of them cynically observed that "to marry beneath oneself is merely taking dung to manure one's acres".[5] Children inherited the position of their parents, except in so far as primogeniture restricted the full right of inheritance to the eldest son. But mobility was possible. It was, however, controlled. Status being legal and official in character, change of status must be by a legal or official act, as when a serf was liberated or a commoner ennobled. The sense of social distance was strongly marked, and each estate was linked with a limited range of permitted, or at least appropriate, occupations. Though at the lower levels this might operate as a disability, at the higher levels it represented a valuable monopoly. The estate system, then, reveals a precise and fairly rigid stratifica-

[3] See below, p. 34.
[4] R. Huebner, *A History of Germanic Private Law*, pp. 91–3.
[5] L. Ducros, *French Social Life in the 18th Century*, p. 61.

tion, but in no case can it be said to give us the whole picture. Legal status rights did not permeate the whole of social life, and a description of stratification in terms of these rights alone is jejune and artificial. Our purpose here has been only to explain the nature of the principle.

The third type of stratification is Class, and its basis is economic. The concept has been widely used, notably by Karl Marx, and with various shades of meaning. It is not, in fact, and never can be, a very precise term, but it is an indispensable one. "Classes", says Max Weber in one place, "are groups of people who, from the standpoint of specific interests, have the same position in the economic system." [6] The combination of the terms 'position' and 'interests' implies that positions are to be regarded as the same if the lives of those occupying them are governed by the same forces and influenced in a similar way by the same circumstances—if they have, in Weber's phraseology, the same life chances within the economic system. A class system is a social structure in which stratification is dominated by this principle. And it is enough for our immediate purpose to recognise that capitalist society is an example of such a structure. That certain positions in a capitalist society have a hierarchical character is obvious. There is the hierarchy of power within the firm from the management down to the wage-earner, and the hierarchy of the corresponding groups in the society at large, in which power brings wealth and wealth buys power. But, although the outlines of the structure are clear, the details are not. And, although we may feel certain that economic positions rank themselves in terms of wealth, power, and opportunity into something which looks like a system of superimposed strata or layers, we find it difficult to say exactly what these layers are and exactly who belongs to them. Here, too, the picture is incomplete, and in order to fill it out we may have to introduce some principle other than the objective test of position in the economic system.

All three systems have a certain objectivity, although the use of this word is fraught with the peril of misunderstanding. Caste membership is an indisputable and unalterable fact about which there is no room for differences of opinion. Estate, in its pure form, is equally factual; a man either possesses the rights or he does not. If the matter is in doubt, it is settled by a public authority, not by public opinion. Differences of class, in the technical sense in which we have been using the term, are also factual. That certain people occupy the same position in terms of wealth, economic power, and opportunity is something which an outside observer might discover even though the people themselves were not aware of it. It is this that we shall have in mind, and no more than this,

[6] H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber*, p. 405.

if we refer to the objective facts of stratification in the course of the discussion of social status on which we must now embark.

It will be recalled that, when discussing estate systems, we noted that sociologists to-day make frequent use of the term 'status' (without any qualifying adjective), and that they do not mean by it the same as the lawyer does when he uses the word. Legal status is a position distinguished by publicly enforceable rights and duties, capacities or incapacities, which are relevant to the position and its function in society. Status, as used by sociologists, is similar but is extended to include characteristics of the position which are not legally determined. It covers all behaviour which society expects of a person in his capacity as occupant of the position, and also all appropriate reciprocal behaviour of others towards him. In saying this we are really describing status in terms of what many sociologists call its "role", that is to say its active aspect. And, in fact, it is very difficult to conceive of status except in terms of action. The rights and duties of legal status are rights and duties to do something or to have something done to one—they are, in fact, legally sanctioned behaviour. When we extend the concept beyond the legal sphere the corresponding notion is that of socially expected behaviour. A father, in his capacity as such, has certain legally recognised rights and duties with regard to his family which constitute the legal status of father, but there are also many other forms of action relevant to his status which, though not legally prescribed, are socially expected. But status in this extended sense, like legal status, is not necessarily connected with stratification. Only when it refers to a position in the social hierarchy or to membership of a social stratum do we call it 'social status'.

By social status, then, we mean a man's general standing *vis-à-vis* the other members of society or some section of it. 'General' is inserted to indicate that we refer to something more all-embracing than a specialised standing as an expert in something, such as the maintenance of motor-cars, though such expertise may contribute something to social status. Secondly, social status, like stratification, carries with it the idea of superior and inferior. If we compare the social status of two people, we ask whether they are equal or unequal, and, if unequal, which is the higher and which the lower. And in such a comparison we are concerned not only with the objective facts, such as rights, wealth, or education, but also with the way in which the two people regard each other, that is to say with reciprocal attitudes expressed in reciprocal behaviour. The attitudes spring from a valuation or assessment of relative positions, which is reached by valuing or assessing the relevant objective facts which are known or can be observed. Among the most relevant facts are those which we have noted in studying stratification. The relevant facts may be called the evidence, the indices, or the symbols of social status, and in that sense its deter-

minants. They are the immediate cause of the attitudes and the resultant behaviour. But behind them lie determinants in a different sense, namely the factors which determine how these relevant facts come to appear where they do. If wealth is one of the determinants in the first sense, then the forces controlling the distribution of wealth are determinants in the second. There is yet a third level which is the most difficult to explore. We may wish to discover what determines the values which society attaches to the various types of relevant fact. It is with determinants in the first sense that we are chiefly concerned in this article.

The reference to society raises an important point. Social status, we have said, is standing or position in society, and it may be misleading to describe it in terms of the relationship between two individuals. For social status rests on a collective judgment, or rather a consensus of opinion within a group. No one person can by himself confer social status on another, and if a man's social position were assessed differently by everybody he met, he would have no social status at all. In other words, social status is the position accorded in terms of the social values current in the society. It has, one might say, a conventional character. And it is a position having relevance for certain attitudes and forms of behaviour, not for all. It is so difficult as to be almost impossible to define what these are. One can only give crude examples. A doctor, for instance, may treat all his patients with equal care, regardless of social position, without inviting them all indiscriminately to dinner. Or, looking at it from another angle, the assessment of social position is not the same as the assessment of personality. Both affect reciprocal attitudes and behaviour, and it is very difficult to disentangle them. One might suggest that the best measure of social status in its pure and undiluted form is the preliminary and provisional judgment of social position based on 'paper' evidence (such as family, schooling, income, occupation) and on the impression gained by a brief contact in which such overt indices as speech and manners can be observed. On this evidence a person may be recognised as a representative of a particular group or social class. It is obvious that it is only in terms such as these that we can speak about the social status of a group, for instance of teachers. But an individual teacher may, by virtue of personality and attributes not characteristic of the group, acquire a rather different social status within a community in which he is well known. We might call the first 'positional social status' and the second 'personal social status.'

We have now identified three different levels. First, the actual social position as accorded by the attitudes and behaviour of those among whom the individual lives and moves—which we have called personal social status. Secondly, the social position accorded by the conventional values current in the society to the group or cate-

gory of which the individual is representative—which we have called positional social status. And thirdly, the position in the system of stratification which is a feature of the structure of the society—which we have been rash enough to refer to as an objective fact. These three levels present us with two questions of interrelationship. First, how much freedom is there for the establishment of a personal social status differing from that indicated by positional social status? And in asking this, we must realise that, if personal social status were completely independent, positional social status would be a meaningless concept. This, it must be admitted, is a question of the greatest difficulty and complexity, and we can do little more than draw attention to the problem. Secondly, how tightly is positional social status tied to the system of stratification? It will be noticed that this question, as formulated, implies that it is bound to be tied fairly tightly but may have a certain measure of autonomy.

We need not pause long to put this question in the case of a caste system. It has already been suggested that so powerful, rigid, and all-pervading a system can leave little room for any other principle of stratification. "Everywhere in India", writes an Indian scholar, "there is a definite scheme of social precedence among the castes, with the Brahmin as the head of the hierarchy." [7] 'Social precedence' means the same thing as 'social status'. On the deep penetration of caste into individual lives another authority says: "From the point of view of the individual member of a caste the system provides him from birth with a fixed social milieu from which neither wealth nor poverty, success nor disaster can remove him. . . . He is provided in this way with a permanent body of associations which controls almost all his behaviour and contacts." [8] We may conclude that, to all intents and purposes, social status is a mere reflection of caste membership, except, perhaps, for distinctions of personal social status within a local caste group.

The estate system deserves more attention, partly for its intrinsic interest, and partly because certain features of the estate system have survived into the age of class. It has already been pointed out that estate rights, in the strictly legal sense, had a limited significance, and that the lines drawn through a society by estate differences were usually few, so that each estate was a very large group capable of further differentiation. Three developments demand our attention.

First, where an estate was firmly entrenched, the legal rights were extended by a body of privileges so firmly rooted in social custom as to have in effect the force of law, or, one might say, to be official rather than merely conventional in character. Social status was

[7] G. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India*, p. 6.
[8] Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

firmly tied to estate status. The prestige of a German noble, for instance, was in all its aspects as unchallengeable as his legal rights. Secondly, we find subdivision of estates proper into sub-estates based not strictly on distinctive legal rights but on official position. Here we might instance the division in seventeenth-century France between the ancient noble families of chivalry, the *noblesse de l'épée,* and the more recent recruits to nobility by office, the *noblesse de la robe,* and the further division of the latter into the *grande, moyenne,* and *petite robe.*[9] Thirdly we find, also in France, distinctions within the Third Estate which reveal what can best be described as culture groups. The urban bourgeoisie contained, not only oligarchies of office, but also layers united by a common economic position, that of trade as distinct from manual labour (we might call this a class within an estate), but also by a consciously cultivated culture, which in some cases, but not in all, succeeded merely in being a ridiculous imitation of the culture of the aristocracy. Such groups strove to create a social status, not based wholly on estate or class, but sustained by value judgments which they hoped would become part of the conventions of the society.[10]

But the best example comes from England, a country in which the outlines of the estate system were generally more weakly drawn than on the Continent. As Professor Namier has said of the English class system: "Classes are the more sharply marked in England because there is no single test for them, except the final, incontestable result; and there is more snobbery than in any other country, because the gate can be entered by anyone, and yet remains, for those bent on entering it, a mysterious, awe-inspiring gate."[11] The "final, incontestable result" is acceptance or rejection by the common estimation of the group. It is "mysterious" because it is not governed by rules, is not bound to follow the shape of any other official or objective status system, and cannot therefore be convicted of delivering a false verdict. Social status is judged in terms of social status alone.

The most perfect illustration is the peculiarly English figure of the gentleman. There is here no basis of politico-legal status, no distinctive enforceable rights, no title, no office—nothing but the "final, incontestable result" of a number of factors. The word 'gentle' and its derivatives did at one time have a certain flavour of estate about them, because they referred to those entitled to bear arms. But 'gentle' also connoted a way of life associated with ideas of chivalry. In the post-feudal age the 'gentry' were a group below the nobility but above, or at least distinct from, the bourgeoisie, but the word 'gentleman' could be applied to nobility and gentry combined. And this section of the population had never

[9] C. Normand, *La Bourgeoisie française au XVII^e Siècle.*
[10] J. Aynaud, *La Bourgeoisie française,* Chaps. 8 and 9.
[11] *England in the Age of the American Revolution,* p. 15.

constituted an estate. It contained the whole of the top estate and a part of the middle one. Nor could it be wholly identified with a class, since it contained the greater and lesser landowners, the professions, and some selected members of the business community. The surprising thing is, not so much that this particular social status was so autonomous and was not rigidly tied to any other system of stratification, as that the assessment was so definite and unhesitating, and that gentlemen so clearly formed a group or social class whose members enjoyed in a very real sense equality of social status, although important inequalities were superimposed upon the fundamental equality. In nineteenth-century England one might, after hearing a long description of a man, ask: "Yes, but is he a gentleman?" and expect, and receive, the answer yes or no. The same was true of the title 'lady', as can be seen from Trollope's description of Mrs. Dale, the impoverished widow whose grandfather had been 'almost nobody'. "That she was a lady, inwards and outwards, from the crown of her head to the sole of her feet, in head, in heart, and in mind, a lady by education and a lady by nature, a lady also by birth in spite of that deficiency respecting her grandfather, I hereby state as a fact—*meo periculo*. And the squire, though he had no special love for her, had recognised this, and in all respects treated her as his equal." [12]

The factors which figured as determinants of this social status of gentleman are easy to recognise, 'determinants' being taken to denote those attributes whose presence won recognition of the status. The most obvious necessary attributes were birth and culture. The two were easily reconciled as criteria as long as it could be maintained that the second was transmitted by the first. Transmission might be by biological heredity or family influence, and there is evidence of belief in both. But birth and family atmosphere were not enough. They required to be reinforced by education. The seventeenth-century author of *The Gentleman's Calling* went so far as to assert that men's minds are by nature of the same clay; education is the potter which moulds them into vessels of honour and dishonour.[13] This is a rather extreme view. More typical, probably, is that expressed in the opening scene of *As You Like It*. Orlando is denouncing the treatment he has received from his elder brother. At first he claims equality by birth and blood: "I have as much of my father in me as you." Then he says: "My father charged you in his will to give me good education: you have trained me like a peasant, obscuring and hiding from me all gentleman-like qualities." A gentleman was recognised, then, by this family and his education, with this difference—that a 'good' family counted, even if its influence was

[12] *The Small House at Allington*, Chap. 3.
[13] R. B. Schlatter, *The Social Ideas of Religious Leaders, 1660–1668*, p. 50.

not apparent in its product, but education (before universities and schools became a field for competitive snobbery) was judged by its results. To these we must add enough money to live the life of a gentleman and an occupation compatible with the ethos of that life, or no occupation at all.

There emerges here a point of some general importance. It might be said that, in the case of the gentleman, birth determined social status, and social status in turn determined culture; it created a right to the appropriate culture and was normally accompanied by the means with which to acquire it. But there were exceptions to this perfect correlation between birth and the appropriate way of life. The question then arises, can the reverse process take place? Can the way of life, adopted without the advantage of birth, determine social status? This question has been debated in England, often with great heat, for at least four centuries. The point at issue, however, has not been whether the simple answer should be yes or no: it must undoubtedly be yes. The argument has been rather about the time required to complete a change of status by these means—whether in one generation, or two, or more—and the degree of cultural assimilation necessary to confirm it. Protests against social upstarts and their too-ready acceptance into good society were rife in Elizabethan England, as witness the well-known passage from Sir Thomas Smith: "As for gentlemen, they be made good cheap in England. For whosoever studieth the laws of the realm, who studieth in the universities, who professeth liberal sciences and, to be short, who can live idly and without manual labour and will bear the port, charge and countenance of a gentleman, he . . . shall be taken for a gentleman." [14]

Satire is a favourite weapon of an aristocracy unable to stem the flood of invasion from below, and satirical attacks on the *bourgeois gentilhomme* are found in England as well as in France. The first words of Sogliardo, the *nouveau riche* in Ben Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humour,* are: "Nay, look you, Carlo; this is my humour now. I have land and money, my friends left me well, and I will be a gentleman whatsoever it cost me." More subtle, perhaps, in spite of its apparent crudity, is Shakespeare's thrust in *The Winter's Tale,* which seems to strike both at ludicrous ambition and at exaggerated pride of birth. The shepherd, who fathered Perdita, and the clown, his son, have been honoured for their services and hailed as 'brother' by the king and his son: they meet Autolycus:

> *Clown.* You denied to fight with me this other day, because I was no gentleman born . . . give me the lie, do, and try whether I am not now a gentleman born.
> *Autolycus.* I know you are now, sir, a gentleman born.
> *Clown.* Ay, and have been so any time these four hours.

[14] See A. L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth,* Chap. 6.

Notice the test of gentle status—the right to avenge an insult. The theme can be followed right down into the nineteenth and even the twentieth century, through the fortunes of Meredith's Evan Harrington, the cultured son of a tailor, and in the pages of *Punch,* where we can laugh at the solecisms of the upstart in the hunting-field and lament over the boorish antics of the war-profiteer in his Scottish castle. The tone changes from mirth to bitterness as the defences of aristocracy fall before the invader.

This peculiar phenomenon survived into the class system of modern England, and the English gentleman has often been the object of the curious attention of foreigners. He is the symbol of English snobbery and class-consciousness. But that is not all. A similar social-status group took shape in the level next below him, the lower middle class, with its black coats and white collars, suburban villas, exclusive social circles, and genteel clubs. One might be tempted to regard this as the result of imitation, were it not for the fact that something of very much the same kind appears to have happened in the United States, where the gentleman never existed at all. At one time the preoccupation with social status as something distinct from, though not independent of, position in the hierarchy of estate or class, was regarded as peculiarly English. But to-day this concept is being widely used in sociological investigations in America, and it is in some of the Scandinavian countries, rather than in the United States, that one will find those who look with mild surprise on the English idea of social status as a quaint anachronism. Professor Geiger, who recently studied stratification in a Danish town, held that preoccupation with hierarchy and prestige was "an ideological vestige of estates-society, and only appropriate in a class-society in so far as this continues to manifest estate residues".[15] This may be true of England, but it cannot be true of the United States.

We may find the clue to this problem by looking at the earlier phase of capitalist society in America, the golden age of the independent *entrepreneurs,* those sturdy individualists whose successors are to-day referred to as 'the old middle class'. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century they comprised about one-third of the working population, but they had a symbolic value out of proportion to their numbers. The independent *entrepreneur* was the ideal type of the American citizen in a competitive capitalist economy, holding a position to which every citizen aspired and which it was believed that every citizen worth his salt could achieve. This idealised picture of a world open to talent and enterprise was based on a belief in fundamental social equality in sharp contrast to the ethos of caste, estate, or social snobbery. And social relations

[15] J. Floud, "Social Stratification in Denmark," *British Journal of Sociology,* June 1952, p. 174.

largely conformed to this belief. The only significant differences were those measured by success and the simple, obvious, and incontrovertible fact of wealth. There was little room in such a society for an independent or autonomous set of social values to assert itself. The plain facts of economic inequality were accepted for what they were worth—but not for more; they were not invested with any mystical meaning such as might make rich and poor appear as different species of humanity. There was no place for a snobbish preoccupation with social status.

But the situation changed. The proportion of independent *entrepreneurs* fell, the chances of achieving independence, still more of retaining it, dwindled, while the fortunes of those belonging to this sector of the economy were more and more controlled by the power and policies of the big capitalists and organised labour. But the ideal persisted, enfeebled but still alive, and we are told that to-day the independent *entrepreneur* "has become the man through whom the ideology of utopian capitalism is still actively presented to many of our contemporaries".[16] Meanwhile there was a steady growth of the 'new middle class', composed chiefly of the lesser professions and salaried employees, who occupied a permanent middle position in the capitalist hierarchy. It is in their ranks that we find the clearest evidence of a preoccupation with social status similar to that which had long been typical of the English.

Careful study of these two pictures, the English and the American, leads to the apparently paradoxical conclusion that preoccupation with social status may be stimulated both by fluidity and by rigidity in the social system. When a section of society is threatened by invasion from below, as the English gentlemen were in varying degrees from the sixteenth century onwards, they protect themselves by constructing barriers out of those attributes and symbols of social differences which are most difficult to acquire. Conspicuous expenditure can be copied by those who get rich quick, but correct manners, the right accent, and the 'old school tie' are esoteric mysteries and jealously guarded monopolies. And it was in the nineteenth century that these symbols gained their great ascendancy in English life. Similarly, those who climb successfully from below seek by the same means to proclaim and consolidate their position, while the partially successful may devise comparable methods of identifying the half-way house which they have managed to reach.

But in America it is generally felt that social structure has become more rigid and that status consciousness in the middle ranks springs from a sense of frustration. The road upwards has been blocked, that is to say, the road that leads from one position

[16] C. Wright Mills, *White Collar*, p. 34.

in the economic system to another quite different one (e.g. from worker to manager), and also the road that leads up to wealth. Exaggerated importance, therefore, may attach to those minor shifts and distinctions which are still possible within the same stratum of the economic structure—such as the shift which brings the clerk within the orbit of the boss or the saleswoman in touch with higher-class customers. Thus fluidity and rigidity may have, in this respect, the same result. They may also exist together in the same social pattern—as they in fact do in contemporary society. The opportunity to move to a social level different from that into which one was born is concentrated mainly into the years of education and training. It is here that all those with just the average amount of ambition get their chance, and it is by this process that the defences of the status-conscious middle and upper layers are penetrated from below. But thereafter, once the starting-point in public life outside home and school have been found, the regular road is clearly marked ahead, it is only the exceptional who can get away from it, and its terminus is visible not very far away. A cynic might observe that modern man, having striven during childhood and youth for the realities of life, proceeds to struggle for the shadows and the symbols after he has reached years of discretion. But that would be to exaggerate the role of status consciousness in our society to-day.

A great many studies have recently been made, both in England and in the United States, in an attempt to discover what that role is and what contemporary man means by social class. The results are not as yet very conclusive, partly because the investigators have not always been quite certain what they were investigating. In order to avoid misunderstandings a distinction has been made between 'subjective status', a man's status as assessed by himself, and 'accorded status', or a man's status as assessed by others.[17] But 'subjective status' is an unfortunate term. In its original meaning status is essentially something which no man can bestow upon himself; it is always 'accorded' by the society of which he is a member. No doubt a man's estimate of his own position is an important social fact which will influence his opinions and his behaviour, but the use of the word 'status' to describe it leads to confusion. When people are questioned about 'subjective status', it is difficult to interpret their answers. Some may try to express what they believe to be their own ultimate and absolute value, judged by some personal standard of their own; others may describe the position they think they ought to have, as judged by the standards current in their society; others may say what they believe is the position they occupy in the eyes of others—they may give, as

[17] H. H. Hyman, *The Psychology of Status*, Archives of Psychology No. 269, 1942.

it were, the subjective view as to what is the accorded status. It is impossible wholly to disentangle these elements in the answers.

This may be illustrated by two examples. The first, a familiar one, refers to self-assignment to a group or class. In two polls taken in the United States in 1939 and 1940, in which people were asked to assign themselves to the upper, middle, or lower class, the percentages choosing the middle class were 88 and 79.[18] But in a subsequent inquiry in 1945, which offered the 'working class' as an additional option, the middle class percentage fell to 43, and in a follow-up study in the next year to 36.[19] Now it so happened that the interviews for this inquiry were taking place at the time of the British General Election, and the news of the Labour victory broke on July 26th. The percentages of those assigning themselves to the working and lower classes fluctuated according to the date of interview as follows:

Before July 26th, 51; on July 26th, 67; after July 26th, 54.[20]

These figures suggest that to some people 'subjective status' is a matter of political outlook and sympathy, and their sympathies with the working class were aroused or fortified by the Labour victory. And, in fact, when people were asked what, apart from occupation, was the most important thing to know about a person in order to assign him to a social class—family, money, education, or beliefs and attitudes—47·4 per cent. chose "beliefs and attitudes" and only 29·4 per cent. education, with the other criteria lagging behind.[21] But this may mean a number of different things. If a socialist son of a professional family assigns himself to the working class, he thereby tells us very little about his social status, either subjective or accorded.

The second example comes from the study by H. H. Hyman. He defined status as "the position of an individual relative to other individuals", and he used the term of positions in several 'dimensions', that is, related to several different attributes or activities—such as intellect, athletics, culture, social standing, personal looks, and so forth. He asked his subjects to place themselves on a scale of prestige in relation to these dimensions, and he naturally found that they used different scales, or derived their standards from different 'reference groups'. One man's 'subjective status' as an athlete might be based on comparison with the village club, and another's with the heroes of county cricket (this is not, of course,

[18] See, for these and some similar inquiries, G. D. H. Cole, "The Conception of the Middle Class," *British Journal of Sociology*, December 1950, p. 276.
[19] R. Centers, *The Psychology of Social Class*, p. 77.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 139.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

an actual example). It was found that the commonest practice was to rate status by reference to friends, and standards drawn from the total population were used more rarely. But, when they were, they were more reliable under repeated tests than ratings by reference to friends. This may indicate that rating by reference to the total social structure is less personal, in fact less 'subjective' in the true sense, and brings in the factor of common estimation or, in other words, of accorded status. The extreme case of personal rating was the woman who "phrases her 'status' in comparison with herself. She has her own idea of where she should be and asks herself if she is doing as well as she can." The whole study, though only exploratory, is most helpful and illuminating.

We might suppose that the idiosyncrasies of personal judgment would be diminished or even disappear when, by asking people to assign themselves to a named social group, we gave them an external and independent standard to work to. We might go on and suggest that the first example quoted above supports this view. When the term 'working class' was introduced into the question, the distribution of self-assigned class corresponded pretty well to what one might expect on the assumption that social class is at least related to occupation and income, even if not exactly determined by them. In other words, if you ask the right questions, people talk sense. Unfortunately, this picture is not sustained in other parts of the inquiry. The subjects were asked to assign occupations to social classes. It was then found that only just over half (53 per cent.) of the self-styled middle-class members said that office workers belonged to the middle class, while very nearly half of the self-styled working-class members claimed them for the working class.[22] And, be it noted, 'office worker' in this context excluded big-business executives, store and factory managers, and small-business owners; it was practically equivalent to 'white collar', an occupational group which, one might have thought, is more unequivocally middle class than any other.

There are two ways of studying accorded status by means of interrogation. One is to ask people to classify individuals of whom they have some personal knowledge. This method has been most elaborately employed by Lloyd Warner and his associates.[23] The objection to this method is that each informant knows only a limited circle, and he does not know all those within this circle equally well. His information is not of uniform value, and it may be coloured by personal likes and dislikes and moral judgments. Lloyd Warner has been criticised for the undue reliance he has placed on information which may be unreliable or a-typical, and also for the arbitrary way in which he converted a multitude of

[22] *Op. cit.*, pp. 82–3.
[23] See his book, *Social Class in America.*

individual assessments into a tidy pattern of six distinct social classes.[24]

The second method, which has been much more widely used, is that of asking people to assess the social status of certain clearly defined groups or types of persons, for instance, occupations. A great many studies of occupational ranking have been made recently.[25] The results show that, when a wide range of occupations is offered for ranking, there is a high measure of consistency and uniformity in the answers. That is to say that the results do not vary much from one inquiry to another, and that the rank order is much the same whether the respondents are male or female, old or young, members of the upper or lower levels of society. But it is also noticed that agreement is closer about occupations at the top and the bottom of the scale than about those in the middle, and that the agreement in terms of average opinion conceals a good deal of individual disagreement. This is very much what we should expect. There exists a genuine social judgment, or common estimation, about the broad relationship between occupations and social stratification, but the consensus of opinion disappears when we try to make detailed comparisons. This is sometimes due to the ignorance of the respondents about the nature of some of the occupations in the list. In other cases the cause is just the opposite. A man's judgment of occupations closely associated with his own may be influenced by personal loyalties and rivalries. In one inquiry, for instance, in which students of medicine, law, and engineering were asked to grade twenty professional and ancillary occupations, each group put its own profession at the top and, whereas the medical students put the nurse fifth, the lawyers put her nineteenth.[26]

Space does not permit us to pursue this subject further. The mass of evidence suggests that occupation is generally regarded as an index of social status, probably the most important single index though not an infallible one. The disagreement referred to above about the assignment of office workers to a social class does not necessarily imply disagreement about their place in the scale of social status. It was probably due rather to differences of opinion as to the points in this scale at which to draw the dividing lines between social classes. But an occupational ranking cannot be arrived at by the mere recognition of objective facts, as in the case of ranking by income. There must be a value judgment, and it is based on the conventional values current in the society. In societies

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[24] S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix, "Social Status and Social Structure," *British Journal of Sociology*, June 1951.

[25] For a survey of these, see A. F. Davies, "Prestige of Occupations," *British Journal of Sociology*, June 1952.

[26] W. Coutu, "The Relative Prestige of Twenty Professions as judged by Three Groups of Professional Students," *Social Forces*, Vol. XIV, May 1936.

which have much the same occupations but different ideologies, the ranking will differ. This was shown by a modest study made in Russia in 1927. There were three groups of respondents—younger children, older children, and textile workers. All put ministers of religion near the bottom with bankers and business men; the negative lesson had been well learned. But the street cleaner was also near the bottom, which suggests a survival of bourgeois ideology. But most remarkable was the disagreement about the places higher up. The young children put the peasant first, followed by the aviator and the member of the Central Executive; but the older children put the latter first and the peasant fifth. The textile workers placed mechanics and engineers very high, the Central Executive member tenth, and the peasant seventeenth. It would seem that in 1927 the revolution of ideas was not complete and common estimation was in a state of flux.[27]

However, even in the assessment of occupations there is room for the expression of personal idiosyncrasies. This is particularly apparent when the questions are couched in terms which seem to invite almost a moral judgment. We sometimes find, for example, in the introduction to the questionnaire, phrases such as the following: we tend " to look up to " some occupations and " down on " others: we may even " be ashamed or proud of our relatives because of their occupation ", and so forth. In the inquiry among professional students mentioned above, all respondents put the osteopath bottom, presumably because his practice was regarded as unprofessional. Another type of inquiry is sometimes used which is especially likely to bring out personal feelings. It attempts to measure ' social distance ' by asking respondents to classify occupational types as eligible for admission to marriage, club, street, church, the country (as citizen), the country (as visitor). In one such inquiry it was found that students training as teachers or clergymen rated film actors, vaudeville performers, and jazz musicians low in the scale, while students of commerce and dentistry rated them high because they " add zest to life ".[28] In a similar inquiry carried out among 861 students, the highest score for marriageability (obtained by the teacher) was 691, the doctor coming next with 647, while twelve students voted for the total exclusion of ministers of religion from the country.[29] In such cases there would seem to be some blending, or confusion, of the two concepts of positional social status (the status accorded by society to the occupation) and per-

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[27] Jerome Davis, " Testing the Social Attitudes of Children in the Government Schools of Russia," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXII, May 1927.

[28] E. S. Bogardus, " Occupational Distance," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. XIII, 1928.

[29] Forrest Wilkinson, " Social Distance between Occupations," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. XIII, 1929.

sonal social status (the status accorded to typical representatives of the occupation by the individual respondents). The effects of this confusion of thought are noticed by another investigator, who says of the status of teachers in the United States: "On the one hand, the teacher represents a group well above the average citizen in intelligence, culture, and socially desirable conduct. . . . Along with this, however, goes a reputation for economic incompetence, personal futility, and inadequacy in community affairs." [30]

The second obvious objective test of social position is income. There is, of course, a measure of correspondence between income and occupation, since the standing of an occupation depends to some extent on the income it can yield. But the correspondence is not exact. Some light has been thrown on this question by an analysis made by Professor Hadley Cantril of the results of an inquiry by the Office of Public Opinion Research.[31] Respondents were asked to say both to which income group and to which social class they thought they belonged. We find that 15·4 per cent. assign themselves to the upper or upper-middle social class, but only 8·3 per cent. to the upper or upper-middle income group, and that 50·6 per cent. assign themselves to the lower-middle or lower income group, but only 18·8 per cent. to the lower-middle or lower social class. Professor Cantril comments: "The higher the social class, the more is it likely to be founded on non-economic criteria. . . . Persons in the low social class are there in large measure because they are poor with all that poverty implies, while people who feel they are in the upper social class are not necessarily there because they feel they are well off." The results can be summarised in another way by saying that 54·3 per cent. rated social class and income group at the same level, 42·5 per cent. rated social class above income group, and only 3·2 per cent. rated it below.

At this point it is necessary to attempt to sum up the conclusions reached by this survey. This is a difficult task, because the situation we have been studying is full of confusion and contradiction and is not governed by any one clear-cut principle.

Social status in contemporary Western society is related to the broad pattern of stratification, that is to say to class structure in the technical sense described above. The dominant elements in class structure are wealth, occupation (or function), and power, it being understood that 'power' includes, not only power over the lives of others, but also power over one's own life, i.e. independence. But social status is not rigidly tied to class structure. Frequent anomalies occur, and there is room for much differentiation of social status within each broad economic stratum. Social status has a

[30] George W. Hartmann, "The Prestige of Occupations," *The Personnel Journal*, Vol. XIII, 1934–5.

[31] "Identification with Social and Economic Class," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 38, 1943.

measure of autonomy, and that is why it is to-day a subject of such intense interest both to social scientists and to the general public.

This autonomy derives from the fact that social status is in the main a cultural concept, so that a social-status group may be referred to as a cultural sub-group of the total national culture group. The three most important factors contributing to the formation of social-status groups are family influenoe, formal education, and the cultural quality of an occupation regarded as a way of life. But the autonomy is only partial, because culture depends to a great extent on the material resources available, while the cultural quality of an occupation is one aspect of its role in the class structure of the society.

Owing to the part played by family influence, and by the influence of the circle into which the family gives entry, there is an hereditary element in social status. And this element is particularly powerful because family influence begins at birth, and what is not obtained in this way can only with great difficulty, if at all, be acquired later in life. Therefore parentage remains an important determinant of social status.

The role of education has undergone great changes in the course of history. There are two ways of assessing the social value of education—first, by the actual results, that is to say, the knowledge and skills acquired, and secondly, by the symbolic value of the institutions in which the education was obtained. In mediaeval England education was judged primarily by its results. The man who could read and write was valued for the services he could render and entered his allotted place in the social structure in the church, in administration or, later, in the other professions. And, so long as the structure of the estate system survived, he did not seriously challenge the position of those at the top. But in the eighteenth, and still more in the nineteenth, centuries, when positions at the top were no longer secured by legal rights but depended on social privilege, and when the educated man from the middle classes could challenge the supremacy of the upper classes, a new emphasis was given to the social significance of particular places of learning which the aristocracy converted into a close preserve of their own, thus frustrating the purpose for which they were founded. It was enough to have been to one of the best schools and universities, even though you might have profited little from the instruction provided in them. Thus the 'snob-value' of the universities and public schools operated as a powerful defence of a precarious social status. With the movement towards equal educational opportunity (a goal which has by no means yet been reached) the position changed again. Once more it is the results that count, the examinations passed and the diplomas won. But, in so far as the human material is effectively sifted according to its native abilities, and in so far as those abilities are successfully developed

in appropriate institutions, the results achieved should correlate closely with the schools and other places of education attended. If, in such circumstances, we classify people as 'secondary modern', 'grammar school', 'technical college', or 'university', we are in fact referring to the expected results in terms of knowledge and skill acquired, although we do this by naming the parts of the educational system in which these results were, or should have been, obtained. This favours the use of collective rather than individual valuations, that is to say, classification into groups rather than individual ranking on a scale.

As regards the cultural aspect of occupation, it has already been pointed out that this is based on value judgments which are conditioned by the ideas current in the society. A long list could be made of the elements which are relevant to these judgments—the contribution made by the occupation to the ends of the society, the amount of skill involved and, in consequence, the training required, the physical conditions of work, such as dirt or its absence, clothes ('white collar' and 'black coat' and similar phrases point to this), the relative share of brain and brawn, the amount of freedom enjoyed in planning the work as compared with rigid routine, the security of tenure, consideration shown by superiors, amenities enjoyed, and, of course, the income earned. Wright Mills points out that the social position of the white-collar workers in the United States, which rested on distinctions of this kind, is being threatened by economic changes, which he sums up as follows: "Lack of differences between wage-worker and white-collar income; white-collar unemployment, as during the 'thirties; the breakdown of the white-collar monopoly on high-school education, the inevitable reduction of the claims of white-collar people for prestige based on their not being 'foreign-born, like workers'; the concentration of white-collar workers into big work places and their down-grading and routinisation; the mere increase in the total numbers of white-collar people." [32] He also points out that, as the job provides a less and less satisfactory index of social status in itself, there develops a 'leisure ethic', or tendency to judge the job by the kind of leisure activities it makes possible.[33] And thus we come back to the idea of culture sub-groups moulded by these three factors—the influence of family and the immediate social circle, education, and the total character of the occupation. When we speak of social classes to-day, we have such culture sub-groups very much in mind. For we may claim, with some justification, to be able to recognise, at least as types, an upper-middle, lower-middle, and working-class way of life each with its distinctive pattern of expenditure. And the patterns of expenditure may retain features of difference even

[32] *White Collar*, p. 312.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 236.

when the actual incomes have become the same. The outlines of the picture cannot be clear, because the structure of stratification changes, as do also the ideas on which value judgments are based. Some occupations rise in social prestige by developing new technical skills which require a higher level of education and training, while others, which do not develop in this way, lose prestige by comparison. Trades are transformed into professions, while old skills, formerly honoured, sink into obsolescence. When this happens, there is an interplay between the changing character of the job and the change in the type of person, as judged by family and education, who takes it up. In the days of Florence Nightingale nursing was a despised occupation performed by untrained women of low origin, except in so far as it was practised by religious orders. The introduction of a system of training and of better conditions of employment gradually transformed nursing into a profession which then began to attract recruits from higher social levels. These then demanded, and were regarded as entitled to, still better conditions —and so the process may continue. A similar development has helped to raise the status of teachers. It is thus possible by deliberate action to raise the social status of an occupational group, partly by altering the objective character of the job, and partly by changing the attitude towards it.

Finally, when the outlines of social structure lack precision and when the categories to which people can most easily be assigned are not in fact homogeneous, preliminary assessments of positional social status lose much of their force and can more readily be modified by consideration of individual attributes. In other words, personal social status wins a degree of autonomy from positional social status, at least within the smaller community in which persons can be judged for what they are. There may, for example, be a rough general judgment, or common estimation, of the social status of teachers, but in a narrower circle distinctions are made between teachers of different grades and different schools; and also between teachers of outstanding personality and culture who wield great influence within a local community, and teachers who lack the qualities necessary to rescue them from being finally classed as representatives of an occupational type.

It may be permitted to end with the observation that, when a social structure is in a state of flux, when the essentials of civilisation are being more equally distributed, and when mobility of groups and individuals is increasing, it is not unnatural that there should be great preoccupation with social status, a preoccupation increased by puzzlement as to what it is all about, although the real importance of social status, and of the *mystique* of social inequality, may be steadily diminishing.

T. H. MARSHALL.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAITS OF TEACHERS

Stereotypes

TEACHERS, like mothers-in-law and Jews, are frequently the butt of music-hall jokes. This must mean that, in the eyes of the public, they conform to a particular personality type; and in spite of obvious superficiality and over-simplification there probably is some justification for this 'stereotype' (to use the social psychologist's term), just as there is in the case of other occupational groups such as army officers, artists, and spivs. Unmarried women teachers do often tend to take on a common style of speech and dress, possibly also facial expression and gestures, and a characteristic lack of adornment and make-up. In their leisure hours they tend to frequent the same types of restaurants, holiday resorts, and places of cultural interest. It seems more difficult to discover any distinctive picture among married women, or among male, teachers. No one has investigated how widespread is this type-tendency, but one suspects that it is becoming less marked, in Britain at least, with the gradual changes in the public attitude towards schooling. For though a minority group usually does, to some extent, 'live up to' the characteristics ascribed to it, yet an unfavourable stereotype also depends largely on deep-rooted attitudes in the majority. The low prestige in which the teaching profession is held by most adults probably arises as a compensation for the sense of inferiority when these adults were school children themselves. As Zullinger [1] points out, they still feel in the presence of teachers that they need to behave and speak circumspectly, lest they be criticised or punished. But there is more to it than this, if we accept psychoanalytic theories of the ambivalence of a child's attitudes to his parents. Teachers, like policemen, are parent substitutes. Thus it is easier for a child or an adult to express genuine affection and respect for his own parents if he can work off his hostility and jealousy by ragging these substitutes and making jokes at their expense. If this is true, a change of atmosphere in the infant and junior school classroom from old-fashioned autocracy may eventually affect the average adult's attitude to the profession, and teachers will be allowed to

[1] H. Zulliger, "Pädagogen erliegen dem Fluche der Lächerlichkeit," *Zs. psychoanal. Pädag.*, 1934, 8, 286–95.

become ordinary human beings; but it may take several generations.

There is a little experimental evidence on contemporary attitudes to teachers. Anderson [2] obtained rankings from several hundred American college students of twenty-five occupations, ranging from bank director to ditch digger. Teachers, on the average, came fifth highest for the social value of their work, eleventh for social prestige, and nineteenth for their financial rewards. More recently Hall and Caradog Jones [3] had over a thousand English students and semi-professional workers grade thirty occupations for 'social class'. Elementary school teachers came out eleventh on this list also, their nearest neighbours being news reporters and jobbing master builders.

Difficulties of Personality Study

These introductory observations bring out some of the complexities of our topic. An individual's personality traits are not merely his own 'possessions', like his height or eye-colour. As the writer has shown elsewhere, they depend to a large extent on the attitudes of other people who interpret his behaviour; (for example, a city-bred teacher's personality may be regarded as 'fast' in a rural community). Also they are influenced by the roles that society expects him or her to play, and they vary greatly with the particular social setting. A teacher may show one set of characteristics with a class of infants, and very different traits in a parents' meeting; or she may be affable and industrious in one school staff-room, discontented, lazy and rebellious in another. Indeed, contemporary psychological theory is trying to get away from the conception of personality as the sum, or the integrated pattern, of a person's distinctive traits.[4] Yet it has so far failed to discover a more fruitful frame of reference. During the Second World War, for example, psychologists and psychiatrists concerned in officer selection realised that 'leadership' is not a consistent trait that some recruits possess and others lack; and they attempted to select by matching candidates' behaviour in small groups with the various roles that a junior officer has to perform. Inevitably, however, the selectors tended to revert to analysing and describing the candidates' behaviour in terms of a list of traits. Thus we must not be too critical if the vast amount of study of teachers' personalities which has, in fact, been carried out appears to have got bogged down by the trait-

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[2] W. A. Anderson, "The Occupational Attitudes of College Men," *J. Soc. Psychol.*, 1934, 5, 435–66.

[3] J. Hall and D. Caradog Jones, "Social Grading of Occupations," *Brit. J. Sociol.*, 1950, 1, 41–55.

[4] Cf. R. R. Blake and G. V. Ramsey, *Perception—An Approach to Personality* (New York, Ronald Press, 1951). The application of this approach to the assessment of teachers has been worked out by J. D. C. Robertson, M.A. thesis, University of London, 1952.

approach. Domas and Tiedeman [5] have published a bibliography of 1,006 titles up to 1950 (with abstracts of 672 of these) on teacher competence. Most of them are relevant to our theme, and most of them seem to get us nowhere.

In spite of the complexities of personality just mentioned, people do to some extent behave consistently in accordance with descriptive traits. But for this, no suitable appointments to any job could ever be made except by chance, and normal social intercourse would break down. Both vocational selection and guidance are of some demonstrable value, and numerous investigations show that such traits as emotional stability, extraversion–introversion, persistence, even all-round character, can—given sufficient resources—be effectively measured. Particularly interesting in this connection is Lawton's [6] demonstration that the warden of an hostel for men student teachers, and fellow students, can give good predictions of a student's teaching mark from their acquaintance with his personality outside the classroom. Lawton claims also that an experienced interviewer's judgments of candidates, and reports from the schools which the candidates themselves attended, provide fairly accurate estimates. But this is not borne out by other research.[7] The traits displayed and judged during school days, or in a personal interview, tend to differ so widely from those emerging during training, that most student selection is probably pretty haphazard.

Another striking instance of consistency is Tudhope's [8] finding of a correlation of 0·81 between final college teaching marks and an inspector's assessments of the same teachers many years—on the average nine years—later. Not only the marks, but also qualitative accounts of their teaching qualities, were often identical. There was no support for the view that mature experience brought out many traits unsuspected during training. Most of the discrepancies that did occur appeared to be due to the teacher's working in a type of school for which he had not been trained, or being under a particularly good, or bad, head. Other such follow-up studies have given much less favourable results, but they may have been based on less thorough assessments.

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[5] S. J. Domas and D. V. Tiedeman, "Teacher Competence: An Annotated Bibliography," *J. Exp. Educ.*, 1950, 19, 101–218.

[6] J. A. Lawton, "A Study of Factors Useful in Choosing Candidates for the Teaching Profession," *Brit. J. Educ. Psychol.*, 1939, 9, 131–144. The correlations of up to 0·76 may be partly spurious if the students who were rated had discussed their school practice experiences with their friends or the warden.

[7] Cf. W. B. Tudhope, "Attitudes of Secondary School Authorities Towards the Training College Course, Encountered by Intending Students," *Brit. J. Educ. Psychol.*, 1944, 14, 7–18.

[8] W. B. Tudhope, "A Study of the Training College Final Teaching Mark as a Criterion of Future Success in the Teaching Profession," *Brit. J. Educ. Psychol.*, 1942–3, 12, 167–71; 13, 16–23.

Effects of the Teacher's Personality

The importance of studying teachers' personalities, and of the development of methods of diagnosis, is greatly enhanced by the general recognition that schools serve other than merely intellectual functions. The teacher is becoming the friend and counsellor of pupils and parents, and not only at the nursery and infant stages or at the end of the secondary school career. He is often expected to assume positions of leadership in the community, outside school hours. Moreover, there is scientific evidence that the teacher's personality does affect the personalities of children. Boynton *et al*[9] found small correlations between the scores of 73 teachers on a neuroticism questionnaire, and the average scores of their 11–12-year pupils. The much more thorough researches of Anderson and Brewer[10] at the University of Illinois recorded 'dominative' and 'integrative' features of teachers' classroom behaviour, by reliable time-sampling techniques. They showed that, under the more integrative teachers, the behaviour of junior school children is characterised by greater spontaneity, initiative, and co-operation. The over-dominant teacher produces a vicious circle of troublesomeness, and further repression. A vast range of differences between different teachers was recorded, and these persisted when some of them were observed a year later with new classes. It was not found that a class which went on to a new teacher after a year with a dominative one continued to manifest undesirable symptoms. However, such researches as D. E. M. Gardner's[11] and the Eight Year Study in New York[12] indicate that good progressive teaching methods (which themselves reflect the personalities of the teachers) do have a lasting effect on the pupils' constructiveness, resourcefulness, and social behaviour. The present writer would feel happier about these researches if the authors were less committed to a particular educational philosophy. Nevertheless they did genuinely attempt to impose scientific controls.

Mention should also be made of the innumerable experiments on methods of teaching particular topics (e.g. subtraction or spelling), and on hours of work and other conditions of learning. It is frequently found that differences between different classes using the

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[9] P. L. Boynton *et al.*, "The Emotional Stability of Teachers and Pupils," *J. Juven. Res.*, 1934, 18, 223–32.

[10] H. H. Anderson *et al.*, "Studies of Teachers' Classroom Personalities," *Appl. Psychol. Monogr.*, 1945–6, Nos. 6, 8, 11. See also G. G. Thompson, "The Social and Emotional Development of Preschool Children under Two Types of Educational Program," *Psychol. Monogr.*, 1944, 56, No. 258.

[11] D. E. M. Gardner, *Long-term Results of Infant School Methods* (London, Methuen, 1950).

[12] Cf. W. M. Aikin, *The Story of the Eight Year Study* (New York, Harper, 1942).

same method or condition exceed differences attributable to the method or condition itself. And it is plausibly inferred that the personalities of the different teachers of these classes were the vital factor.

Assessment of Teacher Traits and Capacities by Rating Scales

Administrators and inspectors, training college staffs and educational psychologists have been alive to these considerations and, from the beginning of the century, they have put out a whole stream of rating scales for assessing teaching skills and teachers' personality traits. Barr [13] collected 209 of these in 1948, and abstracted the most frequently occurring items. He classified the diverse aspects of teaching ability, which have been variously stressed by different authors, under the following heads:

(1) Personality qualities of the teacher.
(2) Competences or classroom behaviours.
(3) Knowledge, skills, attitudes, or ideals, i.e. factors that control behaviour.
(4) Desirable outcomes such as pupil achievement and growth.
(5) Miscellaneous.

In general the earlier scales emphasised pedagogical skills, the most recent ones concentrate rather on teacher-pupil relations; while in between one finds a proliferation of personality traits. Thus G. H. Thomson,[14] in 1921, listed as his qualities:

Care in preparation.
Logical explanation and questioning.
Blackboard and other illustrations.
Voice, manner, and power of arousing enthusiasm.
Power of interesting children, keeping them busy, and getting results.

He was concerned at variations in standards among raters, and proposed the application of the American army man-to-man technique, or the imposition of a fixed percentile distribution. Freyd's graphic rating scale technique has, however, been more generally adopted. Ten years later, R. B. Cattell [15] collected from 208 directors, inspectors, head and assistant teachers and others, lists of traits which they regarded as important in a teacher, and boiled them down into twenty-two major categories—given here in order of frequency of mention.

Personality and will (confidence, leadership).	Sympathy and tact.
Intelligence.	Open-mindedness, fairness.
	Sense of humour and cheerfulness.

[13] A. S. Barr, "The Measurement and Prediction of Teaching Efficiency: A Summary of Investigations," *J. Exp. Educ.*, 1948, 16, 203–83.
[14] G. H. Thomson, "A Rating Scale for Teaching Ability in Students," *J. Exp. Pedag.*, 1921, 6, 75–82.
[15] R. B. Cattell, "The Assessment of Teaching Ability," *Brit. J. Educ. Psychol.*, 1931, 1, 48–72.

Idealism.
General culture.
Kindness, friendliness.
Enthusiasm, ambition.
Knowledge of psychology and pedagogy.
Classroom technique.
Perseverance and industry.
Self-control (stability, morals).
Enterprise, courage, adventure.
Orderliness, precision.
Knowledge of subject, academic training.
Outside interests.
Physical health.
Presence (appearance and voice).
Alert mind, inquiring, critical.
Social fitness, manners.
Conservatism, respect for tradition.

Shannon,[16] in America, made a similar comprehensive survey of research and opinion on desirable teacher characteristics and found that, in spite of many differences of viewpoint, the same traits (much the same as those in Cattell's list) usually came to the top.

Cattell suggested applying an abbreviated list, in profile form, to the assessment of candidates for the teaching career. But perhaps his most original contribution lay in the differences discovered between different groups of informants, and between teachers of different sex and maturity. For example, inspectors (at that date) stressed conservatism and orderliness; directors (administrators) valued general culture; training college staffs particularly demanded intelligence. A question on male and female teachers showed that the former are more often expected to show energy and initiative, ambition, stability, humour, sense of proportion, strong discipline, and wide interests. The latter are more characterised by insight, tact, perseverance and conscientiousness, idealism, and social graces. Of similar interest is an earlier questionnaire study by Downey[17] indicating that older teachers, as contrasted with younger, have less enthusiasm, ambition, and sympathy, are more stereotyped and unprogressive, have more psychological idiosyncrasies, are better disciplinarians and pay more attention to detail; health and temper are said to suffer, particularly among women.

Criticisms of Ratings, and Alternative Approaches

Whether these diagnoses have any greater validity than the popular stereotypes with which we started may be doubted. All the traits just mentioned are highly equivocal; hence different assessors of the same teachers interpret them very diversely, and correlations between any two sets of judgments are generally no higher than about 0·5. (Composite scales containing ten to twenty traits achieve rather more satisfactory reliabilities of perhaps 0·7 to 0·8, but these are little better than the figure for a general teaching mark awarded by two competent tutors.) Moreover, ratings on

[16] J. B. Shannon, *The Personal and Social Qualities of High School Teachers* (Terre Haute, Ind., Normal School Press, 1928).
[17] H. M. Downey, "Old and Young Teachers," *Pedag. Sem.*, 1918, 25, 117–40.

several traits are greatly affected by 'halo', that is, the general good or bad impression that the rater has of the teacher he is rating. In other words, they depend so largely on the attitudes of the raters and on their usage of these trait-names, that they give little information about the actual behaviour of the persons rated. Thus the popular type of research which sets out to find what traits are most important in teaching efficiency, by correlating various trait ratings with general teaching assessments, is singularly worthless. Teacher assessment is even more difficult than the marking of English essays (which is notorious for its subjectivity and for variations of standards between markers), since the assessor cannot even directly compare one teacher with another in a standard situation, as can the marker of a number of essays on a given topic.[18]

Recently the American Council on Education and the Grant Foundation initiated a large-scale 'Teacher Characteristics Study', with a view to investigating "characteristic temperamental traits and behaviors in classroom situations." Ryans[19] drew up highly concrete definitions of twenty-six items of teacher and pupil behaviour, and collected records of these among 275 primary teachers, using carefully trained observers. But although this approach (like that of Anderson and Brewer) is considerably more objective than ordinary ratings, it did not appear to lead anywhere. Ryans merely intercorrelated his twenty-six variables and analysed them into five more general categories or factors, which could be described only by stock trait-names. These were:

A. Original, resourceful, flexible, democratic, encouraging pupil initiative.
B. Controlled *vs.* disorganised pupil activity.
C. Understanding, fair *vs.* domineering, partial.
D. Sociable *vs.* unsociable.
E. Good *vs.* poor appearance and fluency.

Obviously the categories would depend chiefly on the specific items selected at the outset.

Jensen[20] adapted the 'critical incidents technique' which Flanagan developed in the military sphere. He collected from 144 supervisors, head teachers, students and others, objective accounts of some five hundred incidents of good and of poor teaching, avoiding generalised trait-names and stereotypes. While such material provides a valuable sampling of teacher behaviour, it too led in the

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[18] Cf. G. G. Neill Wright, *The Use of Psychological Tests in the Selection of Candidates for Training as Teachers* (Unpublished memorandum, Jordanhill Training College, Glasgow, 1945).

[19] D. G. Ryans, "A Study of Criterion Data (A Factor Analysis of Teacher Behavior in the Elementary School)," *Educ. Psychol. Measmt.*, 1952, 12, 333–44.

[20] A. C. Jensen, "Determining Critical Requirements for Teachers," *J. Exper. Educ.*, 1951, 20, 79–86.

end merely to another list of teacher traits, and a rating scale containing such items as:

+ Is alert, cheerful, and enthusiastic in expression and manner.
− Is dull, bored, and shows lack of dramatic qualities.

The traits were classified under:

(1) Personal qualities (optimism, fairness, self-control, etc.).
(2) Professional qualities (knowledge of subject, ability to get pupil response, etc.).
(3) Social qualities (sympathetic, democratic, etc.).

Although progress so far is disappointing, these studies do represent a genuine attempt to break fresh ground, and to take account of the 'situational' aspects of teachers' personalities.

Discussion

The value of most of the work on teacher assessment is open to question, not merely because it is so prone to reify traits as though they were entities within each personality. It tends also to be unduly 'cross-sectional' or static. A student's personality usually develops considerably in the course of his or her early contacts with children, and through the influence of his tutor, lecturers, and fellow students; and it is likely to go on changing during his more protracted classroom, staff-room, and outside experiences. Further, the use of rating scales appears to assume that all teachers should approximate to a particular personality type, which may be broadly described as the well-educated, middle-class, idealistic, and psychologically-minded extravert. This educational psychologist's stereotype is as misleading as the public's notion of the schoolmarm. For an efficient and harmonious school staff must surely be a team in which each member has different contributions to make. Many critics, too, have pointed out that different types of schools, catering for children of different ages, etc., require different kinds of teachers. At the same time it is probably true (and evidence is cited below) that the extreme introvert, or the very unintelligent and ill-educated person, would be unsuited to teaching.[21] And most psychologists and training college staffs think more in terms of a profile of desirable traits than of a single type, thus allowing for a fair range of variation. For example, a student might be considered suitable even with lowish intelligence, provided this was compensated by outstanding traits of character. Archer[22] suggests that current thought and practice (at least in America) are tending

[21] The value of psychological-mindedness in teachers is commented on below.

[22] C. P. Archer, "Recruitment, Institutional Selection, and Guidance of Teachers," *Rev. Educ. Res.*, 1946, 16, 209–16.

towards still greater flexibility. Training colleges are laying more stress than formerly on personality qualities in selecting students, but they look for a variety of patterns and are trying not so much to force these into a common mould as to help in modifying any special handicaps that affect any individual's adjustment to teaching.

A final complaint that the writer wishes to voice is that almost all research has been evaluative rather than normative. So much attention has been devoted to selecting and assessing good teachers that, with rare exceptions (e.g. in the field of intelligence testing) nothing has been discovered about how the traits of teachers differ from those of non-teachers.

Other Types of Research: Pupils' Ratings of Teachers

Another popular approach to the traits of teachers is to ask their pupils what qualities they like or dislike. Publications in this field go back to 1894,[23] but we will merely summarise Witty's [24] analysis of essays by 12,000 8–18-year pupils on "The Teacher Who Has Helped Me Most". He concludes that the main considerations are:

(1) Co-operative, democratic attitude.
(2) Kindliness, consideration for the individual.
(3) Patience.
(4) Wide variety of interests.
(5) General appearance and pleasing manner.
(6) Fairness and impartiality.
(7) Sense of humour.
(8) Good disposition and consistent behaviour.
(9) Interest in pupils' problems.
(10) Flexibility.
(11) Use of recognition and praise.
(12) Proficiency in teaching a particular subject.

Bryan,[25] among others, has prepared rating scales for pupils to fill in, so that the teacher who wishes to improve his personality can find out about his defects. Although such ratings would hardly be taken seriously by anyone outside the U.S.A., they do have some merits. In view of the large numbers of raters available, their statistical reliability is quite high. And, as children do not usually appreciate inefficiency, popularity and the traits they associate with it are generally desirable. Bryan finds that there is little relation between pupils' own marks and their approval of their teachers. There is also little or no correlation between such approval and assessments of good teaching by supervisors or inspectors. But this could hardly be expected, considering the subjective element in all personality interpretation, to which we have drawn attention earlier.

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[23] H. E. Kratz, "Characteristics of the Best Teacher as Recognized by Children," *Pedag. Sem.*, 1894, 3, 413–18.
[24] P. L. Witty, "Analysis of the Personality Traits of the Effective Teacher," *J. Educ. Res.*, 1947, 30, 662–71.
[25] R. C. Bryan, *Pupil Rating of Secondary School Teachers* (Teachers College Contributions to Education, 1937, No. 708).

Assessment of Teachers through Pupil Gains

W. A. McCall is generally credited with the notion that teacher qualities can best be assessed by the measurable changes that they produce in pupils. Classes taken by the best teachers should show the best achievement relative to their intelligence, i.e. the highest A.Q.s, or the greatest gains over initial attainment. Though a number of such experiments has been carried out, notably those under Barr's [26] direction at Wisconsin, the results appear to prove nothing—except that teachers and teaching are too complicated to be tackled in this way with our present methodological resources. There are immense difficulties in arranging a standard syllabus for numerous classes of comparable pupils, and in measuring class changes in such a way as to hold constant all factors other than the teachers. Hence most experiments have been done with too few classes and teachers to provide reliable data. Obviously such 'other factors' as good or poor grounding at an earlier stage, transfer from other parts of the curriculum taught by other teachers, and the influences of home background and school morale are almost impossible to control. Another weakness is that, although it is theoretically possible to measure changes in interests, attitudes, and personality traits, it is so much simpler to test attainments that most experiments have been confined to the acquisition of factual knowledge by the various classes. Under these conditions the most 'successful' teachers would be those who cram their pupils best for the final tests.

It is hardly surprising that the results of Rostker's, Rolfe's, LaDuke's, and other experiments on the teaching of various subjects in various types of school are highly discordant. In the Wisconsin studies, correlations were calculated between pupil gain and a large number of teacher characteristics, including: (*a*) intelligence, knowledge of subject-matter, etc.; (*b*) ratings of efficiency by visiting supervisors; (*c*) attitudes towards teaching, progressive views, etc. The coefficients ranged, in different studies, from zero or negative to 0·6. The authors believe that, by combining several such variables, excellent predictions of teacher success can be obtained. But they do not seem to realise that in any experiment on a small group in which large numbers of variables are compared with a criterion, a fair-sized multiple correlation will always arise by pure chance. Considerable simplification is needed for any progress along these lines, for example the application of analysis of variance to test the significance of a few orthogonal teacher and school variables.

[26] A. S. Barr *et al.*, "The Measurement of Teaching Ability," *J. Exp. Educ.*, 1945, 14, 1–206.

Reasons for Ceasing to Teach

A good deal might be learned about the traits of teachers by studying the characteristics of those who resign or stop teaching for other reasons. What numbers change over into what other occupations? How do women teachers who get married differ from those who do not? Several investigators have collected reasons for dismissal, but naturally these are pretty superficial. The most commonly mentioned include: lack of teaching skill, laziness or lack of interest, unco-operativeness, deficiency in scholarship, inability to keep discipline, nervousness and mental breakdown, poor health, etc.

Birkinshaw's Investigation

Perhaps the most illuminating research in this field—though little known—is that conducted by Birkinshaw for the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, and published in 1935.[27] It was based on the answers of 583 women teachers in England to a questionnaire, and is thus open to obvious criticisms, although the group appeared to be representative of assistant teachers, and anonymity was guaranteed. The main variable studied was the degree of satisfaction reported. Informants were classified as:

A. Satisfied with career	42·4 per cent.
B. Satisfied apart from present conditions	14·4 per cent.
C. Not entirely satisfied, but do not know what they would prefer	13·5 per cent.
D. Would prefer another career, but yet get considerable happiness	18·9 per cent.
E. Entirely dissatisfied	9·1 per cent.
Unclassified	1·7 per cent.

It is noteworthy that about half (the A's and B's) may be regarded as satisfied and happy in their career, and Birkinshaw argues that this is a better criterion of 'success' than an inspector's or head teacher's assessments. Numerous differences in the responses of these groups to other questions are tabulated, and some of the main factors differentiating the A's from the E's may be cited.

The A's more often report having had a happy home environment in childhood (74 *vs.* 34 per cent.), and having enjoyed their own school life (70 *vs.* 53). Such statements should be interpreted with caution; the adult who is generally well adjusted in his present life naturally tends to have rosier recollections of the past than does the maladjusted.

The dissatisfied group complain more often of serious restriction of interests (23 *vs.* 10), no contact with new ideas (47 *vs.* 21), lack

[27] M. Birkinshaw, *The Successful Teacher* (London, Hogarth Press, 1935).

of friends apart from colleagues (42 *vs.* 24), little time for friends and amusements, feelings of inferiority over the public's attitude to teachers (53 *vs.* 13), lack of privacy and other bad teaching conditions (70 *vs.* 48), difficulties in maintaining discipline (17 *vs.* 3), and mental and physical strain caused by the work. The personality of the head teacher in the school, and relations with colleagues, are also extremely important factors in satisfaction. Hours of work per week claimed by different informants range from 23 to 80½, but show no clear relation to satisfaction, and often seem to depend more on the individual than on the school. The same may be true of many of these complaints, since it was clear that the misfits contain a larger proportion of introverted and neurotic individuals. Outside interests and leisure pursuits do not differentiate the groups, but there is a definite tendency for specialist teachers (in art, music and domestic science) to be less satisfied than teachers of general subjects, presumably because they are more interested in the subject than in teaching it. The A group also tend to be older than the E, not necessarily because satisfaction increases with experience, more probably because the worst misfits drop out of teaching.

The reported motives for entering teaching are of considerable interest. Dissatisfied teachers claim to have been more influenced by parents, teachers, or friends (34 *vs.* 15), and more often to have had relations who were themselves teachers (55 *vs.* 43). They more frequently chose teaching from a desire for security (47 *vs.* 19), or because they were attracted by a training grant (23 *vs.* 9). Rather fewer had "wanted to teach since a child" (7½ *vs.* 15).

Not only the group differences, but the over-all percentages giving these replies, tells one much about the traits and attitudes of women teachers. Some of Birkinshaw's main deductions from her evidence may be summarised as follows. The woman who is suited to the teaching career does need to be somewhat extraverted, co-operative, and interested in people (not necessarily highly gregarious), to have a good sense of humour with which to meet the many embarrassments and frustrations, and to be emotionally stable and patient, not liable to become warped through constant contact with immature minds or with others of her kind. She must also be able to put up with a lot of boring routine, and face an apparently endless task that often brings little return. Adaptability, organising power, precision of thought and related qualities all indicate the desirability of good intelligence. Plenty of outside interests are desirable, though not over-intellectuality nor too strong an interest in a specialised subject. Good health is essential for such a sedentary, yet tiring, occupation. Ambition for fame or wealth is unlikely to be gratified; but it is usually the dissatisfied who say that teachers should not be ambitious, since others find plenty of scope for enterprise and idealism. Doubtless these con-

clusions are either platitudinous [28] or disputable. But they fit in well with the results already outlined of ratings by supervisors, pupils, etc.; and they take one about as far as these essentially subjective opinion-survey methods are capable of doing.

Studies of Motives

Several questionnaire studies were initiated by Valentine,[29] in the 1930s, into the (anonymously reported) motives that influenced students when they decided to enter the teaching career. Though the lists of possible motives, and the methods of ranking or rating, varied somewhat in different researches, the results are sufficiently comparable to be summarised in the table below. And their value is the greater because they supply separate figures for men and women, and for teachers at different levels. As pointed out elsewhere in this volume, the four main types of teachers in England tend to come from different social classes, and to be differently recruited and trained; these types are:

(1) Private and 'public' schools.
(2) State elementary schools: (*a*) secondary modern and older junior pupils; (*b*) younger juniors and infants.
(3) Secondary grammar schools.
(4) Trade and technical schools.

At the time of writing there is still little sign that these distinctions are breaking down, despite the McNair Committee's (1944) desire for equality of status and free circulation among all teachers in the main groups, (2) and (3). In Scotland there has always been a considerably larger proportion of university graduate teachers in Group (2*a*), and even (2*b*), than in England.

Our table lists the rank orders of importance of the motives in various groups of students. Roughly the top five may be taken as major influences among a third to a half of students, while the bottom five usually affect only 5 per cent. or fewer. Gaps occur where a particular motive was not included in one or more studies.

It is clear that economic considerations weigh heavily in all groups, particularly among men. The majority of English graduates had received Board of Education grants, enabling them to acquire university degrees, and many admitted that this—rather than teaching as such—was the attraction. Tudhope comments

[28] They are well stated, for example, in the Ministry of Education's pamphlet, *Teaching as a Career* (London, H.M.S.O., 1945).

[29] C. W. Valentine, "An Enquiry as to Reasons for the Choice of the Teaching Profession by University Students," *Brit. J. Educ. Psychol.*, 1934, 4, 237–59; P. E. Vernon, "Educational Abilities of Training College Students," *ibid.*, 1939, 19, 233–50; W. B. Tudhope, "Motives for the Choice of the Teaching Profession by Training College Students," *ibid.*, 1944, 14, 129–41. Curiously, this type of inquiry seldom seems to have been carried out in America. But cf. M. M. Stroh, T. A. Jewett, and V. M. Butler, *Better Selection of Better Teachers* (Washington, D.C., Delta Kappa Gamma Society, 1943).

	Infant and Junior Women	*Junior and Senior Women*	*Junior and Senior Men*	*Graduate English Women*	*Graduate English Men*	*Graduate Scottish Women*	*Graduate Scottish Men*
Nos.	183	244	216	153	195	116	120
Secure job { Economic desirability	2	3	1	4	1	2	1
Secure job { Good salary	5	6	8				
Loan or grant for training	12	10	9	5	2	—	—
Good holidays	7	9	10	8	6	6	4
Social status	16	13½	14	12	8	10	9
Insurance against not getting married	15	12	—	—	—	—	—
Easy job	11	13½	12	—	—	—	—
Nothing better to do { Stop gap	9	11	13	16	16	9	10
Nothing better to do { No alternative prospect				15	11	11	12
Liking for teaching	3	4	4	2	4	3	3
Possibility of doing good/ideals	8	7	6	7	10	5	5
Fondness for children	1	1	3	3	12	1	8
Feeling of fitness	—	—	—	10	7	8	7
General interest in education	—	—	—	13	15	—	—
Interest in favourite subject of study	10	5	2	1	3	4	2
Desire to improve own education	4	2	5	—	—	—	—
Enjoyment of feeling of power	17	17	15½	11	13	12	13
Influence and example of admired teacher	13½	16	11	9	9	13	11
Persuasion by teacher	13½	15	15½	14	14	15	15
Parents' influence	6	8	7	6	5	7	6
Friends' influence	—	—	—	—	—	14	14

that the emphasis on security may mean that far too many teachers will be lacking in enterprise and adventurousness. On the other hand, it may be that such desirable qualities can hardly be expected to manifest themselves until teachers are reasonably free from financial worry. All these studies were pre-war or early in the war, and it would be useful to repeat them now, when the low financial attractions of teaching create a new situation. One would like to know whether, in consequence, those who enter teaching have stronger direct interests and ideals, or whether a poorer 'type' of personality and intellect, more lacking in enterprise and strength of character, is being recruited.

Note that long holidays and, in the case of graduates, social status influence an appreciable number. Several also admit that they could not find anything better, or took to teaching as a stop-gap. Nevertheless idealistic motives and interests do influence very large numbers; Tudhope estimates that nearly half put them first. Fondness for children is easily highest among women teachers of young children, and very low among graduate men. Valentine and Vernon asked for assessments of present as well as original motives, and report that these idealistic motives tend to rise considerably in importance by the end of training. But they also find that many students had by then regretted their choice, and that it was too late to change. Vernon shows that such students were more likely to have had undesirable motives in the first place, and that they tended to obtain poor college marks in psychology (no comparison with teaching practice marks was possible). It may be that these investigators—along with educationists in general—assume too readily that inadequately motivated students will make inadequate teachers. There is practically no follow-up evidence except that of Birkinshaw, which was based only on recollections. However true it may be that a 'sense of vocation', and an interest in teaching or in children, are vital, yet our results show that they are often lacking. It is probable that such qualities often develop with experience in schools; but equally likely that high initial ideals often deteriorate.

The significance of the remaining motives in our table is doubtful. Interest in a subject of study is very different from teaching it, as Birkinshaw found; and this is one of the major influences among graduates, though seldom mentioned by non-graduate teachers of young children. Desire to improve one's own education, though not directly relevant, may be regarded as laudable in that it helps to keep the mature teacher alive to new developments. The influence of parents is naturally important, but neither teachers nor friends affect any large number.

Although there is much overlapping between different types of student, there are also sufficient differences to make it rather unrealistic to expect 'free circulation'. Few of those attracted to grammar school teaching are likely to be interested in infant schools,

or vice versa—not to speak of the inevitable difficulties of giving students the necessary experience, and training in pedagogical skills, at all levels.

An earlier research by Austin [30] went back a stage farther, and obtained anonymous accounts of vocational choices and reasons from 1,105 grammer school pupils, aged 11 to 19. Of the boys 10 per cent., and of the girls 42 per cent., wished to become teachers. But very large proportions, even of the older pupils, appeared to be influenced by quite inadequate motives such as persuasion by a relative or teacher, by financial motives and long holidays. Some 10 per cent. of those who chose teaching seemed to be unwilling to grow up, or to fear launching out into a wider world than that of the school. It would be interesting to know what kind of teachers these individuals became.

A much more recent study of the characteristics of grammar school pupils who are favourably inclined to teaching is that of Evans.[31] She found no correlation either with social class, or with possession of friends or relatives who were teachers, and a slight negative relation to good scholastic achievement. Evans also used a test of interests and claimed that children with academic or with social interests were more inclined to teaching than those with practical interests; but this result is probably attributable to sex differences in interests and in favourableness.

Investigations of Teachers' Attitudes

A quantity of research has been carried out with more formal tests of attitudes and personality traits, and though it has led to no very striking conclusions, the fact that anything positive has emerged from such obviously unsatisfactory instruments as paper-and-pencil tests is remarkable. Possibly it is a tribute to the truthfulness of teachers as a class, and to their willingness to supply the inquisitive psychologist with candid responses. But it does not follow, of course, that the tests could be used effectively for selection purposes, or in other situations where there was any incentive to falsify.

Social-attitude scales tend to show teachers as being, on the average, rather more liberal or leftish in their opinions than the general public, though probably no more so than any other professional group. It is even more certain that they range all the way from extreme conservatives and reactionaries to communists and cranks. On educational topics, also, the wide variations of views are the most noticeable feature. For example, in the recent inquiry by the National Foundation for Educational Research in England

[30] F. M. Austin, "An Analysis of the Motives of Adolescents for the Choice of the Teaching Profession," *Brit. J. Educ. Psychol.*, 1931, 1, 87–103.

[31] K. M. Evans, "A Study of Attitudes Towards Teaching as a Career," *Brit. J. Educ. Psychol.*, 1952, 22, 63–9.

and Wales,[32] into 'Rewards and Punishments', many hundred teachers were asked to rank fifteen types of punishment according as they were "essential for preserving a good balance between discipline and freedom". "Giving the cane or strap" was ranked top by roughly one-quarter of the men, but put tenth or lower by another quarter. It was ranked seventh or higher by about a quarter of the women, but bottom by another quarter. In general, younger teachers, women, and those working in rural schools, were least favourable to the retention of corporal punishment. The Report also showed that the average teacher's judgment of the effectiveness of particular incentives and deterrents often differed considerably from that of pupils.

We cannot attempt to summarise the innumerable studies that have been made of teachers' attitudes to co-education, visual aids, etc. But the following seem specially noteworthy. Wickman's and Laycock's [33] work on children's behaviour problems is well known. It showed that teachers are apt to equate maladjustment with troublesomeness in the classroom and playground, whereas psychologists and psychiatrists rank nervousness, day-dreaming, and withdrawing behaviour as more serious from the standpoint of the child's mental health. These, and other, psychologists appear to assume, quite uncritically, that all teachers should be amateur psychologists. The present writer would agree with Cleugh [34] that some teachers who have a smattering of psychology are too theoretical, or too apt to discover elaborate complexes, and to neglect simpler environmental or other causes of troublesome behaviour. Indeed, there is probably a tendency for the more neurotic teachers to talk most about psychology. Many good teachers, like good mothers, have never heard of Freud, but are none the less competent in handling children, and genuinely sympathetic to their individual needs.

However, the value of some knowledge of child psychology and mental hygiene is indicated by Cook and Leed's [35] 'Attitude-to-Pupils Inventory'. This test contains such statements as:

Pupils are naturally stubborn.
Shyness is preferable to boldness.
Success is more motivating than failure.
Most pupils lack productive imagination.
Children dress more sensibly nowadays.

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[32] London, Newnes, 1952.

[33] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes* (New York, Commonwealth Fund, 1928); S. R. Laycock, "Teachers' Reactions to Maladjustments of School Children," *Brit. J. Educ. Psychol.*, 1934, 4, 11–29.

[34] M. F. Cleugh, *Psychology in the Service of the School* (London, Methuen, 1951).

[35] W. W. Cook and C. H. Leeds, "Measuring the Teaching Personality," *Educ. Psychol. Measmt.*, 1947, 7, 399–410.

Agreement or disagreement with each statement is expressed on a 5-point scale. These items were selected from a much larger number on the basis of their discrimination between 100 teachers chosen as excellent by their heads, and 100 described as poor. The test was tried out on a new group who had been assessed not only by their heads, but also by their own pupils, and by the investigators. The correlations of the scores with these criteria were surprisingly high, 0·45 to 0·49, and with all of them combined, 0·60.

Another interesting American test is published by Coffman.[36] This assesses teacher morale from the responses to eighty items of the following type:

If you were starting over again, would you go into teaching rather than into some other field? Yes No

The items are classified under ten headings:

I. General liking for teaching.
II. View of the profession.
III. Adjustment to teaching routine.
IV. Satisfaction with financial situation.
V. Satisfaction with curriculum.
VI. Relations with principal (head).
VII. Relations with fellow teachers.
VIII. Satisfaction with recognition.
IX. Liking for children.
X. Desire for self-improvement.

Coffman expects different individuals, or school staffs, to show different levels in these categories. Actually they overlap considerably and tend, when factor-analysed, to reduce to two main groups:

Personal affinity for teaching (chiefly combining I, II, III, IX).
Human relations (VI, VII, VIII).

No. IV is a relatively independent variable. Some evidence is given that, in schools with known characteristics, the responses of the staff yield recognisable profiles.

Investigations of Teachers' Interests and Personality Traits

One might hope to discover characteristic patterns of interests among teachers, but there is little support for this from the application of such inventories as the Kuder Preference Record and the Strong Vocational Interest Blank.[37] The former test shows that specialist teachers have strong interests along the expected lines—literary, musical, scientific, etc., but that for the most part the profiles of teachers (in America) are very similar to those of other well-educated occupational groups. However, it is noticeable that

[36] W. E. Coffman, "Teacher Morale and Curriculum Development: a Statistical Analysis of Responses to a Reaction Inventory," *J. Exp. Pedag.*, 1951, 19, 305–32.

[37] G. F. Kuder, *Kuder Preference Record* (Chicago, Science Research Associates, 1942); E. K. Strong, *Vocational Interests of Men and Women* (Stanford, Cal., Stanford University Press, 1943).

women teachers, especially at the elementary level, tend to show lower clerical and persuasive (i.e. salesmanship) interests and higher artistic ones than the general run. Men teachers seem to be higher in social service and lower in mechanical interests than most other groups.

The Strong Blank also shows that the teacher's speciality is the main determiner of interests, though there is an interesting tendency for all teachers (except in maths and science) to show femininity in interests.[38] Possibly this links with Tudhope's 'lack of adventurousness'.) Elementary school women's interests are extremely similar to those of housewives, and are positively correlated with those of nurses, occupational therapists, Y.W.C.A. secretaries and (less plausibly) office workers; while they are negatively related to those of doctors, authors, artists, and psychologists. Some differentiation (though also much resemblance) is shown by Morey[39] between the detailed likes and dislikes of American women teachers in elementary schools, junior high schools (12–14-year), and senior high schools. The first group is most feminine, artistic, and interested in domestic and social affairs; the second is more practical and active, interested in efficient organising, and in reform; the third has greater intellectual and abstract interests and more desire for independence.

Experiments with personality inventories sometimes give as worthless results in this as in most other fields, but generally do show that teaching efficiency is slightly associated with scores for extraversion, self-confidence, sociability, dominance and (negatively) with emotional instability or neuroticism.[40] A follow-up research by Retan[41] is particularly interesting. Of 152 student teachers, about half were classified as 'unstable', the rest as 'stable', on the basis of Bernreuter and Pressey X–O test scores, and interviews. Several years later, superintendents' ratings of these ex-students were collected, and 75 per cent. of the stable *vs.* 52 per cent. of the

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[38] This is borne out by R. D. Nance, "Masculinity-Femininity in Prospective Teachers," *J. Educ. Res.*, 1949, 42, 658–66.

[39] E. Morey, "Vocational Interests and Personality Characteristics of Women Teachers," *Austr. J. Psychol.*, 1949, 1, 26–37.

[40] S. R. Laycock, "The Bernreuter Personality Inventory in the Selection of Teachers," *Educ. Admin. Super.*, 1934, 20, 59–63; A. F. Dodge, "What are the Personality Traits of the Successful Teacher?", *J. Appl. Psychol.*, 1943, 27, 325–37; R. E. Gotham, "Personality and Teaching Efficiency," *J. Exp. Educ.*, 1945, 14, 157–65; L. C. D. Kemp, "The Prediction of Teaching Success," *Forum of Educ.*, 1947, 4, 14; D. G. Ryans, "A Study of the Extent of Association of Certain Professional and Personal Data with Judged Effectiveness of Teacher Behavior," *J. Exp. Educ.*, 1951, 20, 67–78; K. Lovell, *An Investigation into Factors Underlying Teaching Ability in Primary and Secondary Modern Schools* (University of London, M.A. thesis, 1951).

[41] G. A. Retan, "Emotional Instability and Teaching Success," *J. Educ. Res.*, 1943, 37, 135–41.

unstable were assessed as good to excellent. In fact, the personality classification gave almost as good a prediction of later teaching success as did the college practical teaching marks. Many of the unstables, it was found, had developed undue domineeringness, though others who had been nervous or shy had become more confident, and were considered to be reliable teachers.

Lovell found low positive correlations between the teaching marks of Emergency Training Scheme students and scores on Cattell's P–F questionnaire for Personality Factors A (cyclothymia), B (intelligence), C (emotional stability), and F (surgency). But pattern-analysis technique appeared to give better differentiation; and on simply separating those with very low scores on any of these factors from those with average or high scores, a biserial correlation of 0·49 was obtained. Schwartz [42] attempted to measure ten of Cattell's factors among 34 student teachers by objective tests, but his results appear almost meaningless. The most elaborate research is that of Lamke,[43] who analysed the responses of 10 good, 14 medium, and 8 poor teachers to 343 P–F items, together with ratings by supervisors, observers, and acquaintances. The numbers of cases are, of course, small, but the results suggest that a balanced personality, not particularly high or low on any factor, is an advantage; also that several different patterns of traits exist among the good or among the poor teachers. Lamke's ingenious use of inverted factor analysis and discriminant function techniques offers some promise of combining the psychometric approach to personality (measurement of discrete traits) with the Gestalt approach (isolation of individual patterns).

A suggestive experiment by Clark [44] into annoying characteristics of children appears to show that teachers who are mentally stable and extraverted (on paper tests) are most irritated by social misdemeanours—bullying, lying, tale-telling, etc.; whereas teachers with neurotic-introverted tendencies are more upset by untidiness, dirtiness, and inattentiveness. One attempt to compare teachers, of similar level, in different countries is that of Kaldegg.[45] Using the Rorschach inkblots and Raven's verbal projection test, he found English women student teachers more objective and extraverted in outlook than German ones.

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[42] A. N. Schwartz, "A Study of the Discriminatory Efficiency of Certain Tests of the Primary Source Personality Traits of Teachers," *J. Exp. Educ.*, 1950, 19, 63–93.

[43] T. A. Lamke, "Personality and Teaching Success," *J. Exp. Educ.*, 1951, 20, 217–59.

[44] E. J. Clark, "The Relationship between the Personality Traits of Elementary School Teachers and their Evaluation of Objectionable Pupil Behavior," *J. Educ. Res.*, 1951, 45, 61–6.

[45] A. Kaldegg, "A Study of German and English Teacher-Training Students by Means of Projective Techniques," *Brit. J. Psychol.*, 1951, 42, 56–113.

Intelligence of Teachers

The greatest volume of objective research on teacher characteristics has been concerned with intelligence test scores and academic grades. Though the results vary considerably, correlations between practical teaching and intelligence are generally positive but very small in fairly heterogeneous groups of students, but zero or even negative in highly selected ones (or in groups which include both grammar and infant teachers, since the former are likely to be higher in intelligence and lower in teaching than the latter). If the criterion of teaching ability was more reliable, the coefficients might be slightly more favourable. It has been claimed, also, that intelligence scores are more closely related to inspectors' assessments than to those of heads or of pupils. There are indications that the relationship is non-linear, i.e. that an I.Q. much below, say, 110 is a handicap to efficiency, but that above that figure it makes no difference. However, no definite lower limit is established.

Tests of mature teachers give equivocal results, since such verbal capacities as vocabulary tend to increase with age, whereas abstraction, reasoning, and non-verbal capacities begin to decline quite early. Among students it is known that the average I.Q. is about 130 for graduates and 120 for non-graduates on verbal tests with a standard deviation of 16; on non-verbal tests there is less, or no, difference. This means that over 90 per cent. of teachers are drawn from about the top 20 per cent. of the population in intelligence. But it should be noted that persons of exceptionally high intelligence (140 and over) are somewhat less likely to enter teaching, according to Terman and Oden's [46] follow-up of gifted American children.

But just because, in Britain and America, most teachers are of superior intelligence, it does not follow that intelligence is essential for teaching. Social custom obviously plays a large part. Neill Wright [47] suggests that teaching is the natural choice for pupils whose parents and other relatives and acquaintances are non-professional, but who are more intelligent and more academically minded than their norm. One might speculate that professional-class children who do not show outstanding talent or inclination towards medicine, the law, engineering, etc., also provide a considerable proportion of recruits.[48] Neill Wright agrees that there are plenty of reasons why a teacher requires intelligence. He or she must be able to master subject-mattter, to select from it, arrange and reformulate it; in his training he is expected to grasp principles

[46] L. M. Terman and M. H. Oden, *The Gifted Child Grows Up* (Stanford, Cal., Stanford University Press, 1947).

[47] See Footnote 18.

[48] Research into such matters is in progress at the London School of Economics.

of educational theory and practice; he has to try to teach children how to think rationally; without it, his methods are more likely to sink into a dull routine. Most of these apply more to secondary than to junior or infant teachers. It is clear that psychological research provides no good justification for the profession continuing to absorb such a large proportion of the nation's superior intellects, when there are so many other clamant demands. On the contrary, it brings out the greater importance of conative and affective, than of intellectual, traits.

Academic Attainments of Teachers

Much the same conclusions hold for academic standing at school or university, or grades obtained in written subjects at the training college. The latter do usually correlate around 0·3 to 0·4 with practical teaching marks, the former very much less. This is usually interpreted to mean that the theoretical college subjects are directly relevant to teaching. But it is at least as likely, as the writer has suggested elsewhere,[49] that student teachers who are generally keen and industrious show this in their written and in their practical work, whereas the lazy and the misfits are poorer all-round. Thus Sandiford[50] finds no correlation between efficiency assessments of mature teachers and either intelligence or academic marks obtained as students several years earlier, though some correlation remains with college practical marks.

A correlation of 0·3 in a rather highly selected group is not negligible. Were the whole range of ability represented, it would rise to at least 0·5. This indicates that it would be inadvisable to go too low in the scholastic scale in recruiting teachers. However, the Emergency Training Scheme in England provided an interesting opportunity for experiment. Lovell[51] studied the educational background of very large numbers, and found that those with grammar school education did not obtain superior teaching marks to those without. Evans's negative correlation with School Certificate results among grammar school pupils has already been mentioned. Tudhope[52] points out that the brightest pupils scholastically usually prefer, or are encouraged, to go to university rather than to teacher-training colleges. At the university level in America, Learned and Wood[53] found that students entering teach-

[49] See Footnote 29: P. E. Vernon.

[50] P. Sandiford *et al.*, "Forecasting Teaching Ability," *Dept. Educ. Res. Bull.*, No. 8 (Toronto, 1937).

[51] See Footnote 40: K. Lovell. Cf. also P. J. T. Grant, "The Social and Educational Background of Emergency Trained Teachers and Reasons for their Choice of Profession," *Brit. J. Educ. Psychol.*, 1950, 20, 164–73.

[52] See Footnote 10.

[53] W. S. Learned and B. D. Wood, *The Student and His Knowledge* (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Bull. No. 29, 1938).

ing were, on the average, 0·4 sigma units inferior in academic achievements to arts students in general. Such findings obviously depend on the sociological climate; with alterations in the prestige and the financial attractiveness of the profession, the scholastic level of recruits is likely to alter too. It would certainly seem desirable that all teachers should be sufficiently literate and well-educated to retain the respect of parents, and to be able to assume cultural leadership in a community. And, as in the case of intelligence, specialist teaching at the secondary level naturally demands superior academic standing. But research provides little support for the view that all teachers must be drawn from the 10 per cent. or so best educated in the country.

Mention should be made in passing of the numerous so-called aptitude tests for teaching, published in America, such as the Stanford, George Washington, and Coxe-Orleans Prognosis tests,[54] though they do not appear to have been used in any other country. They consist chiefly of: (*a*) tests of information about education and educational or psychological theory; (*b*) tests involving judgment of what to do in teaching situations; (*c*) reading comprehension and/or memory of passages, usually taken from educational writings. They measure much the same as a general educational prognosis or verbal intelligence test but, with their educational content, tend to correlate rather more highly than these with training college marks. There is little evidence that they have any appreciable predictive value for practical marks, or for ultimate success as a teacher.

Teachers in the Light of Abnormal Psychology

It would be easy to speculate about teaching from the psychoanalytic viewpoint, and about the psychopathology of teachers; but little or no definite information appears to be available. A community of spinsters, given almost unlimited powers over the minds and bodies of young children, particularly when cooped up in a boarding school, is highly conducive to mental ill-health. The Freudian conception of sublimation is often invoked, but in much too facile a manner. There is no good evidence for the view that sex and maternal instincts can be simply diverted into new channels; on the contrary, their redirection is hardly possible without the erection of repressive mechanisms of a more or less neurotic kind. It is highly probable, therefore, that teaching has in the past both attracted women with undesirable neurotic tendencies, and

[54] M. B. Jensen, *Stanford Educational Aptitude Test* (Stanford University Press, 1928); F. A. Moss, T. Hunt *et al.*, *George Washington University Series—Teaching Aptitude Test* (George Washington University, 1927), *Educational Aptitude Test* (1940); W. W. Coxe and J. S. Orleans, *Prognosis Test of Teaching Ability* (Yonkers, N.Y., World Book Co., 1930).

exacerbated the abnormalities of many with milder predispositions. Among men teachers, also, sadism and homosexuality still occur, even if less frequently than in the past. Whether the proportions of neurotics or psychopaths among teachers of either sex are any greater than in other professions such as ministers, psychologists, nurses, and politicians, seems more doubtful. According to Rogers,[55] neurasthenia and nervous disorders are no commoner among teachers than in other occupations involving dealing with people. Nor is there any reason to suppose that any particular type of abnormality is characteristic of teachers. They include hysterics and obsessionals, the over-anxious and the schizoid, and people with manic or with depressive trends. It is not unlikely that some types of maladjusted teachers are, *ipso facto*, better fitted to understand and help difficult children; and that others provide the rebels and experimenters who do most to further educational progress. Thus it would be unwise to take too seriously the small correlations between teaching ability assessments and scores on neuroticism questionnaires. Finally, it should be pointed out that there are two hopeful tendencies, at least in British education, which should go some way to reduce the psychological hazards of teaching: first the greater amount of mixing of men, of married and of unmarried women on the same school staffs, and second the more humane teacher-pupil relations.

Conclusions

Perhaps the most sensible conclusion arising out of our discussion and survey of research is that teachers are as diverse in their psychological traits as any other occupational group. It is fallacious to talk of the teaching personality in general as something distinct and consistent. True, teachers tend to fall within the top quarter of the distribution of intelligence and education, though we have seen that this is partly a sociological accident. Probably the majority of those who are well adjusted to the career are somewhat extraverted, but many other personality types do excellent work, and there are certainly large numbers of misfits. Extremely various also are the ideals, sentiments and interests, and the psychoanalytic mechanisms underlying the choice of, and continuance in, the profession.

Nevertheless it is possible to give a little advice on the selection of students. The intellectual qualifications regarded as necessary are not too difficult to assess, preferably from a combination of scholastic record and psychological tests. Some relevant information on interests and attitudes can be ascertained by an experienced interviewer, but neither school recommendations nor interviewer's

[55] J. F. Rogers, *The Health of the Teacher* (U.S. Office of Education, School Health Studies, No. 12, 1926).

judgments can be expected to give good predictions of the personality qualities needed in the classroom. They cannot even show whether the candidate is so neurotic as to be bad for his or her pupils, or impossible to co-operate with in the staff room. Nor would an assessment of personality by a psychologist or psychiatrist, with or without the assistance of personality and interest questionnaires, projection or other tests, add much, in our present state of knowledge. Techniques of a more 'work-sample' type seem essential. The old pupil-teacher system had great advantages from this viewpoint. The group exercise method developed for army officer and civil service selection is rather more revealing than the interview alone, and it has been tried out in teacher selection with some success [56]; but it is still too unrealistic. Probably the most effective method would be to arrange for a month's trial run, with the students in residence at a training college. The final decision to accept should be based on the combination of at least three tutors' or supervisors' observations (so as to reduce the personal element in assessment), on fellow student and warden's ratings, and particularly on each student's self-analysis of his reactions to his initial teaching experiences. Obviously there is no reliable way in which future changes of interest and adjustment can be predicted; but a very large proportion of misfits should reveal themselves during this period. It goes without saying that such a scheme is possible only when a favourable 'Selection Ratio' exists, that is, a considerable excess of candidates over vacancies. Little progress can be expected, therefore, until a change in the public's attitude towards teaching, and improvements in its attractiveness and opportunities for promotion, bring about a larger flow of recruits.

P. E. VERNON.

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[56] W. A. Skinner, *An Investigation into an Assessment of Teaching Ability in Teachers of Technical Subjects* (University of London, M.A. thesis, 1949); L. Herbert, "A Case Study of a Group Selection Procedure," *Hum. Relat.*, 1951, 4, 77–94.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STATUS AND FUNCTION OF TEACHERS IN TRIBAL COMMUNITIES

SOME of the most striking developments of the last hundred years have been the extension of trade, the teaching of Christianity, and the establishment of political control throughout immense tropical and sub-tropical areas by people of western European stock. Most of the peoples in the areas thus affected were living in tribal communities—each with its own tribal culture—and all of them with cultures quite different from that of the western Europeans who had come into such close contact with them. The last hundred years has been pre-eminently a time when tribal societies have been brought into close and continuous contact with large-scale national cultures of a different type.

Thus numerous contact situations have been created which have certain characteristics in common. In every case it is the large national society and not the tribal society which has taken the initiative in making the contact. The national society is also invariably greatly the superior in power, and the tribal society is invariably subordinate. The national society assumes the right to change and modify tribal society, and during the process of change the tribal society is expected to play a passive and receptive rather than an active and initiating role.

The kind of situation I have described is also to be found outside the strictly 'colonial' relationship wherever a national or state government is seeking to develop tribal communities which have hitherto retained their own cultures, so as to associate them more closely with the predominant national culture. It is to be found, for instance, in India and in some of the newly established republics of south-east Asia, where there are still tribal communities living in cultural islands, as it were, outside the main stream of national life. It is also to be found in America, among the Amerindian tribal communities in the United States, in Mexico and other Latin American republics, and among the Aboriginal tribes of Australia.

In all such contact situations the dominant, contacting society can promote change in the tribal society in two ways. It can force change on people by using its superior power. For example, by insisting that they pay a money-tax it can ensure that they participate in non-tribal economic activities which subject them indirectly to external cultural influences of many kinds. Or it can

try to influence them directly through teaching, i.e. by establishing schools and training teachers for work in tribal areas.

The position and function of teachers in tribal communities in the kind of culture-contact situation I have described above are quite significantly different from the position and function of teachers who are working within a single culture. It is this fact which may be held to justify a special study of the status and function of teachers in tribal areas.

Traditional Tribal Education

Before we go on to examine the status of teachers and then their function in this particular kind of situation, we must first see how teaching was traditionally carried on in tribal communities before the culture-contact situation arose. Every tribe, of course, had its own means of teaching the tribal culture to each new generation, but we must note that it had no distinct and recognised body of professional teachers in any way corresponding to the Western concept of the teacher. There was a great deal of informal teaching, and the family usually had a heavier responsibility in this respect than it has in industrialised cultures. Often, the teaching function was specifically related to some particular family relationship. In one tribe, for example, the child might customarily be initiated into certain aspects of the tribal culture by the grandparents, in another by the maternal uncle, and in yet another by an older child.

In addition, many tribal societies had developed institutions analogous to a school. Thus in some tribes boys, and less frequently girls, left the parents' household to live for several years with their age-mates in special dwellings in or near the village, or in bachelors' halls with unmarried men, widowers, and strangers, where they were educated by contact with those older than themselves. Other tribes approached the idea of the school even more closely in the teaching which preceded initiation into adult status in the tribe. Such teaching often had a clearly defined content, and the 'curriculum' might include religion, ethics, physical training, and training in vocational skills.

However, even where instruction was most institutionalised, teaching was rarely the sole function of a separate and distinct class of teachers. Kinsfolk, peers of the age-grade, tribal elders, or priests of the tribal cult did the teaching: and in each case teaching was a function rather than the determinant of status in the group. Teachers were not separately recognised as such. Those who taught had their status fixed by other factors than teaching.

The 'Teacher' and the Tribal Community

The point, therefore, that we have to bear in mind is that when the teacher in the Western, professional sense is introduced into the

tribal community at the time of culture contact, he does not fit, as a 'teacher', into any pre-existing tribal-status category. He cannot inherit a pre-existing 'teacher' status.

In order to analyse the factors which help to determine the status that the teacher does attain in the tribal community in which he teaches, we need to distinguish between two different groups or categories of teachers. The one category consists of 'alien', 'foreign', or 'external' teachers, that is, of teachers exported, as it were, from the dominant national society to teach in the tribal community specifically as agents of the external culture. The second category consists of indigenous teachers—members of the tribal society in which they teach—who have had some education in the external culture. Like the alien teachers, they are functioning *as teachers* as agents of the external culture, but their local status is affected by various factors which do not apply to the alien teacher, and they are best considered as a separate group.

The External Status of the Alien Teacher

So far we have implicitly assumed that the status with which we are concerned is the status accorded to the teacher by the tribal community in which he teaches. This is, indeed, the most important aspect of the teacher's status, for it largely determines the nature of his relationships within the community and the extent of his influence, and it is with this that we are primarily concerned. But the teacher also has a status in the external society of which he is the agent, and this is particularly important in respect to the category of alien teachers: for if status in the tribal community governs the nature and extent of the teacher's influence in the tribe, it is no less true that his status in the external society will greatly affect his attitude to teaching in tribal areas. If the alien teacher in tribal areas thereby enjoys a high status in his own external society, the tribal areas will attract teachers of good quality. If the status accorded to such teachers is generally low, they will attract a poorer class of teacher. Moreover, their status in the external society may have a direct bearing on the kind of status allocated to them within the tribal communities in which they teach.

There is much evidence to suggest that most teachers in tribal societies enjoy only a low status in the external societies with which they are associated. On the whole, teachers in tribal areas have lower salaries and poorer qualifications than teachers elsewhere, and these are major status determinants. Moreover, housing, school buildings, and school equipment are usually of a rudimentary kind, and opportunities for social and professional contacts, and for promotion within the teaching profession, are relatively fewer than in the non-tribal society. It is true, of course, that these factors also operate to depress the status of teachers in many rural

areas which are not tribal areas, so that Ryburn [1] can write of India:

> The result of the present low pay and status of the teacher is that in the villages the numerous problems which could be tackled by teachers with a better cultural and economic background are not being tackled. The teacher is all too frequently concerned mainly with augmenting his pittance in other ways besides his regular teaching work. Hence he lacks the respect that should be his. Whether we like it or not, a large majority of people still assess a person's worth by the salary he commands.

But it is also true that such factors tend to operate more severely in tribal areas than in other rural areas. Thus of Australian Aborigine schools an Australian [2] has said:

> With very occasional exceptions, whether at mission or government schools, the teacher has no qualifications for the work. He (or she) has not even received the short course which qualifies for conducting a small country white school, let alone special training in Aboriginal mentality, tradition, social life . . . and so on.

Low qualifications and low salaries reflecting low status in the external society are in fact characteristic of the majority of teachers in tribal areas. Under these circumstances a large proportion of those who do teach in them do so perforce. That is to say, they teach in tribal areas only after they have tried and failed to gain a satisfactory post elsewhere. Many teachers in 'bush' schools in tropical Africa fall into this category. They are teaching in tribal society because they have failed to pass the examination which would give them an assured foothold in the outside society, so that the only choices which are really open to them are to revert to a purely tribal status; to accept the lowest status in the external society—that of the unskilled day labourer; or to teach in the lowest grade of school. There are many teachers of this kind in tribal communities, and their position is very similar to that of the Chinese village teacher, "traditionally a poor relation or a stranger, a man who had failed to win a high enough rank in the examination to win a place in the civil service."

We find the same factor—of low status in the external society of teaching posts in tribal areas—affecting the standard of recruitment for teachers in adult education. Thus Hughes notes that the Mexican cultural mission programme's chief weakness is the lack of trained and well-qualified personnel, and he ascribes it to the low level of salaries and to difficult living conditions. "Only persons with a real missionary spirit will accept positions at the

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[1] W. M. Ryburn, *Creative Education* (Longmans, Madras, 1946, pp. 235–6).

[2] F. M. Keesing, *Education in Pacific Countries* (Oxford University Press, 1938).

salaries offered."[3] He stresses, too, the obvious need that the missioners should know the Indian language of the areas in which they are working. Thus—

> in the first period, the missions selected only missioners who knew or would learn the Indian language of the area where they were working; to-day, because of the low salaries paid to missioners, it is no longer possible to insist on this requirement.[4]

I have suggested that the status of teachers in tribal societies is generally low if it is viewed from the standpoint of the outside, contacting society, and hence that men and women who think of themselves primarily as members of the outside society will usually accept teaching posts in tribal communities only if they fail to qualify for a post in a more 'developed' area. While this is true for most teachers, there are some who may identify themselves more with a particular group within the larger society than with the larger society as a whole; and to whom, therefore, status within that group is the more important. Christian missions are the most noteworthy among the groups which stimulate such special loyalties. Hence devout and sincere Christian teachers may ignore the usual secular status determinants and elect to teach in backward tribal areas. For them, in their own Christian group, the operative status determinant may be such as to *include* a low salary and poorer living conditions, and the valued status (in the Christian group) may be reached by ignoring status considerations which affect the behaviour of the majority of teachers. Much of the best and most effective educational work in tribal areas has been begun by men and women of this kind.

In addition to the two classes of alien teachers already noted—the comparative reject or failure in outside society and the teacher with a sense of mission—we may also note a third class of well-qualified teachers, either government or mission, who are compulsorily drafted to backward tribal areas to improve an unsatisfactory educational situation. Action of this kind may often fail owing to the resistance of the teachers to such postings.[5] Thus of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, a teacher writes:

> The supply of local teachers has been one of the main obstacles to the rapid development of education in the Northern Territories, . . .

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[3] L. G. Hughes, *The Mexican Cultural Mission Programme* (Unesco, 1950, p. 64).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[5] P. A. W. Cook makes this point as the result of an investigation of student teacher preferences in South Africa. He notes that:

". . . roughly three out of four teachers wish to teach in large schools, and this preference is reflected in the difficulty most mission superintendents experience in obtaining qualified teachers for small schools in backward areas." (*The Native Student Teacher*, South African Council for Educational and Social Research Series, No. 12, 1940, p. 61, note to Table XLVII.)

and although local teachers have been and are being trained, the Northern Territories have to a large extent to rely on teachers from the South.

The Northern Territories have been looked upon as an unpopular area, and teachers who have been transferred to the North have looked upon this as a punishment. Many, therefore, were indifferent to their work and have been wholly out of sympathy with the people.

He notes that there are others, a minority, who have thoroughly identified themselves with the people among whom they live and work.

While, however, the teacher's status in the external society largely governs the quality of the alien teacher who offers himself for work in tribal areas, it is the teacher's status in the tribal community in which he teaches which mainly determines his influence as a teacher. What considerations govern the status that he achieves?

The Status of the Alien Teacher in the Tribal Community

At the beginning of contact the alien teacher has no ready-made status within the tribal community. His general status is that of a 'foreigner', and his personal status is determined by his relations with other foreigners rather than by his relations with people inside the community. His position and influence within the tribal community will therefore depend primarily on the tribal attitude towards the external society with which he is identified, and secondarily on the tribal estimate of his status in that society. The more the way of life of the contacting society is envied and desired, and the more able to teach that way of life the teacher is thought to be, the higher will be the status accorded to him and the greater his influence among the people.

Such a favourable attitude towards the external society is rarely found at the beginning of culture contact. While the community may grant prestige to the members and agents of the external society because of its superior power, it will usually reject most of the values, skills, and modes of behaviour which are characteristic of it. This is a situation which existed, and still exists to some extent, in the Mohammedan areas of Northern Nigeria, where the teacher, as *teacher*, was in the main rejected, and where the extent of his rejection could be measured by such criteria as the difficulty in recruiting classes, a heavy wastage of pupils, poor attendances, and poor standards of pupil attainment.

The Maya Indians of British Honduras, it is stated,[6] are similarly suspicious of newcomers and of outside culture, and this was alleged as one cause of the failure of the teachers to enlist the interest of the general community. Of Mexico, also, it is said that

[6] Report on Vacation Course for Teachers in Indian Villages held at Xaibe, 1949, p. 4 (mimeographed)

many of the Indian peoples, for example the Popolocas of Veracruz, are not culturally prepared to receive the guidance of (adult education) missioners.

> They have many superstitions that militate against changes in their traditional ways of doing things. Having lived in isolation and ignorance for centuries, they are indifferent to the missioners and co-operate only in a half-hearted way. . . . The Popolocas are typical of isolated and retarded peoples in many parts of the country.[7]

Such attitudes to the teacher and to what he teaches are, in fact, still common among certain tribes which have been subjected to outside influences for long periods. Thus, according to Cook, most of the Bomvana of South Africa still place the European and his doings in a category entirely separate from the Bomvana themselves.

> To these people the European is not considered as an ordinary human being, but is something quite apart. What he thinks or does is therefore no concern of the Bomvana, and they are not under any necessity to compare themselves and their methods of life with him.[8]

Whatever may be their status in the external society, alien teachers in such tribal situations have no effective status within the communities they are paid to teach. Their only status is that of foreigners. Redfield well illustrates this point in his latest study of Chan Kom, when he writes:

> [The people] are still of the opinion that the way of the *dzul* is not the way of the Indian and that the two kinds of people should live each in its own community. The teacher and his family are never fully within the village life; they are necessarily anomalies; they bring troublesome problems, as when a marriage is suggested between a girl of such a family and a boy of the village. The old Mexican who now lives in Chan Kom is the exception that proves the rule. Outsider as he is, he works as the villagers do, attends the ceremonies, and labours on the public works.[9]

We have a completely different situation when the traditional tribal community begins to learn to value certain aspects of the contacting culture, for the teacher can then achieve real status within the tribe itself—apart from his status in the external society —if he can help people to reach their newly learned goals. Thus, for example, whereas a Christian mission has converted a tribe to Christianity, the mission teacher may achieve status in a teaching role *in the community he serves*, and his influence may then extend

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[7] Hughes, *op cit.*, p. 67.
[8] P. A. W. Cook, *The Education of a South African Tribe* (Juta & Co. Ltd., Capetown, 1934, p. 21).
[9] R. Redfield, *A Village that Chose Progress: Chan Kom Revisited* (The University of Chicago Press, 1950, pp. 151–2).

far beyond the confines of the classroom in proportion to his ability to interpret the outside culture to the local community, and to assist them to adjust themselves to it. Thus, too, according to Mears:

> In tribal matters academic learning does not increase a man's standing, and the stranger, educated or uneducated, must occupy a humble position until he has won for himself general esteem. But as European influence extends its hold on the country, the importance of the teacher increases proportionately. His institutional training, his regular routine work, and his association with his Church give him a good practical knowledge of procedure in the conduct of business on European lines. . . . Above all, his ability to read, write and speak a European language brings him into prominence even in the company of headmen and the councillors of the tribe. Thus to-day in any district where the teacher has personality and character he wins for himself as scribe, interpreter, and mediator with government officials, traders, and missionaries a position of respect.[10]

The Status of the Indigenous Teacher

In the very first stages of culture contact the teacher is inevitably an alien teacher from the external, contacting society. Later, the children whom he has taught may become teachers in their own tribal communities, and we have now to inquire what special considerations may affect their status.

First, we must note that most of the factors that we have already considered in relation to the alien teacher apply to the indigenous teacher also. After all, although he is not a stranger, as a teacher he is in an alien role. He is not teaching because his tribal status lays on him a responsibility to teach. He is a teacher only because he has been educated to function as an agent of the external society. He is a tribal member playing an alien role: and his status, like that of the alien teacher, will be affected by the tribal attitude to the contacting society and by the tribal estimate of the teacher's position and status in that society.

But the status of the indigenous teacher will be affected by many other considerations which have nothing to do with the external society, for he is also a member of the tribe, and as such he has a tribal status by virtue of his tribal membership, and this tribal status will greatly affect his status as a teacher.

First let us note that most tribes associate high status with maturity, and pre-eminently with old age, while indigenous teachers, at least in the early stages of culture contact, are predominantly young men (and women) and often even unmarried. Their tribal status, and hence their influence in the tribe, are therefore low; and at the early stage of contact their academic learning,

[10] W. G. A. Mears, "The Educated Native in Bantu Communal Life", in *Western Civilisation and the Natives of South Africa* (Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1934, pp. 93–4).

based on the culture of the external society, does not help to increase their standing.

Thus Keesing writes:

> Inevitably the local man has family and personal ties that affect his status, and that may make him anything but a free agent. He is not accepted purely on the basis of his merits as a teacher or a person. Too often he is a 'prophet without honour', subject to suspicions or jealousies because of his attainments and his service to a foreign overlord. The fact that he is usually a young man may handicap him in some societies, as wisdom is often considered the prerogative of age. Many native societies are hierarchical, and unless the teacher is a person counted as of very high rank he and his school may have little prestige.[11]

In the hierarchical society the operation of these factors may be accentuated by the difference in attitude to schooling of children of high and low status.

> Frequently the clever pupil who gets on well in the school is a younger child who has no prospect of achievement in the indigenous society and so strives the harder to follow the new line of opportunity thus offered. He may even be a member of a very low social class 'rescued' by a mission or other agency and, under the segregated conditions of a boarding school, 'making good'.[12]

When such a child returns to his own community as a teacher he has little or no social standing, and hence little influence in the community.

The importance of this factor of tribal status in affecting the influence of the indigenous teacher in his own community is well illustrated in relation to Samoa by the following quotation:

> At the present time his [the teacher's] position is not entirely satisfactory. He is debarred from any direct leadership in the community and, if he is energetic, must depend upon his personal influence with one of the *matai*. . . . This state of affairs is probably only temporary. Another group of men, the native pastors, have attained a position of as much dignity and influence as that of the *matai*. It is possible that in the future teachers as a group will be accepted as occupying a position demanding respect . . . the more able Samoan teachers must be spared the humiliating position of inferiority when they know their abilities entitle them to something better.[13]

The position of inferiority described above becomes more irksome and more resented as teachers become better educated and better trained in their profession, and thus reach a higher status in the external society which employs them as its agents. They have

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[11] F. M. Keesing, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

[13] G. G. Brown, "The Native Teacher in Samoa", in *Education in Pacific Countries*, Vol. 2, pp. 244–5, 1936.

status at two levels and are conscious of a widening gap between them. They may react to this situation in several ways: they may outwardly accept it and conform to the behaviour expected of them; they may look for a post outside the tribal community where their status is more likely to be determined by their 'merits'; or, under favourable conditions, they may try to assert their own conception of their status on the tribe.

Such favourable conditions develop wherever tribal leaders begin to realise the potential value of the teacher's knowledge of the language and customs of the external society in assisting them to order their relations with it. Then, as Mears writes:

> The consciousness of this progressive change has lately brought a new factor into the social situation, namely a feeling of antagonism by the educated against the uneducated native. The teacher, resenting any inferiority of social position, emphasises the superiority conferred upon him by his academic education. For instance, in some cases when the older residents of a district according to custom cross-examine a newly-arrived teacher as a man without standing in that area, the teacher will challenge the right to put these questions by replying: "What examination have you passed?" With the sudden impact of Western civilisation, the old tribal order is not decaying, it is collapsing; in the regrouping of the Bantu people the teachers will for a time occupy a very high place.[14]

All the factors I have mentioned—the power and prestige of the external, contacting society, the attitude of the tribal society towards it, the status of the teacher in the external society and, in the case of the indigenous teacher, the tribal status that is accorded him—operate together to determine the status of the teacher in the tribal community. Since none of these factors is constant in relation to all tribal societies, or even to the same tribe at different stages of culture contact, it is difficult to generalise about the status of their teachers. The status they actually achieve is the result of the interaction of these various factors in a given situation and at a particular time. All that one can safely say is that as the duration of the culture contact lengthens, and to the degree that the tribal culture is affected by the contacting culture, so a new culture emerges in which the teacher is no longer seen in an alien role as a channel for an alien culture, but as a channel for a new culture, which unlike the tribal culture which preceded it, depends for its transmission on a professional class of teachers. When that stage has been reached the status of teachers will be determined, as in Western cultures, by factors stemming wholly from the society in which they are teaching. That stage has already been reached in some of the more 'developed' colonial areas, e.g. in parts of West Africa, but such areas are no longer traditional tribal areas and as such they do not fall within the scope of this article.

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[14] W. G. A. Mears, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

The Function of the Teacher in the Tribal Community

If we now turn to consider the function of teaching (and hence of teachers) again we find that the situation in tribal communities is significantly different from that in Western societies. In the latter, teaching is seen to have two main functions in relation to the culture: one, the transmission of the culture to each new generation, so that it is perpetuated and maintained; the other, the encouragement of change which is envisaged as something desirable and which is labelled 'development' or 'progress'. And it is indeed the Western emphasis on change and progress which creates the need for a large, specialised class of professional investigators and teachers: the investigator to conduct research to develop new concepts and skills; the teachers to provide the channels along which the new concepts and skills may quickly pervade and modify behaviour throughout the culture.

For this there is no counterpart in other cultures, and nowhere is the contrast between Western and other cultures in this respect more clearly to be seen than in the relatively isolated traditional tribal cultures. This does not mean, of course, that change in those cultures does not occur, or that the content of their teaching is wholly static. When Chaka forced young Zulu men into barracks to form his regiments, the task of herding and milking had to be learnt by girls. But it does mean that in tribal cultures the recognised function of teaching is to maintain tradition—to transmit the established culture—and not to promote change.

If we now turn to discuss more directly the function of teachers in tribal communities we must keep this distinction clearly in mind, for it has an important bearing on our subject. In tribal communities teachers are acting as the agents of an external, alien, and unfamiliar culture, and what they teach is doubly alien. It is alien in content in the sense that the knowledge, skills, and modes of behaviour which form the content of the teaching have their roots in an alien culture: it is alien also in *idea* because it is orientated to change, while tribal teaching is orientated to the maintenance of tradition.[15]

It is difficult, but nevertheless important, to try to assess what this means in terms of a teaching relationship. In Western societies, as we have seen, the encouragement of change in the sense of development or progress is a recognised function of the teacher, and change during the last hundred years has, in fact, been rapid. But even so the teacher is, after all, only conforming to an accepted norm in his culture, i.e. a favourable attitude to change. Being himself a product of the culture in which he teaches, and teaching

[15] For a particularly good example of a tribal value of this kind see D. Lee, "Being and Value in a Primitive Culture", *Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 46, No. 13, 1949.

within it, even when he teaches change and the acceptance of change he is only handing on a concept already embedded in his culture: and he is, concurrently, predominantly engaged in transmitting a vast store of knowledge, skills, and modes of behaviour which have already been established and accepted within his society. Thus in spite of the Western concept of the teacher as an agent of change we see him, nevertheless, acting strictly within the permitted bounds of the culture in which he teaches. Any serious divergence from the established norms—any attempt to promote change in directions in which change is not favoured and sanctioned in the culture—is rarely made. If he makes such an attempt, the teacher invites sanctions against himself. For instance, the current reaction to Communist teachers in Western societies amply demonstrates that the teacher as a change-agent may safely operate only within strictly defined and culturally sanctioned limits.

Creating Educational Demand: His Function as seen by the External Society

The teacher is in an entirely different position in tribal cultures which predominantly value tradition. He then functions as a channel for the spread of cultural influences which may, indeed, be quite incompatible with it. Therefore, at least in the early stages of contact, there is always an inherent possibility of conflict, with the teacher functioning as the spearhead for an attack, direct or indirect, on the values of the traditional culture. Thus Cook writes of Bomvanaland:

> The positive attacks on the working of the tribal system are directed chiefly by the missionaries and the school they supervise. On religious grounds the missionaries have cast disrepute and the stigma of immorality, ignorance, and irreligion upon most of the tribal customs. The initiation rites have been attacked for their immorality, the tribal dances for a display of licentiousness, polygamy for its evils of one kind or another, the chiefs for not aiding and supporting the preaching of the Gospel; in fact, there is little that missionaries have not found to condemn on one ground or another in the whole set-up of tribal institutions.[16]

Murray makes the same point in more general terms when he writes:

> Europeans used to be interested in him [the Native] not for what he is in himself but for what he might be made. His customs seemed barbaric and out-of-date, while his religion held his land in "error's chain". On the whole, there was nothing to be expected of him unless he received Christianity and the civilisation of Europe.[17]

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[16] P. A. W. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 21..

[17] A. V. Murray, *The School in the Bush* (Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1929, p. 341).

While the society the teacher represents is under the influence of these ideas the teacher cannot function as a teacher of the whole community, but only as a teacher of those individuals who for any reason wish to escape from it. On the one hand he teaches them to substitute Western Christian religious values for tribal religious values, and thus frees them from the traditional moral controls of the tribe: on the other he offers to a minority a means of access to the skills they need to take their place in society external to that of the tribe. And we must note that in performing either function the teacher is acting solely to satisfy the needs and purposes of the external society. He is in no sense functioning in any tribal role. Both functions contribute to the disintegration of the tribal community. Neither helps the community, as distinct from individuals escaping from the community, to develop or adjust to the external society the teacher represents.

Cook analyses this situation clearly enough for Bomvanaland, and notes two kinds of reaction by members of the tribal community. One is for individuals to follow the external leadership which is thus offered through the school, to discard their own ideals, to accept the inadequacy of their tribal culture, to imitate the European, and to become lost in a maze of contradictions in which their sole guide 'becomes a short-sighted self-interest'. The other, more common in Bomvanaland, is 'an ultra-conservatism' of a weakly defensive nature which has been thrust upon them and which is not inherent, at least not in the exaggerated form of to-day, in the tribal organisation.

Various factors have served to modify this concept of the teacher's function. Its undesirable results on tribal life, such as those I have just described, become apparent. As Furnivall writes of Burma, "The morals of the schoolboys were constantly under discussion. And, what was more disconcerting, the district with the best record for education was equally conspicuous for crime." [18] A second factor has been progress in the comparative study of cultures which has led to a greater knowledge and appreciation among Western peoples of tribal societies. A third is the much greater emphasis now placed in Western societies on the social function of education—on education for life in society, in conjunction with the idea that education in school is the right of every child in the modern world.

It would be an exaggeration to say that these factors have led to a reversal of educational policy and to a new conception of the function of the teacher. The school system, and hence the main function of the teacher, have remained geared to the education of individuals, but to his existing functions was now added another.

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[18] J. S. Furnivall, *Educational Progress in South-east Asia* (Institute of Pacific Relations, 1943, p. 64).

He was to extend his work outside the classroom into the community. He was to be the link between the tribal culture and the external culture, a representative of both cultures, and an agent for the adaptation and development of the tribal culture. The teaching of the distinctively school subjects was not enough. It had become imperative that the teacher should set himself the task of creating and fostering the sense of social obligation and loyalty to the community.[19] In addition to his earlier function in relation to individuals, the teacher now had another—to improve community life.

In British colonial educational policy this idea was fully stated in the Advisory Committee's *Memorandum on the Education of African Communities* in 1935.[20] This recognised the danger that education was encouraging 'an unregulated individualism which is destructive of the best elements of communal life' and that

> in so far as its influence tends to weaken social bonds, to undermine the traditions, affections, and restraints that unite men with one another and generation with generation and to introduce a new set of values entirely unrelated to the old, its effects are harmful rather than constructive.

The teacher had now to correct this tendency. It became his task

> to promote an understanding of the social environment and of the customs and laws of the tribe; to make as large a use as possible of local folklore, stories, songs, arts and crafts; and to strengthen the loyalties and bonds of native society.

While he should thus emphasise the culture of the tribe it is still his task to change it, for he is "the chief agency through which new ideas can reach the people". He can therefore still be seen as standing "alone in a village confronting conservatism and ignorance and trying to maintain standards of life and behaviour different from those prevailing in the community", and unable "to keep up the struggle" without the help of an educated wife, encouragement by visiting teachers, missionaries, or government officers.

While we may feel that this conception of the function of the teacher in relation to the tribal community as a whole marks a great advance *in thinking* over the concept which sees his function wholly or mainly in terms of teaching individuals values and knowledge which have no direct relationship to tribal life, yet it is easy to exaggerate its influence on educational practice. We may agree

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[19] J. H. Oldham, "Recent Tendencies in African Native Education", *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. LXXV, No. 3,888, May 27th, 1927, p. 665.

[20] Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, *Memorandum on the Education of African Communities* (H.M.S.O., 1935).

with Ryburn that it is unrealistic to expect the teacher to be the centre of rural reconstruction work:

> to organise the co-operative society in the village, to improve agriculture, to organise adult literacy campaigns, to run a night school, to dig latrines and pits for the village, to plan houses, to grow flowers, to pour oil on mosquito-infested ponds, and, incidentally, to teach his pupils four or five hours a day.[21]

For work of this kind he normally has neither the status in the tribal community nor the time and energy, even if he could be adequately trained and paid.

Thus while this concept has had its value in helping to liberalise and humanise a school curriculum which had been excessively alien and bookish, and to relate it in some ways and in some degree to tribal culture, it still failed to make the teacher a really effective link between the tribal community and the external society. He was still necessarily predominantly concerned with children, and his teaching was still predominantly related to the external culture. Less obviously, perhaps, than before, he still functioned to disintegrate tribal society rather than to strengthen and develop it.

Supplying Educational Demand: the Teacher's Actual Function

In all this discussion we have been looking at the function of the teacher through Western eyes, and what we have noted is after all only the Western conception of what the function of the teacher *ought* to be in relation to the tribal community. But the *actual* use made of the teacher depends less on this than on what the people in the tribal community want from him and can get from him. They are, so to speak, the consumers of his product, and they will select from or reject his wares on the basis of their own system of values.

If we look at the function of the teacher from this angle, we find that it is negligible in many 'backward' tribal communities, i.e. in communities that maintain their traditional tribal values, because the teacher has nothing to offer that appeals to them—nothing, that is, which has an obvious and significant relevance to their tribal way of life. His school therefore attracts few children and has a negligible influence on the life of the community. His positive functions develop when people acquire one or more of the values of the external culture. If they adopt Christianity, for instance, they may value the teacher because he can teach them to read the Bible, but of all the possible external values they may learn, most often it is the value of money and of individual, material, economic advantage. It is not taught them by the school, it is taught by almost every adult contact they may have with the outside world, but as they learn it so they come to value the school in proportion

[21] W. M. Ryburn, *op cit.*, pp. 233–4.

to the teacher's ability to help their children to a good start in life. Hence the existing widespread demand for schooling in many tribal areas is predominantly economic in origin, and the most valued schools (and the most highly paid teachers) are those which teach the language of the ruling power. Parents soon learn that a knowledge of this language is a source of power and profit, and that even a smattering of it confers social prestige. Thus the school and the teacher are valued for this particular purpose—to assist members of the tribal community to make their way in the external, competitive society, to escape from the community, and not to develop and adapt it from within.

To these two *real* and actual functions of the teacher we may for some areas add a third if, as sometimes happens, he comes to be valued more as a symbol of the status of the community in relation to other communities, than for any inherent value or local applicability of what he teaches. Schools and teachers are thus valued as symbols of community status in many tribal areas. We can take, as an example, the Ibo tribes of south-eastern Nigeria, among whom a strong inter-community rivalry includes schools among other competitive status symbols, so that each village prefers to have, if possible, its own senior school—however inefficient—rather than co-operate with neighbouring communities to establish one good senior school for the group.

When we consider the functions of the teacher from the viewpoint of the community in which he teaches—whether he is valued as a teacher of the Christian faith, as a means to individual material advancement, or as a symbol of community status—we do not see him functioning primarily and positively as a shaper and moulder of community values, and as a leader in the community. Rather we see him being used or rejected by the members of the community in the light of the values they already have and the wants they already feel. If the adult members of the community are already Christian, they will send their children to the teacher to be strengthened in that faith. If they are seeking individual monetary advantage, they will use the teacher to introduce their children to the skills needed to acquire it. Or, as we have seen, they may build a school and employ teachers primarily or partly to satisfy their status needs in relation to other communities. But if they are not already conscious of any of these or other needs in relation to the school, they will not want the teacher, and if he is imposed on them by alien authority he will be non-functional and ineffective. One can, in fact, summarise the position of the teacher in the culture-contact situation by stating that he is usually subordinate to his social environment in the sense that he is effectively used by the community in which he teaches only in relation to the wants they already feel. He normally has relatively only a small influence in enlarging or modifying those wants, and hence of

creating new functions for himself as he is expected to do by the policy of the contacting society. Such enlargement or modification of wants as does take place is mainly caused by other influences emanating from the external society which affect directly, not the children, but the adult members of the community. Christian mission work with adults, and the taxation, agricultural, and economic development policies of the external society in relation to the tribal community, are far more potent forces in determining new wants—and hence the demands on the school—than any efforts by the individual school teacher on and through the children.

The Creation of Educational Demand: a Function of Adult Education

Indeed, if we look more closely at the teacher's situation, it is difficult for us to see how he could effectively teach the adults of his community what to want as distinct from helping to satisfy, if he is fitted and trained to do so, the wants they already have. As we have seen, until such wants develop, he rarely enjoys a high and assured status in the community; while his main contacts—and his only recognised teaching contacts—are with the community's children, that is, with its least influential members. He is therefore very far from being in an ideal position for influencing adults to accept new values as distinct from his usual, actual, and subordinate function of assisting the members of the community to reach the goals they already want. It is the tardy realisation of this basic limitation of the school teacher which has gradually driven the external contacting societies to new educational approaches designed to support and complement the teacher's work. In essence, all these approaches aim directly at influencing the *adult* community.

These approaches have been of two kinds: the first concentrating on the teacher himself by emphasising in his training the importance of suitable educational approaches to adults; the second looking beyond the teacher to the organisation of adult education as a primary responsibility of *all* the agents of the external society in the tribal community.

In general, the first approach to be tried relied on the effect of demonstration by the teacher. It was not enough, it was argued, for the teacher to teach hygiene, better nutrition, and better farming practices as school subjects to the children. He would be really effective only if he also demonstrated them in his own behaviour and in his own way of life in the community—in his own home and in his own farm and garden. Hence it was essential that he should be supported in his work by a trained and educated wife. With her he could demonstrate in practice rather than by precept a better way of life. This would lead to adults wanting to adopt the new ways and would give them a motive, both for learning themselves and for having their children taught these things in school.

To this concept of teaching by demonstration was added a more positive approach to adults by establishing local school committees of parents or elders. It was felt that such committees, if they were properly handled, could bring the teacher into a direct and special relationship with influential members of the local community, and provide the good teacher with an opportunity for educating them better in the possible scope, value, and relevance of school education for their children and for themselves.

A more direct approach to adult community education was made in East Africa as a result of the report of the Phelps–Stokes Commission in 1925, which recommended the establishment of training centres for Jeanes teachers on the lines of training already developed in the Negro areas of the United States. The Jeanes teacher was a visiting teacher whose work was primarily to help the teacher in the village school, but the main emphasis in his training was on ways of bringing educational influences to bear on the adult population, and not merely on the children. Thus he worked in close touch with other external agents, such as health workers, agricultural instructors, and home demonstrators. He was to promote co-operation between school and community and between communities. He was to promote community and home recreation; exhibitions, festivals, sports, and competitions; village libraries; co-operative marketing, trading, and saving; women's guilds; youth organisations; and community buildings.[22] In short, he was to attempt a wide, varied, and liberal programme of adult education which, if successful, would create a demand for a community school and give its teacher real functions in relation to a developing community.

Concurrently, the same problem was being tackled from the same angle elsewhere, notably in Mexico in the cultural mission programme. This programme was first developed primarily for Mexico's tribal Indian communities, in order to develop them and associate them more closely with Mexican national aspirations. Each mission consisted of a number of rural specialists in home economics, nursing and midwifery, agriculture, building trades and industries, mechanics, music, and recreation. Its task was to ascertain the needs of the people, to educate them so that they felt these needs as definite wants which could be satisfied by reaching specific goals, and to educate them in the ways by which these goals could be reached.

We can note in this Mexican development, which at first was closely linked with the work of the rural teacher in the backward Indian areas, a clear recognition, implicit also in the concept of the Jeanes teacher, that the school teacher in the culture-contact situa-

[22] *Village Education in Africa* (Lovedale Press, South Africa, 1936, p. 367).

tion has neither the status in the community nor the needed variety of skills for adequately developing a community demand for education: nor, once it is developed, of satisfying all its many requirements. If he is to function effectively, if what he teaches is to be fully utilised by the community, it is not enough that what he teaches should be relevant to the community's underlying needs. It is also necessary that the adult community should appreciate its relevance. Thus the immediate problem of securing for the teacher his full and proper function is one of creating an educated demand for school education, 'educated', that is, in the sense of being able to relate the teaching of the school to the solution of actual community problems. Such an educated demand can be produced only by the education of adults in new values and new goals in relation to their own environment. While the teacher, as an educated person in the community, can contribute to creating such an educated demand, his prime function in the school must always be the meeting of the demand the community makes on him for the education of their children. The education of the demand itself must be the primary function of other agencies, i.e. of adult education agencies, of *all* the agents of the external society co-operating purposefully together in promoting new values leading to the definition of new community goals. It is this education of educational demand which has now come to the forefront in the policies of the contacting societies. It is this concept which underlies the current programmes of Unesco, of the colonial powers, and of the national governments —programmes which are variously known as Fundamental Education, Community Development, and Mass Education. The effectiveness of these programmes in educating adults and the nature of the education they stimulate in the tribal communities to demand from the schools will, more than any other factor, and more than any efforts by the school teachers themselves, determine what the future functions of the school teacher in the tribal communities will be.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE STATUS OF WOMEN TEACHERS IN EUROPE

THE equality of women with men is at present a universally recognised principle incorporated in constitutions of most countries. Both the United Nations and Unesco clearly state in their constitutions that there should be no legal discrimination against women in any field of activity or in civic rights. The equal right of girls to education is explicitly affirmed in the legal provisions of fifteen countries and implicitly in fifteen other countries, which include all the European and most non-European states. Yet the legal assertion of equal political rights and equality of sexes in education does not necessarily result in actual equality. Religious traditions, social customs, and economic conditions are obstacles which cannot suddenly be removed by a written law. Even in the most advanced countries, like Holland or Switzerland, these factors still impede the actual equality of sexes. To understand the present situation we should investigate the historical development of women's education. Up to the end of the seventeenth century, education of girls did not present a problem. It was generally agreed that those few girls of upper classes who received some kind of education did not require any intellectual training beyond the three R's. As late as 1686 De Fleury, in advocating a more widespread and extended education for girls, said: "It would doubtless be a great paradox to say that women ought to learn anything beyond their catechism, needlework, dancing, singing, dressing in the fashion and curtseying properly; for that as a rule is all their education." Or as Fénélon said in 1763 in the opening words of his *De l'education des Filles*: "Nothing is so neglected as the education of girls . . . the education of boys is regarded as one of the most important matters because of its relation to the public welfare." Girls and women were confined to their homes and had neither civic duties nor public responsibilities. That was certainly the position in all Catholic and Eastern Orthodox countries and in England. In the Lutheran and Calvinist countries and among the English dissenters, education of girls attracted more attention, but the provision of girls' schools was also inadequate and their curriculum was much narrower than in schools for boys. Whether we take the '*Tochterschulen*' in Germany, or convent schools in Catholic Europe, they were of lower status than the grammar

schools inherited from the Middle Ages. The demand for the extension of the curriculum in girls' schools became noticeable only in the second half of the eighteenth century, following the diffusion of knowledge by the encyclopedists. Even then such pioneers of women's education as Mrs. Trimmer did not consider writing a necessary part of the curriculum. Women teachers themselves were often semi-literate and hardly qualified for their task. As late as 1810 the following advertisement was displayed in Piccadilly in London on the doors of the supposed school: "Reeding, righting and Mathew Mattocks tawt hear" (*Theophilanthropist,* No. 6, 1810). There were, of course, exceptions. Margaret Bryan, for instance, had a large boarding school for girls in London at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, where all the branches of mathematics and experimental philosophy were taught, and she herself published textbooks on astronomy, physics, and chemistry. This general neglect of girls' education was the result of the Catholic traditional attitude towards the role of women in society inherited from the Middle Ages. It was not confined to the rural population of peasants or to the artisans of small towns. Upper classes and even royal families paid comparatively little attention to the intellectual instruction of girls. The church in the convent schools concentrated on religious-moral training of future mothers, adding some skills and accomplishments. Of the four daughters of Louis XV educated at the convent of Benedictines of Fontevrault, the eldest princess at 12 years of age had not yet learnt the alphabet. The famous school at Saint-Cyr of Madame Maintenon was an exception and was subsidised by Louis XIV only because of his personal relations with the foundress. The state as such did not intervene in the provision of education, and in the case of boys the royal intervention was usually connected with the needs of the army and navy.

The first attempt at state intervention for the provision of schools for girls was made in Russia under Catherine II. She made two separate approaches to promote education for girls. In 1764 a special boarding school for girls was founded under the direction of Ivan Betskoy. It had two departments—one for girls of noble origin and another for girls of lower classes. In the first department the following subjects were taught: religion, Russian, foreign languages, arithmetic, geography, history, drawing, dancing, music, knitting and sewing, heraldics, law, and social manners. In the second department such subjects as history, geography, heraldics, architecture, and law were omitted and the emphasis was laid on domestic science and knitting and sewing. These two 'Institutes' were modelled on the school at Saint-Cyr founded by Madame de Maintenon in 1686. However, the Catherinian 'Institutes' could not form a basis of a national system of education, because they were privileged schools and few in number.

A second approach was made by Catherine in 1782 on more general lines. The school system established by the law of 1786 was co-educational, open to all classes, and free. As these day schools were intended for both sexes, they were more 'modern' than the 'Institutes' for girls. The subjects included religion, Russian, arithmetic, Latin, modern languages, morals, geography, history, science, mathematics, physics, and drawing. These 'major schools' were later reformed by Alexander I into *gymnasia* for boys and separate *gymnasia* established for girls.

The French revolutionary schemes proclaimed the equality of the sexes in education, and Condorcet advocated the establishment of schools for girls in all towns of at least 1,500 inhabitants. The law of 27 Brumaire, An III, enacted by the Convention provided for a school for girls for every thousand inhabitants, but this law was not strictly enforced. The appearance of secondary schools for girls not connected with religious orders in France and the establishment of secular schools both in Protestant Germany and Russia raised the question of training of women teachers outside the convents. The latter were staffed by nuns, who taught girls as part of their religious duties. In some congregations these nuns had a certain amount of training for teaching, but as they did not receive salaries and could be transferred to any other task in the convent, they did not form a body of professional teachers. Outside the convents there were many governesses in private homes and mistresses of private-venture schools both in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but their qualifications were not registered and they included side by side highly educated and talented teachers with semi-literate adventuresses and genteel lady-volunteers. Only in the nineteenth century did the growth of secondary schools for girls raise the question of higher education for women as a necessary step in preparation for professional women teachers.

The Catholic Church opposed the training of women teachers outside the convents, and as late as 1850 the law Falloux in France, under the influence of the bishop of Orleans, Dupanloup, exempted Catholic mistresses from educational qualifications awarded by the state. Only in 1881 did the French government abolish that privilege and demand the '*brevét de capacité*' from all teachers, women included. Yet by the middle of the nineteenth century there were sufficient numbers of women trained in secondary schools and newly established teachers' colleges to supply qualified teachers for existing elementary schools. But the secondary schools for girls were largely staffed by men graduates, since the doors of universities were closed to women. The opposition of universities to the admission of women students was based on three grounds. Firstly, there was the traditional view of the churches on the role of women in society which demanded their presence in homes as wives and mothers and which did not require academic education. Further-

more academic education was considered to be detrimental for the preservation of family life. Secondly, the curricula of girls' schools were definitely of lower standard than the boys' schools, and the universities demanded an adequate preparation for matriculation. There was also a third reason on moral grounds, expressing a fear that the presence of women in the universities might distract young men from serious study. The two last objections could be met by raising the standards of girls' secondary schools and by founding separate colleges for women. The opposition of the churches was of a more fundamental character and could be withdrawn only with the general change towards the social status of women. In consequence it was in Protestant countries and in mainly secularised France and Russia where higher education for women could make a breach in the established tradition. The old universities founded for men for long resisted the demand of women for admission, and the first women's colleges grew out of preparatory courses with a curriculum of secondary school augmented by academic lectures. The Russian universities were the first to open their doors to women. After the death of Nicholas I in 1855 his reactionary policy in education gave way to the new liberalism of Alexander II. In the first wave of enthusiasm the liberal professors registered women as their students without waiting for the change in the legal regulations. The government, after lengthy discussion and hesitation, decided against the admission of women, and the new statute of 1863 definitely forbade the matriculation of women at the Imperial universities. The Russian women students went to Zürich, and were allowed to complete their academic training there. They were followed by younger girls from Russia, England, and elsewhere, and thus Zürich University became the pioneering institution in the academic education of women. The number of Russian women students at Zürich rose from 7 in 1869 to 109 in 1873. In 1867, Zürich University awarded the first degree of D.M. to a Russian woman, Nadezhda Suslova, and thus for ever refuted the argument that women were incapable of passing a doctor's examination. The Universities of Lausanne and Geneva followed Zürich in 1873, and it became evident that other universities could not resist the new demand for long. The French universities also opened their doors to women, and in 1868 the first four women were admitted to the Faculty of Medicine in Paris. One of them was Russian, another English, a third an American, and one was French. Thus these women formed an international advance guard of the growing feminist movement. It is notable that in every country the medical faculties were the first to admit women. In spite of these precedents, the majority of women aspiring for higher education did not possess Matriculation Certificates, and separate higher institutions for women had to be established with a lower status than the old universities for men. England and Russia were the pioneer countries. The first English

colleges for women, Queen's and Bedford, were founded in 1848 and 1849 respectively. In the beginning they were advanced schools for girls, with no connection with any university. Only gradually were their students admitted to the examinations of London University, since 1879. Cambridge admitted girls to its local examinations in 1865 and Oxford in 1870. The success of girls at these examinations resulted in the foundation of the first university colleges for women. Girton at Cambridge was founded in 1869, and Newnham in 1870. The Oxford colleges of Somerville and Lady Margaret were founded later, in 1879.

Since then the battle for women's higher education had been won and the new federal University of Victoria (1879) from the start admitted women on equal terms with men. In Russia the movement was similar. After the initial check by the Statute of 1863 the women doubled their efforts, and the first higher courses for women were founded in St. Petersburg in 1869. The government granted a subsidy and officially confirmed its statute. The Military Medical Academy admitted ninety women in 1872 and later instituted a separate Medical Faculty for women. Higher courses for women were opened in Kazan in 1876, in Kiev in 1878, and in Odessa in 1879. Yet the doors of the Imperial universities were opened to women only after the revolution of 1905. In the twentieth century, women formed an integral part both of the staff and students in most universities of the world, with the exception of some Catholic institutions mainly devoted to theological studies.

Thus a new body of qualified women teachers came into being, which possessed the same training and the same degrees as men. And yet their salaries and their social status remained lower than those of men. This discrimination was caused by old social prejudices and by resistance of men who resented the passing away of their monopoly in most professions. The traditional opposition of the Catholic Church and Islam to employing women on equal terms with men is gradually disappearing, but in actual practice in Catholic and Islamic countries is still noticeable. In this respect it is interesting to note the attitude of the representatives of the Vatican at the XV International Conference at Geneva in July 1952. Professor Simon, of a Catholic University of Freiburg, stated that "fundamental education should allow women to study the same subjects as men; at the same time, it should give women a practical, affective and moral education which will prepare them better to fulfil their natural role in the family and in society". The representative of *Pax Romana* stated: "To facilitate women's access to higher education and the use of their abilities for the greatest good of society, university studies should permit women to specialise *more easily* in fields suited to feminine aptitudes and assure them more adequate training *for the new careers now being opened up to them, for example, in the fields of social welfare, medicine, law, and*

international activities and which are suited to their natural and specific qualities." The italicised sentences were suppressed by the majority of Protestant and secular delegates against the Roman Catholic and Islamic representatives. The teaching profession was always considered to be 'suitable to the natural and specific qualities' of women and was not seriously opposed at any time, but their equality of status in the field of secondary and academic education is not yet fully admitted. Not only the traditional religious communities, but considerable sections of men teachers object to mixed schools and appointment of women head teachers. In the diffusion of secondary education among women there is a considerable difference between the Catholic and Islamic countries and the Protestant and secular communities. On the whole in primary schools women teachers are in the definite majority, but in secondary schools, even in the most advanced countries, they are in the minority. In many countries women receive lower salaries than men, for particulars see special articles. The reasons are mostly financial and social, and not based on the supposed superiority of men.

APPENDIX

THE PERCENTAGES OF WOMEN TEACHERS IN SOME SELECTED COUNTRIES IN THE THREE GRADES OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS (Report of the XV Conference in Geneva, 1952, and additional sources)

Country	*Primary*	*Secondary*	*Higher*
Argentina	77	46	4
Austria	54	44	1
Belgium	54	48	20
Bulgaria	55	56	14
Canada	80	42	19
Chile	85	66	small
Czechoslovakia	44	28	small
Egypt	25	9	2
France	62	43	small
Germany (Western)	40	34	small
Italy	73	52	5
Japan	48	22	7
Netherlands	44	21	4
New Zealand	57	42	11
Persia	40	22	3
Portugal	81	43	5
Spain	55	34	small
Sweden	65	42	3
Thailand	22	39	19
Turkey	26	42	16
U.K.	79	45	15
Union of South Africa	54	25	17
U.S.A.	93	60	25
U.S.S.R.	app. 60	app. 45	app. 20
Yugoslavia	63	small	16

Notes.—This table shows the following features : (1) In under-developed countries with a strong religious tradition, women teachers even in primary schools are in a minority. (In Saudi Arabia all teachers are men.) (2) In all countries, with the exception of Thailand, the percentage of women teachers in secondary schools is lower than in primary schools. (3) In higher education the percentage of women teachers is very low everywhere, the highest in the U.S.A. (25 per cent.), the lowest in Austria (1 per cent.). (4) The difference between Catholic and Protestant countries does not depend on religious traditions, but on socio-economic factors. (5) There is no noticeable difference between the communist-controlled countries and Western democracies as to employment of women teachers.

N. HANS.

CHAPTER SIX

SALARIES OF TEACHERS

REPORTS from education headquarters the world over show an increasing shortage of competent teachers. More acute in some areas than in others, this situation is becoming more critical each year as migration from the profession emphasises the inadequacy of present recruitment efforts. Several reasons may be advanced to explain this situation, but the one most often put forward is the low level of teachers' salaries. Industrial and business organisations make enticing offers to secure the services of educated, intelligent persons. Teachers find it profitable to accept such proposals and to retire from classroom work. Similarly, those who might embark on a teaching career are attracted by the promise of greater financial rewards and at least equivalent 'fringe benefits' in other occupations. As long as education fails to match business and industry in the struggle to attract and hold high-calibre personnel the teacher-supply problem will continue to be acute.

Staunch advocate of the argument that inadequate salaries are responsible for teacher shortages is the World Organisation of the Teaching Profession (WOTP),[1] which has reported:

> Information from our member organisations throughout the world indicates clearly that the shortage of competent teachers is growing in scope and severity.
>
> Among the many reasons for this growing and ominous shortage of teachers, one reason stands out so prominently that all others seem relatively inconsequential, namely, the notoriously unsatisfactory conditions of the teacher's compensation.

To verify this assertion WOTP undertook an international study of teachers' salaries early in 1952. Data reported here are adapted from that study, which included twenty-nine countries representing each of the five continents. Because many countries do not have available any published information on teacher salaries, it was necessary to conduct the study by means of a questionnaire. This was prepared and mailed to WOTP members and to other national associations which had maintained an interest in WOTP activities. A preliminary report was prepared and presented at the Sixth

[1] The World Organisation of the Teaching Profession went out of existence on July 31st, 1952, having been absorbed in the formation of the new World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP).

Annual Delegate Assembly of WOTP in Copenhagen, Denmark, July 26th–31st, 1952. At that meeting, delegates voiced unanimous approval of the preliminary report and supplied additional data which were incorporated in the final report.

One of the major difficulties encountered by those who conduct international investigations is that of establishing the validity of data collected. In many cases it is impossible to ascertain the

TABLE I

TEACHERS' MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM SALARIES IN NATIONAL CURRENCY UNITS

Country	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	*Currency*
Australia	300	900	Pounds
Austria	9,000	47,000	Schillings
British West Indies	380	3,900	Dollars [1]
Canada	1,000	5,000	Dollars
Ceylon	540	5,000	Rupees
Cuba	1,800	3,700	Pesos
Denmark	10,000	17,000	Kroner
England	340	810	Pounds
Germany	3,300	10,000	D. Marks
Haiti	40	— [2]	Dollars [1]
Ireland	290	800	Pounds
Israel	600	1,300	Pounds
Italy	270,000	590,000	Lire
Japan	41,000	280,000	Yen
Malta	180	530	Pounds
Netherlands	2,100	5,500	Guilders
New Zealand	360	1,100	Pounds
Norway	7,200	15,000	Kroner
Philippines	1,600	3,000	Pesos
Scotland	330	880	Pounds
Spain	9,000	32,000	Pesetas
Switzerland	8,000	18,000	Francs
Turkey	130	760	Liras
Union of South Africa	180	900	Pounds
United States	1,200	7,000	Dollars
Belgium	*65,600*	*198,000*	*Belg. francs*
Chile	*72,000*	*112,800*	*Pesos*
Colombia	*1,560*	*4,800*	*Pesos*
France	*360,000*	*1,344,000*	*Francs*
Iran	*1,395*	*7,006*	*Rials*
Peru	*3,936*	*8,520*	*Soles*
Sweden	*570*	*1,420*	*Engl. pounds*
Syria	*1,363*	*5,802*	*Syrian pounds*
Yugoslavia	*81,600*	*205,200*	*Dinars*

[1] *Reported in United States dollars.*

[2] *Data not available.*

The italicised figures in Tables I, II and III were added from the articles in this volume.—EDITORS.

degree of accuracy with which data have been reported. In the study under discussion it was decided to record all data to two significant figures. Although even this degree of accuracy was not warranted in every instance, this decision obviated the necessity for determining the degree of accuracy of each figure quoted.

Table I gives typical minimum and maximum salaries in twenty-five countries as reported in national currencies. No attempt has been made here to compare the various countries because of the dissimilarity of the limits involved. In some cases (e.g. England) a national salary schedule has been reported, while in others (e.g. Germany) city or provincial schedule extremes are shown. Still other instances (e.g. United States) record typical minimum and maximum salaries, which precise figures may not appear in any schedule in use in that country.

Teachers' average salaries for twenty-nine countries are reported in Table II. These are not arithmetical averages, since in most

TABLE II

TEACHERS' AVERAGE SALARIES

Country	*Teachers' Average Salaries*	
	National Currency	*U.S. Dollars* [1]
Australia	450 pounds	990
Austria	25,000 schillings	1,200
Bolivia	70,000 bolivianos	1,200
British West Indies	1,800 dollars [2]	1,800
Canada	1,800 dollars	1,800
Ceylon	1,200 rupees	250
Cuba	1,200 pesos	1,200
Denmark	13,000 kroner	1,800
England	540 pounds	1,500
Germany	6,100 D. marks	1,500
Haiti	600 dollars [2]	600
Iceland	35,000 kronur	2,100
India	1,000 rupees	210
Ireland	520 pounds	1,500
Israel	1,100 pounds	3,100 [3]
Italy	400,000 lire	640
Japan	160,000 yen	450
Liberia	1,000 dollars [2]	1,000
Malta	280 pounds	780
Netherlands	4,500 guilders	1,200
New Zealand	560 pounds	1,600
Norway	9,200 kroner	1,300
Philippines	1,700 pesos	850
Scotland	590 pounds	1,700
Spain	17,000 pesetas	1,500

Country	Teachers' Average Salaries	
	National Currency	U.S. Dollars [1]
Switzerland	12,000 francs	2,800
Turkey	280 liras	98
Union of South Africa	500 pounds	1,400
United States	3,100 dollars	3,100
Belgium	*131,800 Belg. francs*	*2,636*
Chile	*92,400 pesos*	*1,062*
Colombia	*3,180 pesos*	*1,272*
France	*852,000 francs*	*2,470*
Iran	*4,200 rials*	*145*
Peru	*6,228 soles*	*392*
Sweden	*995 Engl. pounds*	*2,786*
Syria	*3,582 Syrian pounds*	*1,023*
Yugoslavia	*143,400 dinars*	*478*

[1] *See official selling rates in* International Financial Statistics, 5:4–114, *July*, 1952.
[2] *Reported in United States dollars.*
[3] Note.—*The Israeli delegate at Copenhagen advised that a more realistic exchange rate would halve the figure reported here.*

countries sufficient data are not available to make possible the calculation of an average salary figure. Some of the averages shown were estimated by a well-informed person, usually the national secretary of the teachers' association, in each country. Other averages were interpolated using the mid-points of salary ranges reported. 'Average' salaries thus calculated are doubtless higher than actual salary averages. For purposes of *rough* comparison these average salaries have been converted to a common currency unit, the United States dollar. Official selling rates published by the International Monetary Fund were used for these conversions. Since the unreality of official rates and differences in living standards operate to reduce significantly the value of these common currency figures, some other techniques must be developed to enable international comparison of salary data.

An alternative method for making international comparisons utilises national *per capita* income data, published by the United Nations Statistical Office. Table III records the comparison of teachers' average salaries to national *per capita* incomes. While the average earnings of all employed persons in a given country may be of the order of two to three times the national *per capita* income, professional incomes commonly approach five to six times this amount. According to this analysis, teacher salaries compare favourably with the average income from country to country, but do

TABLE III

TEACHERS' AVERAGE SALARIES COMPARED TO PER CAPITA INCOMES

Country	*Teachers' Average Salary*	Per Capita *Income* [1]	*Currency*	*Ratio: Teachers' Average Annual Salary to* Per Capita *Income*
Australia	450	290	Pounds	1·6
Austria	25,000	5,000	Schillings	5·0
Canada	1,800	1,000	Dollars	1·8
Ceylon	1,200	350	Rupees	3·4
Cuba	1,200	340	Pesos	3·5
Denmark	13,000	4,100	Kroner	3·2
England	540	220	Pounds	2·5
Germany	6,100	1,300	D. Marks	4·7
India	1,000	280	Rupees	3·6
Ireland	520	110	Pounds	4·7
Israel	1,100	190	Pounds	5·8
Italy	400,000	130,000	Lire	3·1
Netherlands	4,500	1,500	Guilders	3·0
New Zealand	560	280	Pounds	2·0
Norway	9,200	3,400	Kroner	2·7
Philippines	1,700	200	Pesos	8·5
Scotland	590	220	Pounds	2·7
Switzerland	12,000	3,600	Francs	3·3
Union of South Africa	500	74	Pounds	6·8
United States	3,100	1,600	Dollars	1·9
Belgium	*131,800*	*29,100*	*Belg. francs*	*4·5*
Chile	*92,400*	*16,348*	*Pesos*	*5·6*
Colombia	*3,180*	*330*	*Pesos*	*9·6*
France	*852,000*	*168,240*	*Francs*	*5·1*
Iran	*4,200*	*2,463*	*Rials*	*1·7*
Peru	*6,228*	*1,587*	*Soles*	*3·9*
Sweden	*995*	*278*	*Engl. pounds*	*3·6*
Syria	*3,582*	*350*	*Syrian pounds*	*10·2*
Yugoslavia	*143,400*	*43,800*	*Dinars*	*3·3*

[1] *Data from United Nations Statistical Office,* National and Per Capita Incomes of Seventy Countries in 1949 Expressed in United States Dollars, *Statistical Papers, Series E, No.* 1 (*New York, The Office,* 1950), *pp.* 14–16, *adapted, and corrected for cost of living with data from* International Financial Statistics, 5:4–116, *July,* 1952.

not indicate a level of income which could properly be termed professional.

To assess the validity of this conclusion a second technique was employed for appraising economic welfare in the teaching pro-

fession. Teaching was ranked among ten other occupations on the basis of relative economic status within each country. Rankings assigned each occupational group by the questionnaire respondents are reported in Table IV, with occupations arranged in decreasing rank order based on the consensus of rankings in twenty-four

TABLE IV

TEACHERS' RELATIVE ECONOMIC STATUS WHEN COMPARED TO TEN OTHER OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Country	*Doctor*	*Lawyer*	*Army Officer*	*Merchant*	*Sec. Sch. Teacher*	*Farmer*	*Elem. Sch. Teacher*	*Policeman*	*Stonemason*	*Nurse*	*Typist*	*Unskilled Worker*	*Total Number of Occupations Ranked*
Australia	1	4	5	2	6	3	7	9	8	12	11	10	12
Bolivia	8	7	1	9	3	2	4	5	6	10	11	—	11
Br. W. Indies	3	4	5	2	6	1	10	11	8	7	9	12	12
Canada	2	1	3	5	6	4	8	9	7	10	11	12	12
Ceylon	1	1	3	4	6	5	9	—	10	7	7	11	11
Cuba	—	—	2	—	1	—	3	3	3	6	7	8	8
England	2	1	4	5	6	3	7	9	8	10	11	12	12
Germany	1	2	—	3	5	4	7	7	6	10	9	11	11
Haiti	3	4	1	2	6	—	8	9	10	7	5	—	10
India	2	1	1	4	5	11	11	9	5	7	8	10	12
Ireland	2	1	3	7	4	6	5	8	11	9	10	12	12
Israel	1	2	4	3	5	6	8	9	7	10	11	12	12
Italy	1	1	4	3	6	—	8	9	5	9	9	7	11
Japan	1	2	—	9	3	10	4	5	11	6	8	7	11
Malta	2	1	—	4	3	6	5	—	8	9	7	10	10
Netherlands	1	2	5	3	6	4	7	9	10	11	8	12	12
New Zealand	1	2	5	8	[1]	3	[1]	6	7	11	12	10	12
Norway	2	5	3	—	1	—	4	6	8	7	10	9	10
Philippines	1	4	2	3	7	11	9	6	5	8	10	12	12
Portugal	1	2	5	3	6	4	9	10	11	7	8	12	12
Scotland	1	2	4	7	5	3	6	8	9	10	11	12	12
Spain	1	2	5	4	3	7	6	11	10	8	9	12	12
Switzerland	1	1	3	7	3	8	5	6	9	10	10	12	12
Un. States	1	2	3	5	7	9	7	10	4	6	11	12	12

[1] *Male teachers* 4, *female teachers* 9.

countries. Because of the conscious differentiation between elementary and secondary school teachers in many countries, these were listed separately. Secondary school teachers placed fifth and elementary school teachers placed seventh among the twelve, clearly classifying them with non-professional groups. This consensus ranking placing teachers at the median position substantiates the

estimate of teachers' economic welfare derived by comparing salaries with *Per capita* incomes. Teachers are not receiving salaries comparable to those paid in other professions.

Lack of sufficient data and problems encountered in making international comparisons have restricted this initial study. With continued attention to correction of this deficiency and solution of these problems a more definite appraisal of the economic status of the profession will be possible. The quality of the data available at present precludes precise quantitative treatment, but there is ample evidence that teacher salaries are inadequate. It appears likely that current critical teacher shortages may be a direct result of the fact that education has failed to keep pace with other occupations in paying for the quality of personality and preparation it demands. If the profession is to meet the challenges confronting it, educators must assume leadership in making teaching more attractive to young people of outstanding ability and promise. Higher salaries for teachers are basic to any programme of improvement in the profession.

EUGENE L. HAMMER.

Note.—This article is a revised and extended version of one which first appeared in *Phi Delta Kappa*, January 1953. We are grateful to the editors of *Phi Delta Kappa* for granting us permission to use material published in that journal.—EDITORS.

SECTION II

THE BRITISH ISLES

CHAPTER ONE

ENGLAND AND WALES

Salaries

IN a social system where film stars are paid more highly than prime ministers, it cannot be contended that remuneration is a completely satisfactory measure of status.

In any case, comparisons between professions on a financial basis are always unsatisfactory. Differences in conditions of employment make useful comparisons almost impossible.

Some professions, for example, differ from that of teaching in that they have to provide all the necessities of their calling out of the income they receive. A teacher does not have to meet expenses of this kind. Most teachers, it is true, spend a fair sum annually upon books, but apart from this, there is little or no occupational expenditure to be met out of income. A comparison of the gross incomes of doctors, lawyers, and teachers would therefore be misleading, and the exact net incomes cannot be ascertained.

A rough comparison is possible, however, with local government officers. The National Joint Council for Local Authorities' Administrative, Professional, Technical and Clerical Services have formulated salary scales which have now been generally adopted. The salaries for clerical divisions need not be quoted, but the salaries for the administrative, professional, and technical groups are (1st July, 1952): Grade 1, £465/15–£510, rising to Grade 10, £895/40–£975–£1,025.

In determining the grade for any particular post, an authority will have regard to the specialised or general nature of a post and the size of the authority's area. An analysis of appointments advertised shows that these scales and grades are used to recruit engineers, surveyors, architects, treasurers, and librarians, etc. Promotion within these grades is effected by upgrading in their own areas, and by moving from areas where the lower grades are applied to those where the higher grades are in operation.

Prior to 1918, teachers' salaries were determined locally, and the very considerable disparity in treatment by different authorities produced many anomalies and much discontent. Thus, the estab-

lishment of the Standing Joint Committees on Teachers' Salaries (now known as the Burnham Committees) marked a very real advance. The Burnham (Main) Committee is charged with the duty of determining the salaries of primary and secondary school teachers by negotiation on a national basis between representatives of teachers and of local authorities. When the Burnham Committees were established, the scales which they negotiated were in the nature of recommendations to local authorities, and if local authorities ignored the recommendations, as they sometimes did, there were local struggles which occasionally led to strikes.

Through the inclusion of Clause 89 in the Education Act, 1944, however, the report of the Burnham Committee is communicated to the Minister of Education, who, if he approves, signs a statutory order directing local authorities to pay their teachers in accordance with the report. Local conflicts have thus been eliminated, and the relationship of teachers to their immediate employers has been much improved.

The Basic Scale. The salary structure is founded on a basic scale, to which are added specified payments for extra training and certain extra qualifications for certain experience other than teaching, and for special responsibilities. Strictly speaking, owing to the persistence of a sex discrimination, there are two basic scales, one for men, the other for women. This discrimination is deplored by nearly all teachers. The last full-scale negotiations took place in 1951, and the following scales [1] were agreed upon for a three-year term:

Men: Minimum £375 per annum, rising by annual increments of £18 and one final increment of £21 to a maximum of £630 per annum.
Women: Minimum £338 per annum, rising by annual increments of £15 and one final increment of £16 to a maximum of £504 per annum.

It thus takes a man fourteen years and a woman eleven years to reach the maximum salary provided by the basic scales. An additional payment is made to teachers serving in the 'London Area'.

These scales apply to assistant teachers, who possess qualifications approved by the Ministry of Education for the purpose of recognition as a qualified teacher. They are paid in all local authority primary and secondary schools, irrespective of type, and they form the basis of a somewhat different salary structure for salaries of teachers in colleges for further education.

Additions for Extra Training. An extra increment (with a maximum of three) for every year of training in excess of two years is added to the salary of the teacher. Thus, a three-year-trained teacher receives the basic scale plus one increment; the four-year-

[1] A special addition to salaries was payable as from July 1st, 1952, amounting to £40 in the case of men and £32 in the case of women.

trained teacher, the basic scale plus two increments, and the five-year-trained teacher, the basic plus three increments.

Additions for Special Qualifications. The only academic qualifications which automatically carry additional payment are those of graduation and of graduate equivalence. In addition to a first degree of any British university, qualifications in architecture, art, music, modern languages, science, engineering, accountancy, and certain other professional fields qualify for recognition as the equivalent to a degree.[2] The amounts of such additions are £60 for a man and £48 for a woman, and, like the additions for extended training, which compensate teachers for the time involved, they proceed beyond the maxima of the scales.

Additions for Special School Service. In special schools, that is, schools conducted under the Handicapped Pupils and School Health Service Regulations, the basic scale is increased by £36 for men and £30 for women. Those teachers in special schools who are engaged in teaching blind, deaf, or partially deaf children, and who possess the recognised special qualification for teaching the blind and the deaf, receive a further addition to the scale of £30 in the case of men and £24 for women.

Additions for Industrial and Other Experience. In recent years steps have been taken to make the teaching profession more attractive to mature persons. The frequent criticism has been made that the life of a teacher has been spent in nothing but school and college. The cycle of school (as scholar), training college (as student), and school (as teacher), it is said, militates against a breadth of outlook. Nowadays, men and women from other walks of life may train for teaching in the knowledge that they will not have to start at the minimum of the salary scale. For each period of three years prior to qualification after the age of 18 spent in industrial, professional, clerical, social employment, or indeed in teaching, if service has been rendered in a temporary or unqualified capacity, a sum of £18 (man) and £15 (woman) is added to the minimum salary.

Service other than teaching (unqualified) may, in exceptional cases, entitle the teacher to an increment for each year of experience after the age of 21, if a local education authority regards such experience to be of special value in the work in which the teacher is engaged. Similarly, a qualified teacher may wish to keep abreast of developments in industry or commerce; he may wish to return temporarily to his former professional practice, or he may desire to devote his full time to research. Here, again, the local authority has power to recognise such service for incremental purposes when teaching duties are resumed. The limiting factor in all these

[2] For full details of qualifications recognised as equivalent to a degree, see the *Burnham Report*, p. 19.

instances of incremental salary on account of experience gained prior or subsequent to qualified status is that not more than ten increments may be allowed.

Additions for War Service. The period spent in war service or national service after the age of 18 is recognised for incremental purposes as the equivalent of teaching service. In this way, a teacher is not penalised for service rendered to the state.

Special Allowances for Assistant Teachers. Provision also exists in the *Burnham Report* for special payments above the salary scale to assistant teachers for special responsibility, special work of an advanced character, special academic, professional, or industrial qualifications, or for other reasons which in the opinion of the local education authority justify such allowances. These allowances must not be given in a manner such as to effect a general alteration in the salary scale. In practice, these payments are generally given for responsibility, but an allowance is sometimes given for higher qualifications. When payments for advanced qualifications are made, they are in addition to the degree allowance, which is mandatory.

The general principle underlying the arrangements for special allowances is that a sum of money for such payments is allocated to each school as the amount, exclusive of expenditure from the area pool, which may be incurred in that school. This sum is not a fixed amount, but is determined in accordance with a schedule which sets out ranges of expenditure related to the unit total of the school. Examples taken from this are shown below:

Unit Total	*Range within which Allowances shall be paid*
	£
251–350	40–100
501–520	140–210
781–801	305–455
1,001–1,020	470–697

The number of assistant teachers in any school to receive special allowances and the rates of the allowances to be paid to individual teachers are matters within the discretion of the L.E.A., subject to the condition that no allowance may be less than £40 per annum.

To provide flexibility in the operation of the special allowance scheme within the framework of national negotiation, provision is made for the establishment of an ' area pool ' calculated on the basis of four shillings for each pupil enrolled on the registers of the schools of the authority on a specified date in each financial year. From this ' area pool ', all the special allowances for teachers in special schools have to be met. The pool may also be used to increase a head teacher's allowance when an authority considers that the normal allowance is not adequate, to prevent or mitigate hardship to a head or assistant teacher whose salary is diminished as a

result of the reorganisation or closure of the school, or for other good reasons which satisfy the authority.

Experience has shown that no set of rigid salary scales can fully cover every variety of circumstances, because of the intensely local nature of education in England and Wales, and the wide variety of organisation within individual schools. Hence each authority has formulated a scheme of special allowances suited to the needs of its area, and, in most cases, consultation with local representatives of teachers took place before the proposals were adopted.

Allowances for Responsibility as a Head Teacher. Head teachers receive a salary comprised of the basic scale with additions, dependent upon service, qualifications, and length of training, together with an allowance related to the unit total [3] of the school. The smallest allowances are £55 (man) and £50 (woman) for the headship of a school of unit total not exceeding 40, and the largest £900 (man) and £790 (woman) for a school of unit total exceeding 3,000. Few teachers secure promotion to head teacherships before they have reached the maximum of the basic scale, and frequently they start this part of their career as head of a small school.

Summary of Salary Position

The combination of a moderate salary with an educated mind, which craves to satisfy itself in cultural pursuits, involves teachers in the perpetual problem of devising ways and means of improving remuneration. Tradition dies hard, and despite strenuous efforts to raise salary levels, teachers generally are dissatisfied with their existing salary settlement.

As with all walks of life, the problem is inevitably most acute for the teacher with dependants. Schemes have been advocated in which occupational family allowances are included in the structure of the salary scales, and this method is followed to some extent in remunerating university lecturers. But occupational family allowances are not considered desirable for teachers in the statutory system. They might tend to depress the basic scale, and since pensions are calculated on the average of the last five years' salary, when children are no longer dependent, they might in turn depress the rates of superannuation.

It is thus clear that salaries frequently prove insufficient to enable a teacher's family to live at the standard which he considers appropriate for a professional man. For such people two main solutions are possible. One is for the wife to secure employment. Obviously this is not practicable whilst children are very young, for it disturbs family life, and even when children are older it is not always

[3] The 'unit total' of a school is a figure assessed by reference to the number of pupils on the roll, with an arithmetical weighting dependent on their ages.

desirable. Married women, who are qualified teachers, are not debarred from returning to teaching, and in recent years they have been encouraged to do so.

The other course which many men follow is to supplement their income through additional employment. There is no barrier to teachers earning additional income, provided that any other occupation undertaken does not interfere with the proper performance of a full-time appointment. Although some teachers are known to engage upon pursuits quite unconnected with education, in the main, it is with collateral services, like examining and teaching in evening classes in establishments for further education, that they find the greatest scope.

Yet for the majority of teachers these solutions are impossible, and in very many instances may be undesirable. In all such cases only a moderate standard of living is possible for a teacher and his family unless he can secure promotion to a very large school, or to some other part of the educational system.

Possibilities of Promotion outside Primary and Secondary Schools

Teacher Training Staff. The teaching staff of the training colleges are mainly teachers with a wide knowledge of schools, particularly of those which the newly qualified teacher normally enters for his first appointment. Some have had considerable experience in such schools. More than half of them are graduates, and the remainder include a large proportion of well-qualified specialists in such subjects as art, music, physical training, domestic subjects. Their salaries are negotiated by a separate committee, which follows the 'Burnham' pattern. At the present time, lecturers are on the scale £550 × £25–£850 for men and £500 × £25–£750 for women. Senior lecturers receive £800 × £25–£1,050 (men) and £700 × £25–£950 (women).[4] Since the training colleges are now working so closely with universities, these scales are tending to take the pattern of university scales. They are higher than those paid to teachers, and so are an incentive for experienced teachers to apply for training-college posts. It is not therefore surprising that the colleges are staffed by some of the leading educationists of the day.

L.E.A. Inspectors and Organisers. The recommendations for local inspectors, organisers, and advisers are graded so that a local authority may select a scale appropriate to the importance and extent of the duties and responsibilities of the post. The scales are as follows:

	Men	*Women*
Grade I .	£700 × £25–£850	£630 × £20–£750
Grade II .	£850 × £25–£1,050	£750 × £20–£900
Grade III .	£1,050 × £25–£1,250	£900 × £20–£1,050

[4] For further particulars see *Report of the Committee on Scales of Salaries for the Teaching Staff of Training Colleges (England and Wales)*, (H.M.S.O., 1951).

For Organisers of School Meals and Youth Service Officers there is an additional grade.

Administration. On the administrative side of education, salaries for chief officials are not negotiated by the Burnham Committee but by separate machinery set up for the purpose. Only recently have steps been taken to negotiate nationally on behalf of Directors of Education. The salary recommendations which have followed these negotiations have neither statutory force nor have they been adopted universally. For Directors of Education the basic consideration has been the size of the population within the authority's area.

By way of example, in an authority whose population is between 100,000 and 150,000, the recommended minimum salary should commence at a point between £1,550 and £2,050, with five increments of £50. For an authority whose population is between 400,000 and 600,000, the recommended minimum salary should commence at a point between £2,100 and £2,700, with three increments of £100. Authorities whose population is more than 600,000 are advised to pay higher salaries at their discretion.

For administrative, professional, and technical groups there are the agreed scales to which reference has already been made. In large areas of population, deputy education officers are appointed, and the salaries for them are locally determined and would probably be at some point intermediate between the inspectors', organisers', and advisory officers' scales, and the salary paid to the chief education officer.

H.M.I.s. Most of Her Majesty's Inspectors come from the ranks of teachers. Their salaries are decided after consultation with the Treasury. Present scales, exclusive of percentage pay additions from July 1st, 1952, are:

	Men	*Women*
Inspectors . .	£1,000–£1,525	£900–£1,355
Staff Inspectors .	£1,625–£1,900	£1,430–£1,730

Inspectors in the provinces receive slightly less.

Beyond these grades there are a number of staff, divisional and chief inspectors, and a senior chief inspector.

From these details of administrative salaries, it is fair to conclude that the prospects are best for those who leave the classroom either to become head teachers of large schools, or to transfer to the non-teaching sections of the education service. Promotion to H.M. Inspectorate has, in recent years, been increasingly available to specialist teachers, or those with wide experience. Local authorities, too, in appointing education officers, have tended to discontinue the former practice of promoting from within the education office staff, and have replaced it by open competition in which experienced teachers and educationists are able to apply, and bring the valuable asset of practical experience to this important task. The same is

true of local inspectors, organisers, and advisers. It is in this field that the teacher who continues his studies beyond his initial qualification stands some chance of success.

Pensions

The steady acquisition of pension rights built up through years of service and contributions has had a stabilising effect upon teaching as a career. The teachers' superannuation scheme [5] is based upon contributions equivalent to 10 per cent. of teachers' salaries. This sum is obtained by deducting 5 per cent. of every eligible teacher's salary and supplementing it with an equal payment from his employer, whose contribution ranks as a government grant.

To qualify for a retirement pension a minimum period of service must be rendered, varying from not less than ten years up to thirty years according to the particular circumstances which apply to various categories of teachers within the profession. Normally this benefit is available on retirement from the age of 60 onwards, and takes the form of a lump sum and an annual pension. The lump sum is calculated by taking one-thirtieth of the average of the last five years' salary and multiplying it by the number of years served, subject to a limit of forty-five years. Using the same average, the annual pension due is one-eightieth for each year of service rendered up to a maximum of forty years.

At the present time there is no provision in the superannuation scheme for widows', orphans', and dependants' benefits, although strenuous efforts are being made by the National Union of Teachers to secure agreement for such a scheme with the Ministry of Education and the L.E.A.s.

There is in existence, however, an arrangement whereby a teacher, who retires on an age pension and satisfies the Ministry of Education as to his good health, may surrender up to one-third of the annual pension, in return for which his spouse or other dependant, on his death, draws a pension. Provision has also been made for the grant of a death gratuity where the teacher dies while in service. This is an amount equal to the average salary for the last five years of teaching service, or, if greater, an amount equal to the lump sum which would otherwise have been granted had the teacher at the date of death left the teaching service on a break-down pension.

The award of a pension to a teacher who suffers a break-down in health and has become permanently incapable of continuing to serve efficiently in contributory service depends upon the submission of medical evidence acceptable to the Ministry of Education. This 'break-down' pension and lump sum are calculated on exactly the same basis as that for the normal retiring pension. In the case of a permanent break-down in health after three years of service, but

[5] At the time of writing, proposed amendments are under discussion.

before the completion of ten years, a short service gratuity is payable and is an amount not exceeding one-twelfth of the average salary for each year of service. A teacher who leaves the service without having become entitled to any benefit is able to have the refund of the 5-per cent. contributions, with compound interest at 3 per cent. less the appropriate deduction for income-tax.

As a result of the introduction of the National Insurance Scheme in July, 1948, a modified teachers' superannuation scheme has been put into operation and applies in the main to new entrants to the teaching profession after July 1st, 1948. Under this scheme, the teacher pays reduced contributions for reduced benefits at age 60 in the case of a woman, and 65 in the case of a man. The general effect of these reduced contributions is to diminish the teacher's occupational pension by the amount of the National Insurance retirement pension.

The pension payable to a teacher is fixed on retirement. It is not subject to any automatic adjustment as a result of subsequent salary agreements. This rigidity favours retired teachers in periods of falling prices, but in periods of rising prices, pensions lose their value. So great has been the rise in the cost of living that successive governments have been impelled to ameliorate the conditions of the worst-hit pensioners, by a series of Pensions (Increase) Acts, the last of which was passed in July, and operated from October 1st, 1952.

The pensions provisions have given teachers more security than many others enjoy, and these form one of the attractions of the profession. Inflation, however, has greatly affected the standard of living of those retired teachers whose pensions are based on pre-war salaries, and there is considerable pressure amongst serving teachers to provide greater security for widows, orphans, and dependants.

Improved Training

Technical efficiency is a *sine qua non* of status in any profession, and to-day, more than ever before, there are strong moves towards a properly qualified profession. To-day, in the statutory system, only qualified teachers may be appointed, save in very exceptional circumstances. This is a far cry from the early nineteenth century, when Joseph Lancaster met the problem of shortage of teachers by training regiments of monitors to work under the supervision of masters responsible for massive classes. When, in 1833 and subsequently, public money was given to the voluntary societies to augment their own resources, the voluntary societies began to erect and maintain training colleges. These, together with the introduction of the pupil teacher system in 1846, gave shape to early systems of formal training.

When the first Education Act was passed by Parliament in 1870, however, it was clear that Parliament had taken the view that its

responsibility for elementary education could not be discharged merely by grants in aid of the efforts of the voluntary bodies. Much more responsibility had to be shouldered by public bodies. Yet the training of teachers remained in educational isolation, and it was only with the establishment of day training colleges in connection with universities and university colleges in 1890 that teacher training touched the main current of higher education.

Then came the Act of 1902, which inevitably drew the attention of public bodies to the part they should play in teacher training. Local authorities demonstrated their desire to develop the profession by establishing their own colleges for training, and by requiring acknowledged qualifications as standards of entry.

In 1911 the provision of grants in aid of professional education at universities marked a vital step towards the improvement of teacher status, for this enabled intending teachers to graduate as ordinary students before taking a fourth year of vocational training. Despite all this, it was possible, even as late as 1944, for large numbers to enter teaching with no professional training at all, and with but scant academic qualifications.

Teacher Training and the Universities

Since these early days, however, training colleges have become closely linked with the universities. This was desirable for many reasons, not the least of which being its effect on the status of teachers.

In 1930 an attempt was made to link training colleges with universities through the introduction of joint examination boards. The colleges were arranged in groups and brought into relationship with universities by constituting boards consisting of representatives of the university and of the colleges concerned. Unfortunately, this arrangement did not result in closer relationship for any purpose other than examinations. There was no co-operation on matters of staffing or lectures, nor were amenities shared.

The MacNair Committee, appointed in 1942 to investigate teacher recruitment and training, and to recommend future policy, issued its report two years later. The committee drew attention to the extremely limited nature of the university-training college relationship, and alternative schemes were suggested for future reform. One of these was called the *Joint Board Scheme,* the other *University Schools of Education.* The latter has now been adopted.

To-day every training college is a recognised part of the university in its area, and close contact is made between the constituent colleges and the university department of education. There are seventeen area training organisations covering England and Wales, and within their ambit future teachers are trained through courses at normal or specialist colleges, or at the department of education at the university itself.

Thirteen of the area training organisations are part of the facilities provided by a university or university college, and constitute a partnership of the university, the training colleges, the local education authorities, and the teachers in the area. The organisation of the other four is similar, but the university does not accept any special responsibility. These are financed directly from the Ministry of Education.

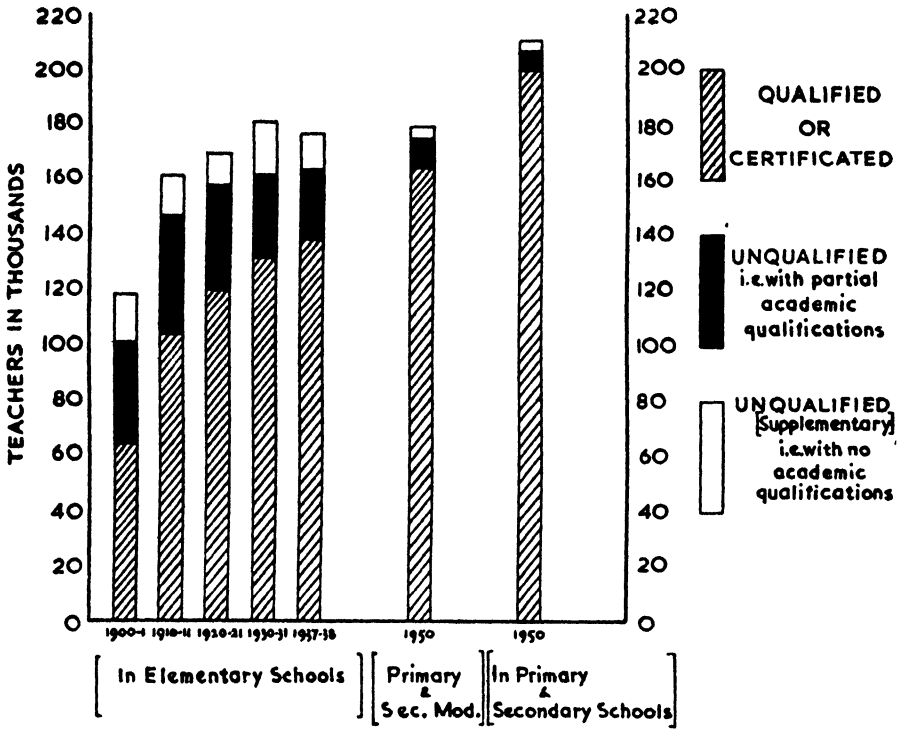
The area training organisations have the responsibility of co-ordinating the work and maintaining standards in the colleges. They are responsible for the training and the assessment of the work of all students who are seeking to be recognised by the Ministry of Education as qualified teachers. In order to maintain national standards, external examiners drawn from other area training organisations co-operate in making the final decision regarding a student's suitability to teach.

Area training organisations are also responsible for the selection of applicants for training. The applicants come from a broad section of the population, and seem generally to be attracted by the vocation rather than by future financial rewards. Most of the entrants come from secondary grammar schools. With the introduction of free secondary education in this country, all social groups have the opportunity to send to grammar schools children who display an aptitude for a 'grammar' type of education. Some individuals may, however, be lost to teaching because of the fact that the age of college entry is later than the statutory school-leaving age. Keeping a child at school for the extra three years imposes financial strain on poor parents, especially in an era when wages for juvenile labour are high. Nevertheless, when a child has expressed a desire to enter teaching, his parents usually make great sacrifices in order that he may train. This was particularly the case before the 1939–45 war, when the incidence of unemployment threw into sharp relief the stability of a professional career compared with the booms and slumps of industry and commerce, and parents were prepared to sacrifice much to enable their children to become teachers.

The stage has now been reached when, broadly speaking, it is only through the recognised course provided by an area training organisation that men and women become qualified as teachers for primary and secondary schools. Save in exceptional cases, local education authorities are permitted to employ only qualified teachers.

A few unqualified teachers are still employed because of the failure of teacher training to keep pace with the post-war bulge in the birth-rate: but the number of such unqualified teachers is falling rapidly, and it is hoped that before long their employment will be prohibited.

Some impression of the movement towards a closed profession



consisting only of qualified teachers may be formed by referring to the accompanying diagram, which shows the trend of the past half-century.

The Quality of Recruits

The general problem of recruitment for members of the teaching profession is one of considerable complexity. Whatever the type of school, the teacher should be a person so educated that his beneficial influence may extend beyond the subject-matter of his classroom lessons.

Francis Bacon, in the introduction to his *Law Tracts*, said:

> I hold every man a debtor to his profession, from the which as men of course do seek to receive countenance and profit so ought they of duty to endeavour themselves, by way of amends, to be a help and ornament thereunto.

In a materialistic age the preservation of high ideals must be a constant effort, and the best hope of retaining them in the schools is by ensuring that the profession is composed of professionally minded men and women who, as Bacon makes clear, should be people who are not only concerned with what they receive, but with what they give.

Though teaching is not a highly remunerated profession, the high idealism of youth causes many young people of all social

classes to turn to teaching to satisfy their desire to contribute to social well-being. Most entrants come from the secondary grammar schools, but this has no social implication, except that their parents have been able and willing to keep them in full-time education up to the age of 18.

Although training grants are paid, they do not cover the over-all expense involved, and some financial backing from parents or from other sources must be available. Students must be 18 years old when entering for a two- or three-year course, or 17 if they enter a four-year course. Save in exceptional circumstances, the minimum requirement for entry is a pass in five subjects at the ordinary level of the General Certificate of Education. Most colleges expect English to be included. Candidates who have not the requisite minimum standard 'paper' qualification for entry can occasionally be accepted exceptionally by permission of the area training organisation concerned, but they must have suitable qualifications and experience.

Taking the trainee population as a whole, about 25 per cent. of the students are graduates who enter a university department of education for their professional training. Although the courses offered at the universities vary, almost all of them include courses in the educational system of England and Wales, educational psychology principles and practice of education, the history of education, health education, as well as courses in special subjects. School practice plays a prominent part in every course.

Students who train for the profession without reading for a degree have a wide choice of colleges. Most colleges are provided by the local education authorities, but a considerable number have been established by religious denominations. Nearly all the training colleges qualify for grant aid from the central government, and the cost as far as local authorities are concerned is shared by all authorities. In most cases the course provided is of two years' duration, but the colleges for specialist teachers—physical training, domestic subjects, Froebel—have a three-year course.

Intending graduate teachers trained at universities and university colleges seek financial aid for their degree course by obtaining university or college open scholarships, state scholarships, or local authority awards. For their post-graduate year of training they automatically receive a grant at state scholarship level, which is the highest scale in use. All parental incomes below £450 qualify for full grant, but this income is raised according to the number of dependent children. At or below that figure, the student would receive between £165 and £265, according to the university in which he was studying.

Students intending to enter training colleges have their grants assessed by a different method. The student receives free tuition and free board and lodging unless his parents' income is such as to

require a contribution towards these expenses. The scale for this purpose is as follows:

Parental Income	*Parental Contribution*
£	£
500	Nil
600	15
700	30
800	45
900	60
1,000	76

For incomes beyond £1,000 the contribution rises more steeply, until at £2,000 per year it is £310. There are, however, adjustments to all these figures for other dependent children. To meet incidental expenses, a student usually seeks help from his local authority. The amount provided varies considerably in the localities, but in the majority of cases does not exceed £40 per year.

Mature persons may enter training without the usual qualifications if they can bring valuable experience to the task, or if they possess other qualifications, or preferably, if they are able to combine both. The area training organisation may admit them on the evidence they provide, or they may be required to undergo a special test. Mature entrants qualify for the maximum help possible, and if they have qualifications and experience above the normal, the A.T.O. may reduce the period of training. If the course is reduced to one year, grants up to £300 per year can be paid according to the responsibility carried by the entrant for his dependants.

Length of Training

The influence of length of training upon status is considerable. In industry, the journeyman who has served his apprenticeship carries greater responsibility and influence among his fellows than the man whose skill has been acquired through experience alone. Generally speaking, the professional man whose training occupies five years is esteemed more highly than the one whose qualifications can be obtained in two years.

To achieve a greater measure of equality with the other professions, the most representative organisation of the profession, the National Union of Teachers, has been vigorously advocating the creation of an all-graduate profession and a four-year course. Although the financial and labour supply difficulties of post-war conditions have frustrated attempts to implement this reform, there has been a sharp increase in the number of teachers enrolling for a three-year course and taking advantage of the many supplementary courses providing an additional year of training. This is not surprising, for teachers generally believe that extended training will lead to a higher status and better remuneration.

It appears, too, that there is general agreement on the desirability of a three-year course for all intending teachers, and when the

'bulge' caused by the post-war increased birth-rate has passed through the schools, the opportunity may be seized of increasing the length of the course.

The Appointment of Teachers and Terms of Appointment

No uniform methods are adopted for making known vacancies in the profession in England and Wales. Advertisement in the educational press is the most common method, but if certain posts are not advertised, notices of the vacancies may be circulated throughout the schools in the area by means of a bulletin, and very often assistantships are filled from a waiting list compiled from applications which have been received from time to time from teachers wishing to enter the services of a particular authority. In some instances, chief education officers or their deputies visit training colleges and departments, and an entry of young teachers is maintained by personal interview in the college. Some authorities reserve headships for teachers within their employ, others appoint through open competition.

When applications for posts of assistantship are received, it is customary for the head teachers to be consulted about the selection of candidates for interview. Ultimately, the responsibility for appointment is vested with the authority, although some technical differences exist in the terms of contract according to whether a school is a county school, a controlled school, a special agreement school, or an aided school. A 'county' school is maintained by a local authority. There are three categories of voluntary schools according to the method adopted by the managers or governors for receiving assistance from the state for the cost of repairs, alterations and improvements to their buildings. The three categories are controlled schools, aided schools and special agreement schools.[6]

When a head teacher is appointed, it is desirable that the governors (or managers) and the authority should be associated in drawing up the short list, and in making the final appointment. Although no uniform practice exists, local authorities are guided by the recommendations of the Minister in regard to procedure. One method recommended is that the governors should consider the applications, a representative of the authority being present, and submit names to the authority. The appropriate committee of the authority then makes the final appointment, a member of the governing body being present. The other method suggested is that a joint committee should be set up, composed of an equal number of members of the governing body and of the authority, to draw up the short list, and, at a second meeting, to make the appointment.

Either method is suitable for most schools, and on the whole there is little dissatisfaction expressed on the procedure adopted.

[6] For further information, see M. M. Wells and P. S. Taylor, *The New Law of Education* (3rd edition) (Butterworth & Co. Ltd.).

Teachers are generally appointed on professional qualifications alone.

To facilitate mobility and to meet the contingencies of particular areas, the practice is growing of appointing teachers to the authority staff. Although in theory the local authorities have the power to move teachers from school to school within their control, in general practice the wishes of the teachers concerned are considered before any transfers take place.

Movements to schools of similar or different types very often take place on the initiative of individual teachers. A more conveniently placed school may attract a teacher to apply when a vacancy occurs, or he may wish to widen his experience by serving in schools of varying types. Thus teachers often gain experience in various types of school, for example, in modern, technical, and grammar schools at the secondary stage, and it is not uncommon for university teachers and training college lecturers to have served previously in primary and secondary schools and colleges of further education.

Appointments to the different branches of the service depend very largely upon the personality, experience, and qualifications of applicants. Possibilities for transfer to work of a more advanced character are greater for graduates and teachers with specialist qualifications. The over-all percentage of graduates in grammar schools is approximately 77 per cent., but it is impossible to say what fraction of existing staffs are teachers with experience of other types of schools. At the present time, only about 53 per cent. of the staffs of training colleges are graduates. But although specialists with degrees are employed for the more academic part of the training, there is an increasing and desirable tendency to employ only those persons who have had experience in particular types of schools to train students in the principles and practice of education as directed towards particular age ranges and types of schools. Arts and crafts teachers, domestic science teachers, musicians and other specialists may thus be non-graduates, but nevertheless will possess the appropriate qualifications for advanced work. It is impossible to indicate with any accuracy what percentage of the staffs of training collages are recruited from the staffs of schools or other educational establishments, but it is true to say that the number so recruited is increasing, as training colleges are anxious to employ some who have been successful practitioners in the schools.

The opportunity for teachers to gain a wide experience depends also upon such factors as the educational provision within an authority or upon the domestic limitations of the teacher. In big towns the size of the population makes large-scale educational organisation possible and the whole gamut of educational institutions will come within the scope of the authority. Although this will not include the universities, these may nevertheless be available too.

But in rural areas the amount of provision may be limited to

primary schools and secondary modern schools, and the teacher, because of family considerations, may hesitate before applying to outside authorities. Post-war housing difficulties have tended to hamper movements to different parts of the country. Even so, teachers determined to secure a wider experience will sometimes overcome these difficulties. On the other hand, in present circumstances, some authorities hesitate to offer posts to teachers in this position, because too often teachers have rejected posts offered because of housing shortages.

In the past, appointments were held very precariously, and were subject to termination without any fair notice being given and often without justifiable cause. Through the collective efforts of teachers, a position of stable employment has been reached. Since the beginning of the century teaching appointments have been regarded as permanent, and, in practice, dismissal occurs only in cases of serious misdemeanour, criminal offences, or of gross inefficiency.

It is now generally recognised that it should be a condition of service of every teacher in the state-aided schools that, before any decision relating to dismissal is taken, he should have the right to be heard and to be represented before the local authority which employs him.

Local practice varies in the length of notice given to terminate an appointment, but usually this is from two to three months, taking effect from the end of a term. The only circumstances in which a shorter period of notice is given are in those rare cases where misconduct or some other urgent cause makes it imperative that a teacher should not continue his school duties.

There are also a number of safeguards in the Education Act, 1944, which protect teachers from arbitrary dismissal. Section 24 (3) of that Act specifically enacts that no woman shall be disqualified for employment or dismissed from such employment by reason only of marriage. Section 30 provides a safeguard in religious matters for teachers in county or controlled voluntary schools, for it enacts that no such teacher shall be disqualified for appointment by reason of his or her religious opinions, or of his or her attending or omitting to attend religious worship.

Although there is no specific enactment, the traditional British attitude of toleration has demanded that there should be no barrier to teaching appointments based on the political beliefs of the teacher nor upon his or her nationality. Although political freedom exists and any attempts to victimise teachers purely for political reasons is resisted, the teachers themselves are emphatic that they should not abuse this position by spreading party political propaganda in schools. The right to conscientious objection to military service is also defended. One authority which recently threatened to deny employment to conscientious objectors decided, after consultation with teachers' representatives, to withdraw this ban.

The early history of the teaching profession showed frequent examples where extraneous duties were made a condition of employment. Indeed, an examination of these early advertisements for appointments often conveyed the impression that the least important task was the job of teaching. In the Code of 1903 issued by the Board of Education, this situation was remedied. Extraneous duties became no longer a condition of employment, and they have been voluntary undertakings on the part of teachers ever since.

Further Training whilst in Service

A very wide range of courses is organised by the Ministry of Education, the local authorities, and the universities to enable teachers to improve their qualifications and their knowledge. At these the non-graduate qualified teacher finds scope for academic and practical studies which enhance his value as a teacher and in some cases enable him to secure graduate status. The graduate is able to proceed to higher degrees, or he may follow non-academic courses which suit the particular needs of his school.

Whilst promotion is possible for all qualified teachers, and many experienced non-graduate teachers succeed in securing headships, nevertheless it is the case that, other things being equal, better prospects are available for the graduate. This is specially so for higher posts on the administrative side. When local authorities appoint inspectors of special subjects, psychologists, or advisers, it is to the highly qualified and well-experienced teachers that they usually turn. Except for subjects like domestic economy, handicraft, and physical training (in which subjects there are no higher degrees), these special posts usually go to the graduate who has proceeded to his Master's degree or has secured a Doctorate.

Refresher Courses

Although, theoretically, school holidays are attractively long, teachers do not 'down tools' and forget their professional cares for the whole period of their leave. Refresher courses and summer schools are organised by the Ministry of Education, the National Union of Teachers, and other bodies, so that teachers are able to keep abreast of modern thought and practice. Some of these take place abroad, thus facilitating opportunities for teachers of different nationalities to discuss educational problems. Moreover, the teacher of modern languages will often make an annual visit abroad so that he is able not only to converse in the language he teaches, but is able to become accustomed to the life and customs of the country.

Many societies have been established to deal with various aspects of education. These bodies range from those which are interested in one aspect of human knowledge and endeavour (however wide its scope), for example, the Royal Geographical Society, to a broadly based organisation like the Workers' Educational Association, which

fosters cultural subjects of all kinds. It is difficult to measure the support given to such organisations by teachers, but it can be safely stated that because of their training and interests, they are generally willing to co-operate. Often the secretarial work is carried out voluntarily by teacher members, and in cases where the strength of an organisation lies in its power to attract the public to demonstrations, exhibitions, and other performances, teachers form a large percentage of the visitors.

Teacher Exchange

This broadening of the teacher's experience is encouraged in other ways. Since 1945, the machinery for the interchange of teachers to various parts of the world, which existed before the war, has been restored and developed. Arrangements are made for British teachers to exchange places with teachers from the U.S.A., the Dominions, English colonies, and certain other parts of the world for a twelve-monthly period. During this time, not only do these teachers work in schools of a similar character to those with which they are familiar in this country, but opportunities are created for travel and social intercourse, so that the experience gained is bound to have a stimulating and broadening effect.

Freedom and Responsibility in the School

The teacher has achieved a large measure of academic and pedagogic freedom. He is free to interpret his professional duties in whatever manner he considers best. Although for the purpose of orderly working he is required to follow a time-table, for which the head teacher is responsible, he is not required to pursue any rigid formula to cover his syllabus. He is not bound to use particular books in his work, and consequently is not scheduled to complete a given chapter or exercise by a prescribed time.

He may, for his own convenience, analyse the work he hopes to cover in a given term and prepare his own sequence of procedure, but he will, in practice, make adjustments to his plan to suit the individual needs of the members of his class. Just as doctors in dealing with their patients make diagnoses and prescribe what they think is the right treatment, so teachers are free to treat the pupils in their classrooms. They, as professional men and women, after having considered all the relative facts provided by parents, doctors, social workers, and psychologists, must decide on the way each child is to be taught. They are able to conduct experiments, and wise teachers will seek advice from their more experienced colleagues, head teachers, and inspectors. But the final decision is the teacher's responsibility, and he should be prepared to give his reasons to justify a particular course of action.

The Changed Attitude to Inspectors. A study of the change of

relationships between inspectors and teachers is one which in itself shows the steady growth in status of the teaching profession. It demonstrates the greater personal responsibility which has devolved on teachers in recent years. Despite the high ideals and understanding which men like Matthew Arnold brought to the nineteenth-century inspectorate, the gulf between H.M.I.s and teachers was often wide. As long as the relationship was strained and the inspection was regarded as an inquisition, the position of the teacher was one of subordination. The tradition left by the annual examination of the payment-by-results era lasted until a new generation of inspectors arose which knew not the ways of its predecessors. Inspectors now seek to co-operate and advise, rather than to be inquisitors voicing destructive criticism.

The change which has taken place can hardly be exaggerated. Her Majesty's inspectors may make suggestions, but they are not empowered to issue instructions to teachers. It is no part of an inspector's function to tell any teacher what to do or how to do it. Nevertheless, most teachers welcome new ideas and gladly consider suggestions that might be useful. The inspector can often give helpful positive criticism based on the experience he has been fortunate enough to gain through his continual contact with schools.[7]

Inspectors' visits are followed by reports, but in these they may only submit observations and indicate adjustments or improvements which, through their wider experience, they feel impelled to suggest. It is incumbent upon head teachers to study these reports in association with their staff, in order to decide where reform is necessary. The ultimate decision, however, rests with the head teacher.

Just as the best schools are those where the head teacher and staff work together in a spirit of co-operation and partnership, so to-day the situation is developing where the inspector is regarded as a visiting member of the team. This is the aim of the inspectorate, which has described itself as a closely knit body which maintains a direct connection with all the partners in the business of education. One of its functions is to help others to know each other, and to collaborate for the common good.[8] Such a function underlines the changed attitude to teachers, and the rise in their status.

Attitude to Out-of-school Activities. In the ordinary routine life of the school, the teacher's weekly period of duty during school hours is spent usually on the school premises, although conditions vary with the age of the child and the type of school.

A primary school teacher usually has a time-table which commits him to classroom, or other similar duty, for the whole week. In the secondary school much depends upon the standard of work under-

[7] An account of teacher-inspector relationships is given in *Education in 1949* (H.M.S.O., Cmd. 7957).

[8] *Education in 1949* (H.M.S.O., Cmd. 7957), p. 91.

taken and the amount of marking of written exercises involved. It is customary for teachers who have to do a considerable amount of class- and homework marking to have periods during the week free for this purpose. The amount of time available in school is generally insufficient, and many teachers devote their leisure time to the completion of such duties.

Apart from such directly related duties, it is customary for teachers to give their time to extra-curricular activities such as school societies, sports and games, school plays and excursions. In cases where a teacher does research and the time-table arrangement makes it possible, some time may be spent off the school premises. Head teachers of schools and principals of colleges of further education have discretionary powers in matters of this kind, and many of them who have sufficient staff available, compile a time-table that has regard to those duties which require considerable leisure time being devoted to the work of the school.

Increased Responsibility for Expenditure. In the day-to-day work the school teachers are dependent upon an adequate supply of educational materials. The general procedure for obtaining school material is for head teachers to requisition supplies from or through the local authority. Most authorities have arrangements with a number of firms and manufacturers to supply materials on the basis of accepted tenders. These goods may be obtained by individual schools on a *per capita* allowance measured in terms of the school roll and type of school. A sum of money per head is allowed for consumable material, for non-consumable equipment, for textbooks, library books, sports gear, and so on, all of which are ordered from lists of materials which the authority supply.

The head teacher is therefore limited not only by the range from which he must select, but the amount he must spend within a given sub-section of the expenditure. In many cases he must complete his purchases within the financial year, as it is administratively difficult to carry over money from one year to the next.

Mention might, however, be made here of a recent experiment, as it illustrates the higher status which is accorded teachers nowadays. One authority [9] has been experimenting by modifying the system of requisitions through the authority and making a block grant available to head teachers to spend on school materials in whatever way they please. No hard and fast regulations exist to restrict head teachers in the amount they spend on consumable or non-consumable materials, nor are they limited to a specific list of supplies. Money not spent one year may be carried forward to the next, so that shrewd buying is not penalised and accumulation of assets for some expensive equipment is possible.

The scheme thus imposes greater responsibility upon members of

[9] Hertfordshire.

the teaching profession, and, at the same time, affords them greater freedom. Because of the reduction in form filling and consequent correspondence, it is administratively simple to operate. By his direct contact with the firms, the head teacher is able to satisfy himself about delivery and supply problems. He pays for all his purchases and submits a summary annually. Compared with the other method described above, this scheme is economically preferable and professionally desirable. It places the head teacher in a position similar to that of the head of an independent school, who has complete freedom to make those purchases which suit best the needs of his school.

Increased Responsibility over Examinations. Another illustration has been provided recently which shows the greater status and responsibility which education authorities are prepared to place upon teachers. In 1951 a new form of examination was introduced to assess a pupil's ability at what has been regarded traditionally as the close of the secondary stage of education. With our present tripartite division of the educational system, secondary education does not end until the further stage begins at the age of 18, but for a large number of pupils it ends in practice at 15 [10] if they attend the secondary modern school, or 16 if they are at grammar schools. Most of the latter provide courses for older pupils, and the number attending them is increasing, but they cater largely for those who are suitable to proceed to the universities and other forms of further education.

Hitherto, pupils completing the ordinary course of a grammar school entered a school-leaving examination, and those who were successful in the required number of subjects were granted a 'School Certificate'. The new examination, known as the General Certificate of Education, is a subject examination, and was limited to children who had passed their 16th birthday. Much criticism was directed against the age limit, and the problem confronting those responsible for drawing up new regulations was to find suitable safeguards should a decision be taken to alter the age-limit regulation. Eventually, it was decided to retain the age of 16 for normal cases, but the head teacher has been given discretionary powers to enter a child sooner if he feels that the pupil has a reasonable chance of success, that his entry is educationally sound, and that his future studies and occupation require his certificate as proof of attainment. This new responsibility placed upon the profession demonstrates a further mark of increasing esteem.

School Conditions

The conditions under which a teacher performs his professional task react upon his status. It is impossible to generalise, because

[10] Provision is made in the Education Act, 1944, to raise this to 16.

conditions vary from the very worst to the very best in all grades of education. There are primary and secondary school buildings still in use which are insanitary hovels, and which were condemned as unfit for use as schools many years ago. Colleges of further education, as well as training colleges for teachers and university training departments, sometimes exist in antiquated buildings and in temporary huts erected originally for war purposes only.

It is a tribute to the devotion of the teaching profession that despite working sometimes in conditions which no sanitary or factory inspector would permit, much excellent work is achieved. The magnificent achievements of teachers in the slums of large towns and in remote country schools bear testimony to a profession which refuses to be daunted by unsatisfactory conditions.

The Teacher outside the School

Despite the extent to which ready-made pleasures like the cinema, the radio, and television have captured the leisure time of so many people, considerable scope still exists for those who are anxious to lead a full and varied social life. These activities are frequently centred round the schoolmaster, whose organising ability is taken for granted. Teachers are often the driving force behind youth-club activities and adult education. Their services when children were evacuated from danger centres during the war could hardly be over-estimated. During the floods of 1953, too, they proved invaluable as organisers.

Teachers in Public Life

For many years individual teachers have been prominent in public life. Sir Ernest Gray and Sir James Yoxall, both of whom were officials of the National Union of Teachers, were the first teachers to enter Parliament as members. Both became members in 1895. In those days, when M.P.s were unsalaried, it was quite exceptional for a teacher to contemplate election to Parliament, but now that they receive £1,000 per annum the position is easier, and to-day there are twenty ex-teachers in the House of Commons.

In local government, too, teachers play an active part, although it is not possible for teachers to seek election to the council which employs them. There are, however, extensive arrangements over the country as a whole for teachers to be co-opted to the local education committee. By these means, the views of the teachers are represented at the committee stage, both locally and centrally, and this is invaluable as a means of guiding educational and professional policy. In these ways many teachers have served the community outside their classrooms, and have helped to raise the status of the whole profession.

The Teachers' Professional Organisations

Membership of professional organisations of teachers in England and Wales is purely voluntary. Nevertheless, the great majority of teachers join a professional organisation. The most representative is the National Union of Teachers, which has about 80 per cent. of the teaching profession (from all types of educational institutions) in its membership. The former Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, who can certainly be described as an independent witness, speaking in 1945, said:

> I think the National Union of Teachers are in a stronger position today than they have ever been. In point of fact every single improvement in the conditions of teachers generally has come about through the activities of the National Union of Teachers.[11]

This union differs from other organisations that serve sectional interests, in that it offers membership to all recognised teachers. It has no party-political affiliations. Many associations cater only for sectional or subject interests and are restricted in their appeal. Among the sectional organisations are the four associations which appeal to the interests of assistant mistresses, assistant masters, head mistresses, and head masters respectively, in grammar schools.

There are also specialist organisations for teachers in training colleges and departments of education of the universities, and for university teachers generally. The Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions and the Association of Teachers of Domestic Subjects have their obvious functional appeal; but both these bodies have schemes of joint membership with the National Union of Teachers. In only two cases [12] does membership of a particular organisation preclude a teacher from becoming also a member of the National Union of Teachers. In practice, most teachers join the latter organisation for general professional and educational purposes, but some also join a sectional organisation.

The nation-wide support given by teachers to the N.U.T. has made large-scale organisation possible. The basis of its organisation is the local association, and there are nearly seven hundred local associations comprising the full body. These associations hold frequent meetings to discuss local problems, both educational and professional, as well as matters of national concern. Most of them have affiliated themselves voluntarily into county associations, of which there are fifty-four. Education is administered by county and county borough councils. Where the teachers employed by one local education authority are organised by more

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[11] Sir Maurice Holmes. See Minister of Evidence II, 6th July, 1945. *Royal Commission on Equal Pay*, page 182, para 2600.

[12] The National Association of Schoolmasters and National Union of Women Teachers.

than one local association of teachers, it is to their common interest that they should meet together to discuss their problems in county associations.

The National Union of Teachers has undoubtedly played a vital part in fashioning the educational system of England and Wales. Formed at a time when education was quite unorganised, when there were school places for only about half the children who needed them, when teachers worked under shocking conditions and their salaries were subject to payment by results, the union has waged an unceasing fight for the interests of children and the status of the teaching profession. It has exerted every possible effort to secure better school buildings, better educational materials, a longer school life, smaller classes and better terms of appointment, of security of tenure and professional salaries for all teachers.

Through its official staff at head-quarters and its officers and national executive, consisting of thirty-six members elected in eleven divisions of the country, contact is made at national level with the Ministry of Education. Consultation on all important national matters is carried on by deputations, interviews, and correspondence.

In order to strengthen the link between head-quarters and the teachers in the locality, nine full-time divisional secretaries operate in England, and one in Wales. Whilst every type of school problem comes under the watchful eye of local representatives and divisional secretaries, it must follow that a professional organisation must give utmost priority to the interests of its members, both collectively and individually. The divisional secretaries and officials at head-quarters jealously guard the rights and privileges which have come to teachers through many years of sustained effort and achievement. It is upon these hard-won gains that the structure of professional status has been erected.

A Century of Change

A vivid assessment of the vast change which has taken place in the status of the teacher may be gained by comparing the two following excerpts from speeches. Speaking in the House of Commons in 1847, Lord Macaulay said:

> The masters, the refuse of all other callings, discarded footmen, ruined pedlars, men who cannot work a sum in the rule of three, men who cannot write a letter without blunders, men who do not know whether Jerusalem is in Asia or America . . . to such men, men to whom none of us would entrust the key of his cellar, we have entrusted the mind of the rising generation, and, with the mind of the rising generation, the freedom, the happiness, the glory of our country.[13]

Just a century later, the Rt. Hon. George Tomlinson, Minister of Education, said:

[13] *Hansard.*

> The teacher is the vital link. At a pinch you might be able to do without Parliament. You could do without the Minister, certainly without civil servants, and almost as certainly without local education authorities, but if there were no teachers the world would be back to barbarism within two generations.[14]

The tremendous gulf which separates these two opinions shows the tremendous change in the status of the teaching profession which has taken place in the past century.

In the nineteenth century the status of the teacher was commonly related to that of the pupils he taught. Teachers in schools provided for the children of 'the labouring poor' were regarded as socially inferior.

When local authorities began to establish their own secondary (grammar) schools at the beginning of the century, the pupils were largely fee-payers, and that gained for them a higher status which the teaching staff shared, but their colleagues in the elementary schools, where there were no fees, were still regarded as socially inferior. The secondary schools supplemented the work of the endowed schools and became regarded as suitable for the children of the middle classes. A three-tier classification thus existed—the public schools for the well-to-do, the secondary schools for the middle classes, and the public elementary schools for artisans. The status of teachers varied accordingly.

The social changes that have taken place in Great Britain during the first half of the twentieth century have found expression in legislative enactments. The Education Act, 1944, recast the statutory system of education into primary, secondary, and further education. Fees in secondary schools were abolished. No longer could the child of middle-class parents obtain a place by the payment of fees: he had to prove himself capable of profiting by the education provided. Thus, more and more children from poorer homes have found their way to the grammar schools. The Act emphasised that education is necessary for all, and provision has to be made for all children, no matter how widely varied are their aptitudes and abilities. This has had a tremendous influence upon the status of teachers.

For some years, and particularly during the period when for safety reasons children and teachers were evacuated from our great cities, the work of teachers in the elementary schools had been receiving greater admiration from the public. With the establishment of universal free primary and secondary education the gap between elementary and secondary school and between primary and secondary school and between primary and secondary teachers was bridged—at least legislatively. To-day, eight years after the Act became operative, the gap, so far as the public is concerned, has

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[14] 1947 in a speech given to the N.U.T. Conference at Scarborough.

considerably narrowed. This change in status is due to many factors—legislation, salaries, pensions, the way in which teachers are recruited and trained, and on how they serve the community both within and outside the school. Undoubtedly their status has risen, but those who are concerned about the future of education, and not least the teachers themselves, are determined to raise that status even higher.

RONALD GOULD.

CHAPTER TWO

AREA TRAINING ORGANISATIONS

As with most forms of the English educational system, the development of teacher training has been piecemeal and haphazard. The emergence and expansion of public elementary education in the nineteenth century brought into being a number of training colleges [1] for teachers, some founded by denominational bodies and others by private individuals. The changes brought about by the Educational Act of 1902 led many local education authorities to provide their own training colleges; they also gave a great fillip to the expansion of university training departments,[1] set up to attract and train university graduates for the teaching service. Owing to the circumstances of their origin, there was little or no contact between one college and another, and only too often they were ivory towers of isolation. For the general run of colleges the Board of Education was responsible for approving the curriculum and syllabuses and for the final examination of students. The intention of successive governments was to provide elementary education at as low a cost to the country as possible; it was therefore a corollary that training colleges should be run cheaply. Salaries offered to their staffs were meagre, grants to students were tenuous, and there was little or no room for experiment. From the outset, the control exercised by the Board over university training departments was slight, and by the 'twenties of this century the training of the graduates was sharply distinguished and separate from the training provided for the non-graduate teacher being trained for service in the elementary school. As for other types of training colleges, there was from the turn of the present century a continual demand for greater freedom, for decentralisation of control, and for an improved status in the educational world.

The 1914–18 War held back change for many years. However, the 1925 Report of the Departmental Committee on the Training of Teachers in the Elementary Schools, and the reorganisation of schools envisaged in the *Hadow Report,* led to the first radical change in the organisation of training colleges. In 1926 the Board

[1] Training colleges in England usually recruit their students from secondary schools at the age of 18 or 19, and usually provide a two-year course. University departments of education recruit their students at the age of 21 or 22, after they have spent three or four years in the university. —EDITORS.

of Education handed over the responsibility for the examination of students to training college joint examination boards or delegacies. These were regional bodies through which groups of training colleges were associated with a university or a university college. Their primary function was that of examination; and this, of course, involved the joint boards in the consideration of syllabuses and courses of work in the colleges. Nevertheless, final approval of syllabuses and courses rested with the Board of Education, and the Board continued to be responsible for the examination of students on their final teaching practice. It was hoped that through these boards there would grow up a healthy co-operation between colleges, and between the colleges and the universities. The success in attaining these ends varied considerably from board to board. University training departments took no part in the work of these boards, and certain voluntary colleges and specialist colleges stayed outside their orbit. There remained, in fact, an almost complete separation between the arrangements for the training and examination of students who were going to teach in the elementary schools, and those who were going to teach in grammar schools.

The 1902 Act had ushered in a new development in teacher training, and the Hadow reorganisation was accompanied by a drastic change in training college work. It was therefore to be expected that a major educational reform, such as the 1944 Education Act, would bring about a review of training. In 1944 the Report of the Committee headed by Sir Arnold McNair, on the Supply, Recruitment, and Training of Teachers and Youth Leaders, was published. Briefly, the report recommended that the whole organisation of teacher training should be overhauled. Just as the 1944 Act envisaged a unified system of education which would remove many of the anomalies of the obsolete distinction between elementary and secondary education, so the *McNair Report* envisaged that all institutions concerned with teacher training should be brought together into units which could relate their work more closely and open the way for association with other forms of educational institutions. The committee was unanimous in deciding against centralised control over all colleges; it recommended, therefore, that a number of organisations be set up, based upon universities, as being bodies whose status, independence, and impartiality were unquestioned. These local organisations were to be known as area training organisations, and would replace the old joint boards. They were to be associations of training colleges and university training departments with a university, and the various forms of training were to be more closely integrated. The Ministry of Education was to hand to them full responsibility for approval of courses and for the final assessment of students.

The committee was divided in its opinions as to the best way of associating training colleges with the universities. Some members

felt that the area organisation should be an integral part of the university; others felt that it should be an institution in which the university would play a full and active part but only as a partner. The universities and university colleges were approached and asked to consider to what extent they would take over the responsibilities set out in the report. The great majority favoured the former plan, and most of the seventeen area training organisations (sixteen in England and one in Wales) are directly under university control; that is to say, they receive their grants through the University Grants Committee, while the others are financed directly from the Ministry of Education. It is inevitable that certain differences will arise from this difference in constitutional status, but it is not yet clear what those differences will be. In almost all cases the strictly official title, 'Area Training Organisation', has been dropped and been replaced by the title 'Institute of Education'. Institutes vary in size—one comprises thirty-eight institutions for the training of teachers and another consists of three only.

The constitutions of these organisations and their purposes as they have emerged in the last seven years make an interesting study. No institute has developed exactly like another; neither in the emphasis of work, nor in the interpretations placed upon the recommendations of the McNair Committee. There are, of course, many points of similarity. In all of them the university, the colleges, local education authorities, and governing bodies are well represented on the main committees. In some there is provision for representatives of teacher associations. Some have made provision in their constitutions for the association with the institute of other bodies not primarily concerned with teacher training, such as colleges of art; some have made no such provision. The task of reviewing courses and syllabuses has been undertaken by committees within the institutes know as 'Professional' or 'Academic' Boards, on which there is representation of the various bodies concerned with the supply, recruitment, training, and examination of students within the area. Here again, some interesting points of difference have emerged: in some institutes it is quite clear that the academic staffs of the training colleges are being asked to take a far larger share in the administration of training college work generally than was ever asked of them before. A greater degree of responsibility for approval of syllabuses and conduct of examinations has been placed on them, and they are being asked to assume responsibilities that are accepted as being the concomitants of academic freedom. Broadly speaking, in the various committees and panels and boards of studies the teaching staffs of universities, training colleges, specialist colleges, and university training departments are meeting and discussing problems in a way which would have been impossible ten years ago.

The handbook of any of the institutes sets out quite clearly the

purpose and function of the institute. Three main lines of activity may be picked out. Firstly, each institute seeks to assist in the advancement of the knowledge and practice of education by encouraging research and by providing the necessary facilities: secondly, to provide a centre for the promotion of the educational interests of students and teachers and other persons professionally concerned with or interested in education within the area of the institute: thirdly, to assist in the co-ordination and extension of the provision for training of teachers within the area, and to co-operate in arrangements for the interchange of staff, students, and facilities in the various colleges and departments.

These are their main functions, but all have one specific duty. The status of qualified teacher is awarded by the Minister of Education to persons who, subject to certain provisions, have completed to the satisfaction of the Minister an approved course of training, or possess such special qualifications as the Minister may approve. Examples of such special qualifications are degrees of recognised universities or qualifications in music. These qualifications are obtainable at institutions which are not primarily concerned with teacher training. For the great majority of teachers, however, courses of training at institutions whose primary concern is the initial training of teachers are essential. These latter institutions do not make recommendations directly to the Minister for the award of qualified teacher status to successful students; the Institute of Education is the only mechanism through which such recommendations can be made. Each institute, therefore, is obliged to conduct, or approve, an examination or assessment of students in the various colleges, on the results of which recommendations may be made. It also has to satisfy itself that students have satisfactorily completed the course of training. This is a very great responsibility, and gives power which must be carefully controlled and exercised. And in the long run, when a course of training before qualification becomes a requirement for all teachers, no field of teacher training will lie outside the orbit of the new institutes.

As for the work already accomplished, it would on the whole be true to say that the first few years of each institute have been taken up in providing the necessary machinery for operation and in conducting a review of the facilities within the area. Again, a good deal of time has been spent on working out the courses appropriate to training college students in the light of present-day needs, and there is continual discussion on the appropriate methods of examination and assessment. There can be no doubt that the primary function of any institute is to ensure that satisfactory provision is being made for the primary training of teachers, as without this sure groundwork all further courses of training will prove futile.

On the other hand, side by side with this work, the institutes are developing in various ways. In some areas, educational centres and libraries for all who are interested in the educational field have been provided. In some, co-operation with other institutions, such as technical colleges, is being developed. With the great resources at their disposal through the ready co-operation of schools, local authorities and colleges, some institutes have been able to stimulate educational research over a far wider area than before. Training colleges themselves are being encouraged to undertake research, although the difficulties of staffing and time present almost super-human obstacles. All institutes have been able to provide courses for the practising teacher: some courses at the fairly pedestrian level of refresher courses, and others at a comparatively high level involving special study over a long period of time and leading to named qualifications. These various activities are being developed at different rates in each institute, and perhaps this is inevitable. The very problems of size and accommodation make the problems of one institute very different from the problems of another.

It has already become clear that many of the problems of the different area training organisations are common, and that some degree at least of uniformity of practice is desirable. To this end, a Standing Conference of Area Training Organisations has been set up. This conference is composed of representatives from the various institutes, and it is a rather cumbersome body. It has no official status and its duties are mainly advisory. At the moment it works through a system of *ad hoc* committees. No doubt a way will be found in the future for the efficient and speedy handling of problems brought up before the conference.

The cynic who stated that the heraldic coat of arms of the area training organisations should be an institute of education on a field 'as you were' was far from the truth. Certainly many of the high ideals of the *McNair Report* are a long way from fruition. From the very nature of their foundation, set up as they were by so many different bodies, the colleges are small units. It is doubtful whether their size makes for economic training although it may foster compact collegiate life. But it is probably true that no one college alone can cater adequately for its students in the light of present-day educational problems. Only by pooling resources can the training colleges carry out their appropriate functions. There is little evidence as yet, other than through the mechanism of examinations, that there has been any effective pooling of resources. Again, comparatively few colleges have made use of the facilities for further study provided by other institutions. The intensive need for teachers has meant that the colleges have been kept full to capacity, and that the three-year course of training still remains an unrealised dream. The great majority of students must still survive by hurrying, and the overworked staff have little time for research.

The participation of teachers in the work of training colleges and of lecturers in the work of schools remains a dead letter.

Many problems remain unanswered, or have been delicately shelved. In those institutes which are integral parts of the universities, the exact status of students inside the colleges in relation to the universities remains undefined; and with it the implication that a student of education is in a different category from the student of engineering as regards his status. The relation of the teaching staffs of the colleges to the universities is a matter which awaits clarification. Moreover, although the area training organisations were intended to concern themselves with the courses and examination of all would-be teachers, in most cases the training of graduate teachers in university training departments lies outside their scope. Certain other problems present themselves. If the area training organisation is to be responsible for the training colleges and their work, the question as to what extent the Ministry of Education should carry out its inspection of training colleges arises. Again, more and more colleges are being taken over, or have recently been provided, by local education authorities. For the first time, the latter bodies find themselves the authorities in charge of institutions having direct association with a university, and manifestly problems of staffing and status will present themselves. No doubt these difficulties will be solved in that spirit of compromise so characteristic of English institutions.

On the other hand, much has been done, especially in viewing this problem in relation to the status of the teacher generally. There can be no doubt that the association of training colleges as constituent members of a university organisation has given them a new status. On the whole, too, the colleges are being staffed more adequately numerically in view of the different commitments being undertaken. The encouragement afforded to teaching staffs to take an active part in the organisation not only of their own college but of the local institute of education, and to undertake research, has afforded a great opportunity. There can be no doubt that the virile life of a university is the outcome of efforts of free and independent teachers inspired by active and close contact with research. This spirit is being developed in the colleges. In the new patterns of freedom given by the institutes, students in the colleges are following live experimental courses based not only on the needs of children but on the personal needs of the students. The teacher in service can look for further education and refreshment to a university institution. Too long the training colleges and students of education have been regarded as the poor relations of the academic world. The new institutes will wave no magic wand of transformation. A centralised dictatorial system could no doubt move more quickly, but in these co-operative activities, the goodwill and interest of all concerned are essential. The pace of progress of

each institute will depend on the possibilities of each individual part. In all, there has been a period of feverish activity and change; that period is now passing into a phase of more calm assessment of what has been done and what can be done. The foundations for the new structures have been laid with foresight and care, and a new era for all concerned with teacher training is opening.

E. F. MARSHALL.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CHANGING STATUS OF THE TEACHER IN ENGLAND AND WALES[1]

At first glance it appears a relatively easy matter to determine the "status of the teaching profession", if by the term 'status' we mean solely the prestige that the profession enjoys in some sort of prestige ranking. Hall and Jones, for example, in their recent empirical inquiry into the Social Grading of Occupations, found that the 'elementary' school teacher was ranked by the public with the news reporter, jobbing master builder, and commercial traveller. Ranked just above him were farmers, nonconformist ministers, and works managers, and just below him were chefs, insurance agents, and newsagents and tobacconists.[2] Thus the teacher (or rather the 'elementary' school teacher—the distinction being of some importance) seems to occupy a position somewhere in the middle of the middle classes, below the 'independent' professionals and above the skilled manual workers and small shopkeepers.

If we were to go further than the statistical measurement of 'prestige' and seek to find the ideas that are generally held concerning the teacher, it is likely that we should emerge with a series of rather muddled stereotypes. On the most general level there would appear to be a feeling among all classes that the teacher is a hard-working, conscientious, 'professional' person, who at the moment is under-paid, but who nevertheless puts the interest of the children first and carries on without too many complaints. The lack of 'mystery' in the performance of his function probably results in a feeling that the qualifications of a teacher are not as high as those of a doctor or lawyer.

If the analysis were pushed further, one would find certain unfavourable elements in the stereotype of the teacher held by different sections of the public. Among the middle classes one would find views of the kind "the teacher is not quite a gentleman, or lady", "the teacher dreaded facing the risks of life and got left behind in school", "the teacher is a man among boys and a boy among men". Among the working classes one might find traces of the hostility between the 'respectable' and the 'non-respectable',

[1] This article is based upon material gathered for a study on "Elementary School-teachers as a Professional Group: From 1800 to the Present Day".

[2] John Hall and D. Caradog Jones, "Social Grading of Occupations", *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 1, March 1950.

and some complaints of the teacher's long holidays and short hours. In both groups one would find that the spinster schoolmistress shares in the usual disesteem afforded to the unmarried woman in our society. These unfavourable elements in the stereotype are not overwhelming and are generally to be found among those who are disappointed with their own status. On occasions of conflict between the teachers and other sections of the population (for example, during the economy campaign of the early 1930's), they can be used to rally opinion against the teacher. However, in the most general terms one can postulate that these unfavourable elements are diminishing in importance.

If the sources of the teacher's prestige and the stereotypes surrounding him were investigated, it would be noticed that they stem in the main from four sources. The first is a more or less realistic appraisal by the public of the economic position of the teacher, his conditions of work, and the type of person who enters the profession. The second is the low esteem in which popular education is held in England and Wales. This low esteem is to be found less among those whose children attend the schools than among the small but influential minority whose children attend private schools of one kind or another. The third source would be the traces of past stereotypes, the reflection of educational and social circumstances that have ceased to exist. The fourth is inseparable from the function of the teacher: the work of teaching is considered in itself basically degrading to a grown individual and is thus accorded a low status.

The remainder of this article proceeds to the investigation of the changing status of the teacher by three stages. In the first stage, it offers a slightly more detailed sketch of the present standing of the teaching profession in England and Wales. In the second, it sketches the status history of the teacher from the emergence of the profession to the present day. Finally, it analyses the general determinants of the status of the teaching profession and attempts to predict its future.[3]

The Present Standing of the Teacher

Ignoring all the complications that are a feature of the English educational system, one can say that at the moment there are three main types of school—primary, secondary modern, and secondary grammar—and two types of teacher—two-year-trained non-graduates and four-year-trained university graduates.[4]

[3] It should be noted that this article is concerned solely with teachers in "Grant-aided schools and Establishments", and has nothing to say of either the 'private' teachers (whether private music teachers or head masters of great public schools) or university teachers.

[4] A complete guide to the English educational system will be found in: G. Baron, *A Bibliographical Guide to the English Educational System* (1951).

On March 31st, 1951, the total number of teachers in full-time service in grant-aided schools and establishments in England and Wales was 237,069.[5] Of these, 134,003 were teaching in primary schools, 45,112 in secondary modern schools, and 27,969 in secondary grammar schools. The remaining 29,985 teachers were in secondary technical schools, practical instruction centres, establishments for further education, direct-grant grammar schools, and other schools.[6]

The salaries of teachers in primary and secondary schools are fixed by agreement between representatives of the local education authorities and representatives of the teachers. They are far below those of doctors, dentists, architects, lawyers, or professional engineers. Indeed, they are below the incomes earned by many skilled manual workers. As against this, the teacher has longer holidays (twelve weeks a year), shorter hours, a good pension scheme (which at the moment is suffering from difficulties due to the rising cost of living), the prospect of promotion to a headship, the inspectorate, or to a post in a training college, and almost complete security of tenure. In selection, promotion, and in his actual work, the English teacher enjoys an enviable freedom.

There are few complaints about the control exercised by the inspectorate (national or local), and some progressive local education authorities have recently increased the freedom of their teachers to run their own jobs. By and large the English teacher is free from many of the informal restraints that hamper the teacher in other countries. He is employed generally by a large educational authority, and there is very little prospect that he would be dismissed for any non-educational reasons except the gravest moral turpitude.

On the other side of the picture there are the bad buildings and over-large classes which are the heritage of the days when "the atmosphere of the poor law and the trail of cheapness lay across the elementary schools".

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[5] All figures, unless otherwise stated, are taken from *Education in 1951*: being the Report of the Ministry of Education and the Statistics of Public Education for England and Wales (Cmd. 8554).

[6] Of the 134,003 teachers in the primary schools:
38,067 were men, of whom 2,354 were graduates,
95,936 were women, of whom 1,956 were graduates.
Of the 45,112 teachers in the secondary modern schools:
25,210 were men, of whom 4,005 were graduates,
19,902 were women, of whom 2,566 were graduates.
Of the 27,969 teachers in the secondary grammar schools:
15,152 were men, of whom 12,666 were graduates,
12,817 were women, of whom 9,612 were graduates.
Thus women are in the majority in the profession, but tend to be less highly trained and therefore to concentrate in the primary schools.

Recruits to the profession are drawn almost entirely from the secondary grammar schools. For those entering a training college, the minimum requirement is five passes in the General Certificate of Education, and if accepted for training the student pays little or nothing towards his education or upkeep. Would-be graduate students must enter universities in the usual fashion and do not receive any special aid until they graduate (they, of course, can and usually do receive 'un-earmarked' grants to cover their education and upkeep). After graduating they receive a special grant for their post-graduate year in the education department of their university.[7]

In general, the profession is recruited from the upper working class and the lower middle class. The profession attracts many educated girls as a short-time job before marrying—in fact, it is one of the few careers open to girls of secondary grammar education or to women arts graduates. Many who take the opportunity of a higher education drift into teaching.

Once the decision to take a training college course rather than a four-year course has been made (whether by the individual or by his examination board), the entrant has decided his (more usually her) place in a still rigidly stratified profession. A non-graduate teacher is restricted to the primary or secondary modern school, although inside these schools the non-graduate can be promoted to a headship, and the lack of the university degree is no great handicap for promotion to the inspectorate.

So far we have dealt with factors in the recruitment, training, and employment of teachers which affect the status of the profession. Of equal importance is the tremendous power wielded by the teachers' associations in the formulation of educational policy. Almost all teachers belong to an association,[8] and these associations (in particular the National Union of Teachers or N.U.T.) are by now in a position to exercise a good deal of influence over educational legislation and administration. Nineteen members of the

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[7] In the last year for which we have full figures (1950–51), 4,080 men and 8,526 women completed courses of training. Of the men, 1,747 were post-graduate students or equivalents, and 2,333 were two-year training college students. Of the women, 1,132 were post-graduate students, and 7,394 were from training colleges or were domestic science or physical education students.

[8] At the moment the National Union of Teachers (drawing its strength from primary and secondary modern schools but also concerned with other types of school) has 200,000 members, and the four associations of the secondary teachers (who in the main work in harmony with each other and the N.U.T.) have 25,000 members.

There are two 'breakaway' organisations: the National Association of Schoolmasters (about 15,000 members) and the National Union of Women Teachers (about 4,000 members), but these play little part in educational matters.

N.U.T. sit in the House of Commons, and a large number of teachers are members of local education authorities.[9]

This position has not, however, been reached easily. For the importance of the teacher in educational policy, and for many of the factors determining his status, we must look to the history of the profession.

As a first step we can divide the history of the elementary teaching profession into four periods. Until 1846 there was a period of chaos, when the general stereotype of the teacher was that of a person inefficient, illiterate, and good for nothing else. From 1846 to 1862, with government intervention, there was a sharp rise in the status of the teacher. This sharp rise came up against an educational reaction which generated the stereotype of the teacher as over-educated and conceited and led to a deliberate lowering of the teacher's status. From 1862 to about 1920 the teachers' associations struggled for the improvement of the teacher's status. This struggle led to a stereotype of the teachers being politically unscrupulous in the pursuit of their professional ends. Added to this, from 1895 onwards the desire to better the schools led to a belief that the existing teachers were under-educated and uncultured. By 1920 the elementary teachers had succeeded in gaining their main ends and in securing the objective basis for an increase in status. From then to the present day the stereotype we have discussed at the beginning of the article has been gradually building up.

The secondary teachers have had three 'status periods'. Until 1902 their profession was, in the main, in its original chaotic state. From 1902 until about 1911 their status increased sharply, both absolutely and in relation to that of the elementary teachers. The growing unification of elementary and secondary education which culminated in the Education Act of 1944 has brought the two sides of the profession together and led to a relative (although perhaps not an absolute) decrease in the status of the secondary grammar school teacher.

Foundation of the Elementary Teaching Profession

In spite of abortive attempts by charitable persons to found an educational system in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, no organised provision for the education of the lower orders and no organised profession of educators existed in England and Wales before the second half of the nineteenth century. The children of the poor, if they were educated at all, received their education

[9] In September 1951, 549 teachers were in local education authorities. Ninety-three members of the N.U.T. and 59 non-members were directly elected to councils. Eighty-two members of the N.U.T. and 61 non-members were co-opted without the nomination of a teachers' organisation. Two hundred members of the N.U.T. and 54 non-members were co-opted on the nomination of a teachers' organisation.

either at their parents' knees or else at the scattered private or charity schools which catered for the children of the relatively prosperous working-class parents who were able to forgo their child's earnings and pay the small fees demanded by the teacher.

The main forces which have shaped the nature and problems of the elementary teaching profession can already be seen in these first attempts to create a system of mass education. Education for the poor had its origin as a charitable service conferred by the rich or, as some would put it, as a ransom paid to placate the forces of social revolution.

Unlike the medical and legal professions, there was no slow 'spread-down' of the services of skilled professionals. Since middle-class education was in only slightly better state than education for the poor, there were in fact no skilled professional teachers in existence. The new profession of 'teacher of the poor' was bound to be independent in origin.

Under any known method of education, the salaries of the teachers constitute the major part of current expenditure. Even after the intervention of the state, money for the education of the poor was extremely scarce, and if education was to reach many children the salary that could be offered to the teacher was of necessity low. That teachers were obtained at all was due fundamentally to the fact that there was no recognised skill or technique to be acquired, and no reliable criteria of success or failure. Such a position is not unique to the teaching profession. But in the case of the other professions which deal in intangible services (e.g. medicine, law), the profession itself has managed to lay down standards of skills to be acquired by entrants and criteria of success and failure. As a result of the small economic reward that was offered to teachers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, few recruits could be attracted from the relatively educated middle classes. Since the entrants to the profession came almost entirely from the poor or from the failures of the middle class, it was not possible for them, unaided, to afford the lengthy period of education and training which was necessary to make up their deficiencies. The early attempts to extend education to the poor came up against this problem. The charity school movement of the eighteenth century was forced to take untrained and semi-literate teachers. The monitorial system of the first three decades of the nineteenth century promised a cheap and easily applied solution by setting the older children to teach the younger. Not only did the system economise in the use of adult teachers, but the function of the adult teachers themselves was greatly simplified. All that was required of them was "an aptitude for enforcing discipline, an acquaintance with mechanical details for the preservation of order, and that sort of ascendancy in his school which a sergeant-major is required to

exercise over a batch of raw recruits before they can pass muster on parade." [10]

These attempts to perform the function of the teacher by semi-illiterate tellers of Bible stories and adult drill-masters contributed to the low opinion that was generally held of the profession. The 'stereotype' of the teacher as a man 'good for nothing else' persisted even after the new teachers commenced entering the schools from 1846 onwards. As one of the new teachers was to complain in 1860:

> A short time ago, not so far back as the days of our grandfathers, scarcely even as far as those of our fathers, the children of the poorer classes of this country derived all the education it was thought necessary to give them from men, the generality of whom were incompetent to fulfil the ordinary business of every-day life, men who, having been crippled in the wars or become physically disabled for manual labour, were promoted by the officers of the parish to the office of schoolmaster. In many cases they were like the schoolmaster of Waldbach, who was found in a little dirty room with a crowd of children around him, and who when asked what his qualifications for the office were, naïvely answered that he had been keeper of the Waldbach pigs, and was thought to be the best fitted to look after the children. That there were exceptions is certain: but, generally speaking, the amount of knowledge possessed by these elementary teachers was very small. We cannot wonder, then, that our parents, and the world at large, grew up with such peculiar opinions as to what an elementary teacher was. The poor fellow was patronised, and snubbed by the squire and his lady, and looked upon by most as at best a genteel pauper. Perhaps the poor pedagogue did not feel the degradation of his position. Let us hope he did not. Things have changed now in respect to the position of the teacher. Half a century of gradual improvement—the last fifteen years of which have shown a greater advance than all that went before —has given a different standing to the pedagogue; but how slow is the change in public opinion. The opinions and habits of thought of many have never altered; they think as lightly of the modern teacher as of the one they knew in their youthful days. They think him a man to be patronised and snubbed like the one of old; and if he resents such treatment their surprise is unbounded.[11]

By the 1830's it was obvious that the monitorial system had failed. It was not that the monitors were incapable of performing the task for which they had been recruited. The purpose of the monitorial system was to teach the three R's, and it was believed that morality would emerge as a by-product. The new emphasis (in large part due to the social discontent of the time) was on the direct moral elevation of the masses, and for this purpose the contact of adult moral minds was necessary.

Given the necessity for extending education to the poor, it became plain that the main requisite was a supply of efficient,

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[10] *Educational Expositor,* March 1853.

[11] *The Educational Guardian,* January 1861: "The Teacher's Duties in the Present State of Education", by T. Ward.

trained, religious, and humble teachers. In the reports of the voluntary educational societies, the Parliamentary Select Committees, and the Committee of Council, there appears statement after statement that education was being crippled because salaries were too low to obtain properly qualified masters. The Reverend Derwent Coleridge was to describe the ferment of that time as follows:

> Somewhat more than twenty years ago—it was felt by all the more zealous, and shall we not admit, by all the wiser friends of popular education, that to elevate the social position—the 'status' as it was called—of the men through whose instrumentality the social regeneration of the largest class of the community was to be effected, was the one thing needful. It was seen that the day had come that the same process by which a few ages before the clergy themselves had been rescued from a like degradation must be repeated in the case of their humble coadjutors. The same process. The men must be fitted for a better position, and a better position must be found for the men. They must be better educated and better paid.[12]

The religious societies themselves were powerless to better the situation, for their resources were strained to the utmost in constructing schools and training teachers. Influenced in large part by Kay-Shuttleworth's experiment at Battersea, they made a series of attempts to secure more efficient teachers through the founding of training colleges, but these attempts had been only partially successful. It was difficult to secure entrants with more than the scantiest education, and the schools could not afford to institute a pupil-teacher system which might close the gap between the age at which poor children left school and the age at which it was possible for them to enter the training colleges. Moreover, even if suitable entrants were obtained and trained, the training was often used as a stepping-stone to more lucrative employment. For while the teacher was grossly under-paid and schools were grossly understaffed, no sense of vocation would keep the teacher at his work. Until conditions inside the schools were improved, improved training would only mean that "our normal institutions may turn out nurseries for railway clerks".[13] Again, while all schools were woefully short of funds, the cheapest teachers were sought, and trained masters were sometimes regarded as expensive luxuries beyond the reach of the average schools.

This complex of problems, which stultified educational growth and the organisation of the teaching profession, was finally solved by government action. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth (Secretary of the Committee of Privy Council from 1839 to 1849) had been the foremost of those who had realised the true nature of the 'educa-

[12] Derwent Coleridge, *The Teachers of the People*, 1862, pp. 21–5.
[13] *Quarterly Review*, September 1846, pp. 420–21.

tional difficulty'. It was obvious that only government intervention and assistance could solve the educational problem, and under the conditions of the time this assistance would be acceptable only if it left the authority of the existing religious bodies virtually supreme. His method of reconciling these difficulties consisted in promoting a pupil-teacher system (1846), which was intended to serve the double purpose of improving the instruction given in the elementary schools, and of providing for the training colleges a succession of capable pupils whose fees and expenses would be paid from government funds.

It was under this system, modified in detail on several occasions, that the majority of entrants to the profession were recruited until the first decade of the twentieth century.

After 1846, the standard of professional ability, the 'licence to teach' (or rather the licence to secure public money towards one's salary) was the possession of a government certificate awarded on the results of an examination supervised by government inspectors. While the government did not directly employ the teachers, and refused to treat them as civil servants, it effectively controlled the means of entrance and the standard of entrance to the profession. Not only was the certificate a licence to teach—it also gave to the teacher the right to have apprentices bound to him (for which he was paid), and an augmentation of salary of from £10 to £30 a year.

Under the regulations of 1846, the elementary school world was meant to constitute a closed system. The most intelligent and worthy pupils in the elementary schools were to be apprenticed as 'pupil-teachers' at the age of 13. They were to assist in the school for five years, and were to receive in return an annual stipend of from £10 to £20, and one and a half hours of advanced instruction a day from the master. The master had to be approved by the H.M.I. (Her Majesty's Inspector) as a suitable person to be in charge of pupil-teachers, and was to receive a special grant for training them. Each year the pupil-teachers were to be examined by an H.M.I. on a set syllabus, and were also required to present certificates of good conduct from the managers of the school, and of punctuality, diligence, obedience, and attention from the master or mistress.

At the end of five satisfactory years of service the pupil-teachers were to enter for a competitive examination for a 'Queen's Scholarship' to a training college. Those successful were to stay at the college for two years. After leaving college the certificated teacher (providing he taught in a school under government inspection), would receive an augmentation grant, and finally there was a provision for retiring pensions to teachers with long and efficient service. "To a precarious and frequently make-shift occupation he [Kay-Shuttleworth] brought the stability and prestige of Govern-

ment support, to an easily entered and indifferently practised calling he brought rigid selection by examination and inspection."

The New Profession

The system was an immediate educational success. By 1860 there were 6,433 certificated teachers and 13,237 pupil-teachers in the schools of England and Wales. In spite of the slowness of the change in the popular stereotype, the status of the certificated teacher was obviously improving. The latter was not as amenable to the orders of his superiors as the old teachers had been. In spite of their rise from the 'respectable working class' to the lower middle class, the new teachers showed signs of being discontented with their status and their conditions of work.

An examination of the various educational periodicals of the period,[14] and of the activities of the various teachers' associations,[15] reveals a series of frictions arising out of the nature of the teacher's life and work and his relations with his 'employers' and the state. By far the most important in the teacher's mind was his demand for a higher 'social position'. From 1853 onwards, article after article deals with the social position of the schoolmaster—what it was and what it should be.[16]

The complaint usually followed the line that the teacher's training and qualifications led him to deserve a higher social position in society than he occupied at the time. There was a feeling that the teacher should be ranked with the other learned professions, not merely on his own account but because it was necessary for the interests of elementary education. Raising the schoolmaster's position was to be accomplished by giving him better remuneration and by treating him in all respects as a professional person. Another aspect of the teacher's 'status anxiety' was his complaint of his

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[14] *The English Journal of Education*, 1843–64; *Papers for the Schoolmaster*, 1851–71; *The Educational Expositor*, 1853–5; *The School and the Teacher*, 1854–61; *The Educational Guardian*, 1859–63; *The Pupil Teacher*, 1857–63; *The Literarium*, 1854–7; *The National Society's Monthly Paper*, 1847 ff.; *The Educational Record of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1848 ff.; *The Quarterly Educational Magazine and Record of the Home and Colonial Society*, 1848–9; *The Educational Paper*, 1859–63; *The Educator*, 1851–4.

[15] There were numerous district associations (the most important being the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association", founded in 1838) and two 'National' associations both founded in 1853, the "Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters" and the "United Association of Schoolmasters".

[16] There is an enormous literature on this subject. For a typical example, see *The Educational Expositor*, March 1853, "On the Social Condition of the Schoolmaster" and the resultant discussion in *Papers for the Schoolmaster*, April 1853; *Educational Expositor*, June, July, September, 1853.

'social isolation'. He considered himself superior to the mass of 'honest hard-working clowns' among whom he laboured, and yet he was not accepted as an equal by the independent professionals and the middle classes.

Opinions as to how the teachers themselves could help to raise their own status and cure their social isolation varies from belief in agitation to "patient perseverance in well-doing". Many teachers believed that "next to incompetence and shortcomings, nothing can more surely retard the elevation of the craft than querulous impatience for it", but others were not so patient.

There were many outside the profession, particularly among the clergy, with whom the teachers tended to compare themselves, who did not believe that the teacher could ever reach the status of the learned professions for, "however much I may esteem them as friends and fellow labourers, till they are taken from the same rank of society and have undergone the intellectual training and the social discipline which it is absolutely necessary the doctor, the lawyer, and the clergyman should undergo, I must confess myself to be one of those interested and prejudiced persons who cannot accede to the national schoolmaster a rank on the level with the learned professions." [17]

The other complaints of the teachers were in the main associated with their desire for a higher social position. They complained of their low salaries (although in truth their salaries had risen steadily since 1846), and of the lack of possibilities of promotion. They demanded the opening of the inspectorate to teachers as a means of raising the status of the whole profession, but this demand was refused because elementary teachers were not "fitted by previous training and social position to communicate and associate upon terms of equality with the managers of schools and the clergy of different denominations".[18]

They complained of the government's refusal to carry out its pledge to grant teachers a pension, of the compulsory extraneous duties demanded by many employers, and of their insecurity of tenure.[19]

These complaints were to be expected, and were an inevitable and healthy reaction of a new and growing profession. The increasing independence of the teacher was shown by the publication of

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[17] The Rev. William Rogers, in the *Educational Expositor*, June 1853.

[18] Report of the Newcastle Commission, *B.P.P.*, 1861, XXI, Pt. I, p. 160.

[19] Although the *Minutes* of 1846 had contained promises of pensions for teachers, the language of the *Minutes* was ambiguous, and after Kay-Shuttleworth's resignation in 1849 the Committee of Council refused to grant pensions. It was not until 1875 that the claims of teachers to pensions under the terms of the 1846 *Minutes* were admitted. A general pension scheme was not sanctioned by Parliament until 1898.

teachers' periodicals and the founding of local and national associations. In the main, the friends of popular education encouraged this growing independence, although many of them felt called upon to warn the teachers against excessive clamour. It is difficult to say how deep was this feeling, for only a small minority of teachers were members of the national associations,[20] and while the latter were active in campaigning for teachers' rights, they took great care to reassure the authorities that they were not trade unions bent on subverting the social order, and that the motives of teachers were higher than 'mere self-advancement'. Their attempts [21] to reassure the authorities were, however, in vain, and the growing independence of the teachers was used as a critical argument to destroy the 1846 system.

Educational Reaction and the Teacher's Status

From the inauguration of the 1846 system a barrage of objections had been directed against it by various interested parties. There were constant complaints from the dissenters that the church was being favoured at their expense, and from some Liberals that a teacher-army was being called into existence which would either control the government or else act as the tool of an unscrupulous government. There were attacks on the 1846 system by those who saw it as hindering the development of a full, compulsory, and non-sectarian system. But the bitterest and most persistent complaints came from those middle-class parents who said that they were forced to pay for the education of the poor while the government did nothing for middle-class education. There were constant complaints that working-class children were receiving a better education than middle-class children, and were using that education to compete with middle-class children in the job market. More directly, there were complaints at the growing 'burden' of the government grant for education.[22]

Accompanying these direct attacks on popular education was an even more bitter attack on the educator of the poor. The main attack was on the so-called 'over-education' of the teacher. This over-education was said to make the teacher conceited and ambitious, to lead him (or her) to ape his betters in dress, and to press

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[20] The number of teachers who were members of the national associations in 1860 was about 800. The "Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters" had about 660 members in that year, and the "United Association of Schoolmasters" about 150. In that year there were about 6,500 certificated teachers in England and Wales.

[21] See details of the First Annual Meeting of the Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters in *The School and the Teacher*, January–May, 1854.

[22] Which had risen between 1851 and 1859 from £150,000 to £836,920.

for a higher social position. This discontent with his position led him to move constantly from school to school and finally to desert the profession and compete with the children of the middle classes in the new white-collar occupations. Once again these actions were made more difficult to bear because the teacher was said to owe his education, training, and position to the charity of the middle classes.

The 'over-education' of the teacher led to two other evil results. In the first place, it led him to neglect the groundwork of education and the less intelligent children in his school. This, it was said, was the reason why many children left school unable to read or write. In the second place, the teacher was led to over-educate his more intelligent pupils and make them unfit for their position.[23]

It is true that the self-assertive attitude of many of the younger teachers fresh from colleges was in some measure responsible for the widespread hostility toward the profession as a whole. It is also true that one hears many criticisms of teachers for devoting too much attention to their older and brighter scholars and neglecting the younger and backward. But as Frank Smith has put it, "the problem before the head teacher was whether to give his energy to the older children who stayed on till they reached the top class, and showed a satisfactory return for his labour, or to this migratory and unteachable group at the lower end of the school".

By 1858 the discontent of the middle and upper classes with the educational system had reached such a pitch that the government appointed a Royal Commission "to inquire into the present state of popular education". The commissioners in turn appointed ten assistant commissioners, who were each sent to a specimen district to gather facts bearing, *inter alia*, on the over-education, conceit, and neglect of duty of the teachers.

The Report of this 'Newcastle Commission' was published in 1861. The evidence of the assistant commissioners tended to show that the 'over-education', 'dissatisfaction', and 'conceit' of the certificated teacher had been much exaggerated. The commissioners were sufficiently impressed by this to dismiss these charges as groundless, though in other places their report seems to have been prepared with disregard to the evidence before them. For example, on the basis of evidence that was later shown to rest on an arithmetical error,[24] they concluded that a large proportion of the

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[23] This summary is based on extensive readings in the periodical and pamphlet literature of the time. For examples of this criticism see Rev. Richard Burgess—*National Schools and National School Teachers* (London, 1848); *Quarterly Educational Magazine*, October 1848; Rev. J. C. Wigram, *Present Aspects of Popular Education* (London, 1849); *English Churchmen*, September 28th, 1854: Correspondence.

[24] The commissioners based a great deal of their argument on a Report by H.M.I. Norris (*Minutes*, 1859–60, pp. 103–13, quoted in *Report of Newcastle Commission*, pp. 244–5), that in his district only 25 per cent.

children in the schools were not being satisfactorily taught and attributed this to "the difficulty which superior teachers found in heartily devoting themselves to the drudgery of elementary teaching". They proposed a system of 'payment by results' (against the advice of most of their witnesses), to force the teachers to attend to their younger and less able pupils.

The Press and the periodicals made even more biased selections from the biased selections in the report. The kind of impression which the literate public gained from all this was that "we were over-teaching our masters and under-teaching our children",[25] that "the Privy Council have been long manufacturing razors for the purpose of cutting blocks, and in future the instrument must be better adapted for its purpose".[26]

A torrent of abuse was launched at the luckless teachers, who held meetings, wrote letters, and signed petitions defending the educational system and their own reputations. This feeble show of resistance still further infuriated the opponents of education. It was in this atmosphere of dislike and distrust of the teacher and education and of religious tensions between Nonconformists and Anglicans that Robert Lowe (then Vice-President of the Council) conceived his "Revised Code" in 1861.

This Code abolished augmentation grants and pensions for schoolmasters. A capitation grant was to be paid to the managers on a system of 'payment by results' in reading, writing, and arithmetic. For purposes of examination, the children were to be grouped by age, and no grant was to be given for children above the age of 11 years. The training college course was to be ruthlessly cut down as well as the number of pupil-teachers and the amount of instruction they were to receive. Thus the direct connection between teachers or pupil-teachers and the state was cut and they were thrown on the mercy of school managers.

From August 1861 until May 1862 a violent battle was waged in Parliament and in the country at large on the Revised Code. An overwhelming flood of pamphlets, letters, memorials, petitions, and

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of the children were receiving an adequate elementary education. This much-quoted statement (repeated four times by the commissioners and innumerable times in the controversy around their report) was the fundamental argument on which the opponents of the 1846 system rested their case, and is still to be found in educational histories. The whole basis for Norris's calculation was, however, shown by the Rev. T. R. Birks, M.A., to rest on a mathematical error (in *The Great Fact*, etc., London, 1862). Norris admitted his error (see *B.P.P.*, 1862, XLIII, pp. 161–7, and *Hansard*, March 20th, 1862, § 1862, speech of Earl Granville), and attempted to undo the damage he had done. The tide of hostility towards the 1846 system was, however, too strong to be much influenced by facts.

[25] *The Economist*, September 21st, 1861.

[26] *Quarterly Review*, No. 220, p. 506, 1861.

resolutions condemned the proposed changes either as a whole or in part. It was shown that the Revised Code was based on a wrong view of the state of education, that it neglected the real problems facing the educational system, and that it was a gross breach of faith with the teachers, managers, and educational societies. It was pointed out that all the existing certificated teachers had been tempted into the profession by promises of augmentation grants and pensions. Almost every petition condemned these breaches of faith, and the condemnation was supported even by many who agreed with the main principles of the Revised Code.

All opposition was, however, in vain. While, under pressure, the Revised Code was altered in minor respects, its main principles became operative in 1862.

A great deal has been made of the Newcastle Commission in this article because it had such a tremendous effect on the future of the teaching profession. Until 1861 the path of professional improvement, of increase in status and self-respect, had moved steadily upwards. The signs of 'dissatisfaction' must be regarded as healthy symbols of growing professional spirit. But in the years between 1858 and 1862 the growing feeling of discontent inside the ranks of the Nonconformists and middle classes, using as its excuse a real (although exaggerated) weakness in the educational system, succeeded in forcing the elementary teaching profession into a new path. The Revised Code lowered the status of the teacher, gave the profession a grievance which was to shape its ideology for the next fifty years, and reduced the whole level of instruction both of the teacher and of the children he taught. The teachers were now at the mercy of the managers and of the new inspectors, who had power to break their careers without their having any rights of appeal whatsoever. In sheer self-defence the elementary teachers were forced to organise, and in 1870 (by which time the first paralysing effects of the Revised Code had worn off) they formed the "National Union of Elementary Teachers".[27]

The Struggle for Status

The N.U.E.T. was conceived in protest and grew in an atmosphere of conflict. From its foundation it had the double function of advancing the interests of teachers and of reforming and improving the educational system. To achieve these aims it had to fight government departments and public authorities. Now, teachers in England have never been civil servants, and this has given them the advantage of being free to use political pressure in Parliament or in the municipalities.

In its early years, the union strove to achieve three major

[27] Now the National Union of Teachers or N.U.T.

objectives: control of entry into the profession, making it possible for elementary teachers to be promoted to the inspectorate, and obtaining a comprehensive scheme of pensions. It had little success in its first aim: by the end of the century nearly half the teachers were uncertificated. With regard to the second, it was more successful: in 1893 a handful of ex-elementary teachers were admitted to the inspectorate, and after 1880 the authorities also promised that no teacher's certificate would be cancelled or suspended without full inquiry and without allowing the teacher concerned to meet the charges made against him. Lastly, in 1898, a scheme of pensions was introduced. Another major triumph, largely due to the union, was the abolition of the 'payments by results' system which had done much to lower the status of the profession and to debase its outlook.

The methods used by the N.U.T. to achieve these ends are partly but not wholly to be explained by the nature of the relations between the state, the employers, and the teachers. But we should also note the disinclination to use trade-union methods and the desire of teachers to distinguish their position from that of manual workers.

What it did, in fact, was to send deputations and memorials to public and government departments and to 'lobby' in Parliament. By 1890 it was freely recognised that no major measure of educational policy could be passed against the opposition of the N.U.T.

Teachers were elected to school boards in 1870 and, when this was forbidden in 1875, ex-teachers and union officials were elected to them. Besides this, the union used ruthless and efficient legal action to increase the freedom of teachers where this was threatened; it did its utmost to prevent employers from getting anyone to replace a wrongfully dismissed teacher; and it was even ready to interfere as an organised body in school-board elections.

During these years (1870–95), important changes were taking place in the methods of educating and training pupil-teachers. Central classes were set up for collective instruction by specially selected teachers, the system spread to all main towns, and more and more were the young boys and girls looked upon as pupils rather than teachers. Many began to look forward to the day when a reorganised secondary system would be integrated with the training colleges, and when elementary teachers would be recruited freely from the middle classes. In 1890 an important step was taken when provincial universities established 'day training colleges': evidence that universities were awakening to the needs of the teaching profession.

The attitude of the teachers themselves to these changes was almost uniformly favourable. A few teachers disliked losing the instruction of their pupil-teachers, and felt that the higher academic standard of the pupil-teachers from the centres was no substitute

for the practical knowledge gained through early teaching experience. Majority opinion, however, was favourable to any change which would raise educational standards and hence the status of the profession.

The affiliation of training colleges to the universities, and the alteration of the course of study so as to lead to a university degree, had long been among the ideals of the N.U.T. It was felt that these changes would raise the teachers' status and efficiency and aid in breaking the stranglehold of the government on the profession.

Combined with these motives was a longing for 'culture'. James Blacker, in his Presidential Address to the N.U.T. Annual Conference in 1901, represented the feelings of the profession when he said: "The organised thousands of the National Union of Teachers have aspirations toward that high intellectual plane which has come to be embodied in one word: 'culture'." [28]

The elementary teachers were bitterly aware that in spite of their certificates and long and arduous training they still had not been received into the ranks of the 'cultured' middle classes. In the stereotype of the teacher as we find it at the turn of the century, certain elements are familiar, for example "that the teacher owed his position to the charity of others", "that the teacher's work required no special abilities, that his hours of work were short, and his holidays were long", "that the teachers as public servants had no right to any opinions of their own on educational politics". There were, however, two rather important elements that had been generated in the period between 1870 and 1895.

The first was that, owing to the low social class from which the teachers were recruited, they were necessarily uncultured and narrow. One quotation must serve to make this point:

> The elementary school teacher is not likely to be a person of superior type. He is, in truth, a small middle-class person—with all the usual intellectual restrictions of his class. He is, in other words, unintellectual, knowing hardly anything well, parochial in sympathies, vulgar in the accent and style of his talking, with a low standard of manners. He is withal extremely respectable, correct morally, with a high sense of duty, as he understands it, and competent in the technique of his calling—What we want is educated ladies and gentlemen as teachers.[29]

There was enough truth in statements of this kind to make teachers squirm mentally, and enough falsehood and misrepresentation to make us wary of accepting them as completely accurate versions of the state of the teaching profession. Among the

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[28] National Union of Teachers' Annual Report, 1901, p. xl.

[29] Harold Hodge, "The Teacher Problem", *Fortnightly Review*, May 1899.

elementary teachers of this period were men like Sir James Yoxall, Sir Ernest Gray, T. J. Macnamara, James Runciman, Mrs. Burgwin, G. A. Christian, F. H. Spencer, and countless others. Looking back on that generation we can now see that there was no need for any teacher to be ashamed of his profession.

The second element in the stereotype of the teacher was an attack on the N.U.T. Here accusation and rebuttal can be given in one apt quotation by an anonymous writer.

> Some observers resent its [i.e. the N.U.T.'s] activities, dub it a trade union, and charge it with narrowness and party spirit. But, whatever may be the dangers of the situation, there is no doubt that the position which the Union now enjoys has been earned by unceasing effort and devoted labour. To it, and almost to it alone, the country owes the destruction of vicious theories about state interference with the work of the elementary schools which were rampant twenty years ago, and are still cherished in a sneaking kind of way by many people who ought to know better. But victories of this kind are not bought for nothing. Fighters have not the virtues of students, and are apt, indeed, to lose perceptions which are necessary to the most far-seeing statesmanship. "Every country," says the proverb, "has the foe it deserves," and when a critic dwells on the failings of the N.U.T. it is well to remind him of the kind of policy against which the Union had so long to protest.[30]

The ideology of the elementary teachers in the late decades of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century is the most important clue to their reactions to educational and social change. The factors of 'social isolation' and 'status anxiety', which we have noted in the 1850's, were still present. Added to this was the contribution of the Revised Code—the feeling that in the past the teaching profession had been 'betrayed'. The identification with working-class education had led to a working partnership between the N.U.T. and the working-class movement, although the individual teacher tended to keep himself aloof from the working class.

Much of the bitterness and frustration which existed in the profession at this period was due to the teacher's feeling that in his rise from the working class he had come up against 'caste' lines, that he could rise 'so far and no farther'. Much more was due to the very real frustration which teachers experienced in their work, which was a product of the gap between what their training and conscience told them 'could be' and the actual state of the schools.

It is in these terms that we can understand much of the confused skirmishing which preceded the passing of the Education Act of 1902, and the kind of pressures which led to the expulsion of Sir Robert Morant from his office of Permanent Secretary of the Education Department in 1911 (see page 165).

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[30] *The Citizen*, March 1897: "Movements in English Education".

The Secondary School Teacher

So far in this article we have concentrated our discussion on the 'elementary' school teacher. The profession of 'secondary' school teacher did not fully emerge until after the 1902 Act, although the previous history of teachers in secondary schools is of importance in sketching the various forces that have influenced the changing status of the teacher.

As early as 1846 the teachers in private middle-class schools had formed "The Royal College of Preceptors",[31] the leading idea behind the formation of the College being to constitute a diploma-granting authority with eventual monopoly of teaching in middle-class schools.

Throughout the period from 1846 onwards the relationship between the middle-class secondary teachers and the elementary teachers was a watchful and hostile one. In 1858 a suggestion that certificated teachers should be admitted to the Royal College of Preceptors was turned down because "the status of the certificated master is far beneath that of the independent middle-class educators".[32]

The two sides of the profession came together from 1862 to 1867 in the first serious campaign for scholastic registration.[33]

The coalition, however, was an uneasy one, for the two sides wanted different things from scholastic registration. In general, the secondary teachers wanted it in order to found a Certificate of Competence and through it a profession, while the elementary teachers wanted it in order to safeguard their certificates and free themselves from government control. The elementary teachers also hoped to raise their status by associating themselves with the higher-status middle-class teachers. The secondary teachers were always willing to break the alliance if they thought they could obtain from Parliament a separate bill from which elementary teachers were excluded; but the N.U.T. was soon strong enough to block any measure which "set up a line of separation between the certificated teachers and all other parts of the scholastic profession". The state, meantime, showed no signs of being willing

[31] The Association was formed "by a number of the principals of schools, who felt that the position of the private teachers was endangered by the rapid improvements which were being made in the training and education of the masters of schools of a lower grade, supported, in part at least, by the state (*Museum*, April 1861).

[32] For this incident see *The Literarium*, August–November, 1857; *The School and the Teacher*, February–March, 1858.

[33] The part the elementary teachers played in this campaign has tended to be ignored. See *Educational Guardian*, January–March, 1863; *English Journal of Education*, 1863; *Papers for the Schoolmaster*, May 1863, December 1867; *Museum*, November 1864, October 1868; *The Academia*, January 8th, April 11th, 1869.

to relinquish any measure of its control over the elementary teaching profession.[34]

The second object of the College of Preceptors was the establishment of an institution for the training of secondary school teachers. Here again the College was unsuccessful, and until the twentieth century only a handful of secondary teachers were actually trained.

During the period in which the N.U.T. was growing in influence and numbers, the secondary teachers set up various organisations to represent their interests. Unlike the elementary teachers with their one comprehensive union, the secondary teachers were organised in separate associations of head masters, head mistresses, assistant masters, and assistant mistresses.[35]

The secondary teachers (and in particular the assistant masters), like the elementary teachers, devoted a great deal of their attention to matters like security of tenure, pensions, salaries, and extraneous duties. But again, like the elementary teachers, they were very much concerned with educational matters. This meant that they were increasingly drawn into the clash of educational, political, and religious forces which from 1888 to 1902 prevented the passing of any effective legislation.

There is no doubt that, in spite of their lack of training, the status of the secondary school teachers was higher than that of the elementary teachers. They were recruited from a higher class in society (they had often 'come down' in the world), and they were assumed to possess the elements of 'culture'. There was a persistent hostility between the secondary teachers and the elementary teachers which still affects relations between the two sides of the profession to the present day. Each side had a stereotyped view of the other—the elementary teacher was thought of as 'uncultured', a drill-master using tyrannical methods to enforce learning, while the elementary teacher thought of the secondary teacher as a 'snob' who was incapable of teaching his limited store of knowledge.

These stereotypes may have had some justification in the past, but have long since ceased to have any basis in reality.

The 1902 Act and Sir Robert Morant

From 1880 onwards, with the gradual lifting of the revised code, there was a tendency for children to stay longer at school: by 1895 there were in elementary schools more than a quarter of a million over the age of 13. In some districts, they were gathered in separate schools and were receiving an education

[34] For the story of the secondary teachers see Beatrice Webb—Special Supplement on "English Teachers and their Professional Organisation", *New Statesman*, Vol. V, No. 129, September 25th, 1915, pp. 11–18, and also October 2nd, 1915, pp. 14–24.

[35] There were strong sectional antagonisms among the elementary teachers, but these sectional antagonisms tended to be limited to caucuses and pressure-group manœuvring inside the N.U.T.

superior to that of the local secondary school. The system, in fact, was breaking its bounds. This aroused anxiety among those who feared the competition of working-class children with their own and, a more worthy objection, many felt that the so-called 'higher-grade schools' and 'pupil-teacher centres' were cramming their pupils for examinations without caring for their health or general education. It was urged that an integrated system of secondary education, staffed by cultured secondary teachers, would serve the nation better.

It was against this background that the Education Act of 1902 was passed, amidst unprecedented religious bitterness. It said little about a basic social issue: the demarcation between the elementary and the secondary school,[36] which necessarily involved the related issue of 'one profession or two'. On this matter, the direction of movement was laid down not by Parliament but by officials of the Board of Education. And between 1902 and 1911 this meant, in fact, by Sir Robert Morant, then Permanent Secretary. During these years it can truly be said that his will almost alone was effective in British education. His personality and influence were such that even forty years after his resignation it is difficult to see his actions clearly and without prejudice. There has recently been a tendency among writers on education to blame Morant for many of the weaknesses of English education, and in particular for the neglect of technical education. This does not seem to be a valuable criticism: a more fruitful approach is to see Morant's actions as stemming from a deeply rooted belief in 'education for leadership', a view he held in common with the secondary teachers, the Conservative Party, and the majority of educationists of his time.

Running throughout the educational policy of the Board (and of the majority of the local education authorities) was one primary conception. This was that the main task of the educational system was to select an 'aristocracy of brains' wherever they might be found and ensure them the best education it was possible to give. This best education was primarily the type of education given in the older public schools and universities. This conception was in no way a 'caste' conception. The fact that it involved a comparative neglect of elementary and technical education was primarily due to the shortage of money for education. As it seemed necessary to

[36] The 'elementary school interests' can be said to have included the N.U.T., the School Boards, and much of the Liberal Party. The 'secondary school interests' can be said to have included the secondary teachers' associations, the county councils, and the Conservative Party. On all this, B. Webb, *ibid.*, September 25th, 1915, pp. 18–22, is the most reliable source. It is important to realise that the conflict between the two 'interests' reflected the conflict between 'education for leadership' and 'secondary education for all', which is so important in twentieth-century educational thought. This conflict in turn rests upon a dispute on the meaning of 'equality' in a democratic society.

concentrate on one thing at a time, it was thought that the most pressing needs were to raise the standards of secondary education, to raise the standards of training of teachers for elementary schools, and to provide as lavish a scholarship scheme as possible to enable working-class children to proceed to secondary schools. This conception of education was essentially hierarchical. A clear distinction was to be made between elementary education (for the majority of the population), and secondary education (for the *élite*). The only points of contact between the two types of education were that a number of elementary school children were to be selected at the earliest possible age for transfer to the secondary schools, that elementary school teachers were to be recruited from the products of the secondary schools, and that the most successful secondary scholars would proceed to the older universities and from these would be recruited the administrators and inspectors of the whole system, as well as the teachers in the secondary schools.

While this was to be the final state of the system, in the process of building it up the administrators and inspectors would have to be recruited mainly from the existing 'products of the older universities', and this would involve the virtual exclusion of ex-elementary teachers from the inspectorate. This method of recruitment was also to hold for as many as possible of the secondary school teachers and of the inspectors of the local education authorities. Thus the elementary school teachers, who had struggled to win promotion to the inspectorate and a united profession, would find themselves once more excluded.

As this policy was put into effect, there was a growing tension between the N.U.T. and the Board of Education. The elementary teachers resented the Board's pre-occupation with secondary education, the 'freezing-out' of ex-elementary teachers from the secondary schools, the inspectorate, and the staff of training colleges, the statutory limitation of the instruction to be given in training colleges, the limitation of facilities for secondary education to a few, and the Board's support for the abortive 'two-column' register.[37]

They felt that the Board's policy was 'undemocratic' and 'caste-ridden'.[38]

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[37] On all this, see the Annual Reports of the N.U.T. and *The Schoolmaster*, 1902–11.

[38] While there were many sources of tension, it is doubtful if the conflict, when it came in 1911, would have been waged with such bitterness had it not been for the personality of Sir Robert Morant. He has been described by his biographer, B. M. Allen, as "ready to sweep aside ruthlessly . . . any particular individual that hindered . . . the achievement of his end". It is extremely probable that Morant felt the N.U.T. and its officials to be among those that hindered the achievement of his end. Only violent personal hostility can explain the bitterness with which the N.U.T. officials attacked Morant over the *Holmes Circular*.

Early in 1911, details of a confidential circular issued by the Board of Education began to appear in the newspapers. In this circular, elementary teachers were referred to as 'uncultured and imperfectly educated' and as 'creatures of routine'. Local education authorities were to be encouraged to replace the ex-elementary teachers in their inspectorate with men of the 'varsity type'. Taking advantage of a favourable political climate, the N.U.T. launched a ferocious campaign which eventually succeeded in driving Morant from office. Whether Morant was in fact mainly responsible for the issue of the *Holmes Circular* is doubtful. The circular was used by the N.U.T. as a "lance-head, a point of a spear, directed against a system which has lasted for many generations and is supported by many interests".[39]

After the downfall of Morant no education official, however exalted, could ignore the N.U.T.[40]

The 'General Improvement'

While the N.U.T. was settling its account with Sir Robert Morant, it was attempting to come to some satisfactory arrangement with the local education authorities set up under the 1902 Act. The older problems of compulsory extraneous duties and insecurity of tenure tended to become less important, while the salary question grew more and more important. Before 1902 the Union had found it almost impossible to influence salaries directly except in the case of the larger school boards. Now (stimulated in large part by a rise in the cost of living) the Union was able to launch a salaries campaign and use the strike weapon for the first time to secure its demands.[41]

By 1914 the N.U.T., in co-operation with the secondary teachers' associations, was preparing to launch a full-scale campaign to raise the salaries and status of the teachers. The 'campaign' from 1910 to 1914 had succeeded in improving teachers' salaries in 149 out of 321 districts. Apart from this direct effect it had succeeded in leading public opinion to a knowledge of the inadequate salaries received by teachers. Immediately following the outbreak of war the executive of the N.U.T. decided to suspend the national campaign on salaries. As the war progressed the salaries of other occupations rose rapidly, in step with the rising cost of living, whilst the teachers' salaries remained stationary. In 1916 the campaign was recommenced and strike action was threatened in many areas.

In their campaign for higher salaries the teachers were aided by

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[39] *The Schoolmaster*, May 27th, 1911.

[40] George Tomlinson (then Minister of Education) is reported to have said, perhaps whimsically, in 1950, "I would never dare to issue a circular without the approval of the N.U.T.". H. C. Dent, *Change in English Education*, 1952, p. 51.

[41] For example, in Herefordshire (1910).

two factors. The first was that the whole educational system was threatened with collapse due to a serious shortage of entrants to the teaching profession.[42] During the administration of Sir Robert Morant a series of administrative measures destroyed the pupil-teacher system and instituted instead the system under which teachers were recruited from the secondary (now secondary grammar) schools. While the transition was eased by the establishment of special grants or 'bursarships' to aid children staying at secondary schools till 17 or 18, the total effect of the change was to make it more difficult for working-class children to enter the profession. At the same time, the profession was still not attractive enough to bring in any sizeable body of recruits from the middle classes.

The second factor which aided the pressure of the teachers for an increase in salaries was the war-stimulated desire for educational advance and for an increase in the length of school life and a reduction in the size of classes. It was realised that any educational advance was dependent upon an increase in the supply of teachers, and this in turn depended upon "a general improvement in the prospects of the teaching profession".[43]

The pressure of the teachers for a higher status thus met with a favourable response from the government. From 1917 onwards, the government actively intervened in the 'salaries problem', and in 1919 set up the 'Burnham Committees', composed of equal numbers of representatives of the teachers' associations and the local education authorities. These were charged with the task of securing "the orderly and progressive solution of the salary problem . . . by agreement", and the agreements that were made were enforced by a series of minor teachers' strikes (sometimes with the support of the Board of Education). The effect of the recommendations of the Burnham Committees was to more than double the average salaries of the teachers, although in real terms the teachers were perhaps no better off than they had been before the war. Of greater importance in increasing the attractions of the teaching profession was Mr. Fisher's Superannuation Act of 1918, which offered the teachers a generous non-contributory scheme.

The year 1920, in effect, marks a peak year for the profession. While it had still not gained control over the means of entrance, untrained teachers were slowly disappearing. After 1913, promotion to the elementary school inspectorate was mainly from the ranks of experienced elementary school teachers. The Burnham Committees and the Superannuation Act of 1918 had given the teachers assured salaries and pensions. From the viewpoint of the profession itself, the new atmosphere created many problems: it

[42] The number of entrants to the profession had fallen from 11,018 in 1906–7, to 4,703 in 1913–14: *B.P.P.*, 1914, XXV, p. 148, and *B.P.P.*, 1914–16, XVIII, p. 59.

[43] *B.P.P.*, 1917–18, XI, p. 51.

had to accustom itself to new responsibilities of co-operation. Unfortunately, the fifteen years of economic crisis and educational economy from 1921 to 1936 made the transition more difficult than it would otherwise have been. For teachers were forced to defend their hard-won salary and pension gains against a series of attempts to curtail them by thrifty Chancellors of the Exchequer. At times it seemed as if the existence of the Burnham Committees themselves was at stake. The defence of their gains by the teachers led to some attacks on the profession which are oddly reminiscent of the atmosphere during the Revised Code controversy. Thus, the Report of the Third Committee on Public Expenditure stated:

> It must be borne in mind that 'certificated teachers' who receive the highest salaries and who form the majority of the profession, have generally spent two years in a training college largely at the expense of the public.

A statement which might be compared with that of *The Times* newspaper (April 1st, 1861):

> Certificated teachers should . . . remember that they have been raised to their present position of affluence and comfort from poverty by the expenditure of public money. The capital employed in teaching them their profession has not been their own.

On several occasions the teachers' salaries and pensions were cut, with or without their consent. The unions were also forced into some of the most bitter strikes in their history by the attempts of a few local education authorities to cut salaries further than the national minimum.

On the whole, however, the teachers succeeded in stabilising their salaries during a period of falling cost of living at a level which represented a substantial increase in their standard of living. This is the first and primary factor in the increase in status of the profession between the wars. It is certain that during the years of the depression the teachers had a higher standard of living than they had ever previously possessed. The profession as a whole was also spared the horrors of mass unemployment, although there was much unemployment among newly trained teachers.

The second factor responsible for improving the status of the profession was the change in the background of the majority of the profession, as the older teachers, who had entered the profession through pupil-teachership, were replaced by the products of the secondary schools. Although the social origins of the new entrants were similar to those of the old, the new entrants possessed more of the valued 'culture'. Under this heading must also be mentioned the increasing proportion of trained teachers and graduates in the profession. During the 'twenties and 'thirties, graduates had been forced into the elementary schools (at elementary school rates of

pay). While this had increased the status of the elementary teacher, it may have lowered the status of the graduate teacher as such.

The third factor lay in the after-effects of the success of the teachers' associations (and in particular the N.U.T.) in ridding the life of the teacher of the humiliating insecurities of tenure, extraneous duties, and confinement to the lower ranks of the educational system. Associated with this was the growing political influence of the teachers' associations in Parliament, on the local education authorities, and in the country as a whole.

The fourth and last factor to be mentioned was the increase in the status of education itself. The realisation of the importance of education, both to the nation and to the individual child (if only in helping him to secure a good position in life), meant realisation of the importance of the work of the teacher.

The last war contributed to the improved status of the teachers. Their heroic part in the mass evacuation of children captured public imagination, and a more sympathetic attitude towards the teaching profession was discernible. Indirectly, the war, like previous wars, was the cause of a wave of interest in education which in turn was to alter the status and conditions of the teacher.

The history of English education in the twentieth century can be viewed in large part as a return to the ideals of "one educational system and one profession", which we found as a slogan of the N.U.T. in the later years of the last century. The 'growing together' of elementary and secondary education which culminated in the 1944 Education Act necessarily led to a 'growing together' of the two sections of the profession.

The McNair Committee proposed an integrated system of training for graduates and non-graduates alike, and an increase in the salaries and conditions of both sections of the profession. Following the 1944 Act, 'Area Training Organisations'[44] were set up to complete the process by which control of the teacher's training was relinquished by the state and taken over by the universities.[45]

The full unification of the profession has been prevented by traditional rivalries which have little relevance in the contemporary school world. The obscuring of the boundary between elementary and secondary teachers has also led to some complaints from secondary grammar school teachers (the old 'secondary' teachers), that they have lost status in comparison with the primary school and secondary modern school teachers (the old 'elementary' teachers).

In the last few years, Britain's sombre economic position and the

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[44] See p. 136.

[45] Until 1926, the final examination of students in training was carried out entirely by H.M. Inspectors. For changes in teacher training in the twentieth century, see *Education, 1900–1950: The Report of the Ministry of Education for the year 1950*, Cmd. 8244, Chap. VII, pp. 79–92.

slowing down of educational advance have led to fears among the teachers that the existing educational system was in danger. More immediately, the 'baby boom' has led to a shortage of teachers and to demands from some quarters that the standard of entry into the profession should be lowered in order to staff the schools. The teachers' associations have been condemned for opposing this dilution and for making their opposition effective through their representatives on the Area Training Organisations. The teachers have been accused of self-seeking, but have replied that only further educational advance and improved qualifications of teachers would benefit the country in the long run.

Conclusion

It is now possible to bring together the threads of the argument on the status of teachers. The theory has been proposed that "in general those positions convey the best reward, and hence have the highest rank, which (*a*) have the greatest importance for the society and (*b*) require the greatest training or talent." [46] This theory is far too general to be of value in helping us to understand the factors affecting the status of the teaching profession. We have here to demonstrate the interrelationships of the following five determining factors:

(1) The esteem in which education is held, i.e. in hard terms, the amount of money the public (or its effective representatives) is ready to spend on education.

(2) The qualifications demanded of the teacher.

(3) The salary and general working conditions of the teacher.

(4) The amount of aid offered to recruits to the profession.

(5) The influence of the organised teachers.

An increased public interest in education leads to a demand for more and better teachers. These teachers can in general be obtained only by increasing the attractions of the profession, and the amount of aid offered to recruits. The relative emphasis accorded to increases in salaries, improved working conditions, and the amount of aid offered to recruits varies from time to time. It might be possible to obtain more and better teachers solely by increasing the attractions of the profession, without offering any new aid to recruits. In general, however, the educational authorities have relied on a combination of both policies to bring in recruits.

The status of the teacher tends to improve in so far as there is enhanced public esteem for education, higher qualifications are demanded of teachers, and salaries and working conditions are improved. Increased aid to recruits may, however, produce an

[46] K. Davis and W. E. Moore, "Some Principles of Social Stratification", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 10, April 1945, p. 243.

unfavourable reaction. The influence of the organised teachers has been used to secure that any demand for more teachers is not met by lowering the qualifications required of teachers or by increasing aid to recruits alone, but rather by improving salaries and working conditions.

In general, we can say that the improved status of the teacher from 1800 onwards can be attributed to the dual influence of an increase in the publicly acknowledged importance of education, and the influence of the organised teaching profession.

We have noticed that the 'status anxiety' and 'social isolation' of the teacher were important features of the profession in the nineteenth century. The 'social isolation' has lessened with increasing urbanisation and the growth of other 'new middle-class' occupations. The 'status anxiety' has returned in the post-war years as a common complaint of all the white-collar occupations. It has arisen from the increasing cost of living and the decreasing differential advantage of the white-collar occupations over the manual workers. In the case of the teachers it is also reinforced by fear of dilution.

If one is to hazard a prediction about the future of the teacher in England and Wales, one must take into account that, given that Britain is to solve her long-run economic problems, she will do so only by making more effective use of her human resources. This necessarily means paying increased attention to education. Any attempt at dilution of the teaching profession, even if the resistance to such policy by the organised teachers is overcome, will thus prove self-defeating and a costly failure. If this is realised, it is likely that the attractions of the teaching profession will be increased and the conditions under which the teacher works will be bettered. One cannot conclude from this, however, that his 'status' will increase in proportion. 'Status' is essentially a relative concept, and it is probable that the future will see a continuation of past trends whereby the statuses of various occupations are brought nearer to equality.

ASHER TROPP.

CHAPTER FOUR

SCOTLAND

THIS article is shared by two writers, one of whom is Principal of a training centre for teachers and also Professor of Education in the neighbouring university, and the other the General Secretary of the professional organisation of teachers known as the Educational Institute of Scotland, and thus falls appropriately into two parts. The first part, by the former, considers relevant aspects of the recruitment, education, and training of teachers, while the second and naturally longer part, by the latter, relates to terms and conditions of appointment of teachers, and to their work and their place in public life and esteem. Both parts are concerned, of course, with the professional aspirations of teachers, and it should perhaps be stated that while some effort was made to avoid serious overlapping, no attempt has been made to reconcile whatever differences of opinion the two writers may naturally hold and may have expressed.

PART ONE

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

There is presumably little doubt in Scotland, as elsewhere, that the requirements for admission to courses of training for teaching, and the nature, length, and quality of these courses as well as the stature and reputation of the institutions in which they are conducted, have a direct bearing upon questions of recruitment of teachers and upon the status and prestige of the teaching profession. It is considered both necessary and appropriate, therefore, in this part briefly to provide factual information about teacher training while taking opportunity, so far as space allows, to give some indication of what advances are contemplated, or recommended, for the future, and of what are the main controversial issues involved.

Admission to Courses of Training

It must be made clear that in Scotland all courses of training for teaching are conducted in training centres and colleges which are part and parcel of the public system of education. To put it in another way, the universities do not undertake the professional training of any category of teachers. This does not mean, however, that the universities have no interest in or concern about the

training of teachers, and it is worthy of note, since much significance is attached to association with universities, that while training colleges are separate institutions, there are several sources of linkage with the universities. Graduates in arts and science who come to the training colleges from the universities may, during their year of training, take university courses qualifying for the university Diploma in Education (which is not in itself a teaching qualification); undergraduates may pursue their university and training college studies concurrently; non-university students-in-training may arrange to attend certain classes at the university and so gain some experience of its life and atmosphere; and there is the apparently increasing tendency to have lecturers share in some aspects of the work of both institutions, though now in only one instance (in two, until recently) is the head of the training college also the head of the university department of education.

By one route, therefore, men and women students may qualify for admission to training for teaching through university graduation, and take a one-year course. Those with a pass degree train for teaching in primary schools and generally also for teaching certain subjects in the lower classes of secondary schools; those who have gained degrees with first- or second-class honours in subjects taught in secondary schools qualify to teach these subjects throughout the secondary schools.

Another group of students, men and women, qualify for admission to training, provided they possess an acceptable school-leaving certificate, by gaining diplomas from recognised colleges in certain specialist subjects—art, music, domestic science, technical subjects, and the like. The length of courses of training varies somewhat for these subjects, and in one or two instances is as short as six months.

Women students, with a more open choice than men, who for the most part must be university graduates, may enter a training college straight from secondary school, normally at the age of 17 or 18 years, provided they gain an approved group of passes in the Scottish Leaving Certificate Examinations or a Certificate of Fitness of the Scottish Universities' Entrance Board. Normally the minimum group of passes required consists of two on the higher grade of papers, one of which must be English, and three on the lower grade, one of which is usually history or geography. These entrants take a three-year course and qualify as primary school teachers.

It will be observed that the basis of selection of students is simply that of educational achievement, and of course of general medical fitness. It is recognised that some improvement in methods of original selection of students may be required, particularly in regard to personal qualities, but trial or investigation along such a line is hardly likely to be considered urgent so long as there is scarcity of teachers.

It is of special interest here to note that although they do not

consider it necessary or desirable that the universities take charge of teacher training, the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, in a report on the training of teachers issued in 1946, recommend that in general courses of training be lengthened by one year. The main exception to this recommendation is the course for honours graduates, who spend a longer time in the universities than pass graduates. Over-all, it may be fair to suggest that so far as time spent in education and training is concerned there is no great reason even now to suppose that the status of teachers is affected adversely: nevertheless the Council's recommendation, if acted upon, would bring preparation for teaching, in extent at any rate, more comparably in line with the extent of preparation required by other professions.

Training Colleges and Training College Courses

The training of teachers in Scotland is regarded as a national concern, and administration of the system is entrusted to a national committee which consists solely of representatives of education authorities since these authorities are called upon to bear a considerable share of the expenditure involved. The national committee acts through a central executive committee and supervises and sustains through that committee the work of the four provincial committees which govern the four training centres at St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, and of the committees of management of two colleges for Roman Catholic women students, and of the specialist College of Physical Education for Women. On these committees, except for the national committee itself, provision is made for representation of the universities and colleges, the churches, and the teaching profession, as well as the education authorities. The representation of teachers, however, is small and there is increasing sympathy with the view that it should be larger, and indeed that there should be revision of the constitution of all committees. It is believed and argued that the prestige of the teaching profession would be enhanced by increased representation of teachers on bodies that virtually control admission to membership of it.

The Secretary of State for Scotland nominates officers of the Scottish Education Department to act as assessors on each of the committees mentioned, and in many ways directly and indirectly the Department keeps in touch with, influences, and supports the work of the training centres and colleges. Within the framework of statutory regulations considerable flexibility remains, and there is ample scope for experiment and development according to provincial needs and initiative. H.M. Inspectors take an interest in the students and in the colleges as a whole and their various departments. One assumes, and would prefer to assume, having regard to status, that they visit the colleges rather in an advisory than in a

strictly inspectorial capacity. Assessments of the work of students are determined internally by each centre and college. There is no doubt that the training centres, in such circumstances and having experienced, highly qualified staffs, have every reasonable chance to do work of a high standard. The salaries of training college lecturers compare not unfavourably with those of lecturers in universities and other colleges, and those of other officers in what are normally regarded as higher educational posts. It would take up too much space to record all the scales of salaries, and brief reference may be sufficient. Men lecturers (women lecturers receive somewhat less throughout the scales) in most subjects have the salary scale £850 × £30–£1,150. The scales for principal lecturers are considerably higher: for example, in English, mathematics, and other academic subjects scales for men range from £1,150 as the minimum at the smallest centre to £1,450 as the maximum at the largest centre. These scales advance further for education and psychology, and still further for methods, and salaries attached to the highest offices are in the region of £2,000.

The courses given in the training centres naturally differ according to the general and special needs of the students: general education in cultural and practical subjects is continued where necessary, as with non-university students, for example: studies in education and psychology are undertaken by all students and are related as practically as possible to methods courses and school experience; throughout the courses all students visit schools, sometimes for continuous periods, for observation and practice of teaching; and students are encouraged to share in social activities and social service and to develop personal interests of a cultural and recreative kind. It is relevant to add that in a Scottish training college community, students as prospective teachers of all kinds have a chance to regard themselves as preparing to enter a single profession in which each will take an essential place.

Additional courses may be taken by students who wish to seek additional qualifications for teaching. Each year, too, the colleges offer summer courses for teachers-in-service, and it is hoped that such facilities may be improved and amplified. Moreover, arrangements are made through conferences of various kinds, whereby the colleges may keep closely in touch with the realities of the practice of education, and as these arrangements increase they may well reflect favourably upon the well-being both of the teaching profession and of the training colleges.

University Qualifications in Education

As has been stated, the universities in Scotland do not train teachers though they have departments of education. Many graduate students take university courses in education and psychology during their year of training for teaching, and gain the

university Diploma in Education: some stay on for a further year, or return after some experience of teaching, to take advanced courses in education and psychology and complete the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Education: a few teachers also enrol as part-time research students in education, seeking the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Such advanced studies, and training or experience in research, involved in gaining a post-graduate degree, have come to be regarded as desirable if not essential for those who aspire to posts in educational administration or as lecturers in training colleges and university departments of education, or in other fields of special educational service.

The investigations that post-graduate students in education carry out—on a less-ambitious scale, of course, for the Ed.B. than for the Ph.D.—may relate, for example, to methods of teaching, to the history of teaching certain subjects, to vocational guidance, to achievement and tests of achievement in certain subjects, to the problems associated with selection for secondary education, and to historical surveys of education and so on. One feature valued by both training centres and university departments of education is their association with the Scottish Council for Research in Education, with whose origin and development the teachers of Scotland have played a prominent part, and as a result of whose influence groups of teachers are undertaking research locally. Interest and work of this kind is bound to contribute to the prestige of teachers.

In view of all this, the writer deplores the suggestion made recently, according to Press report, by some teachers, that graduate students-in-training should be discouraged from pursuing, concurrently, university studies for a university qualification in education. No doubt difficulties arise, and there may be need for fresh consideration of arrangements at each centre, but to weaken such links with the universities, so long as the training system is as it is, would be damaging to the interests of education and to the status of teachers. These university courses for diplomas and degrees in education convey and sustain a quality and standard to the preparation of many teachers that would be difficult to provide in any other way, as things are, and it is just those studies that are truly and distinctively professional that should most claim the interest and support of prospective and actual members of a profession.

Recruitment and Sources of Recruitment

For the purpose of this section of this article, an inquiry, similar to inquiries made elsewhere, was conducted in the St. Andrews and Dundee Training Centre in the middle of session 1951–2, and brief references at least are necessary to the results of the inquiry if certain posed questions are to be answered.

Two hundred and ninety-six students indicated, from a given list

of twenty possible motives, the motive or motives that were most influential in helping them to decide to train for teaching. The following curtailed table may most succinctly show the most influential motives, in rank order as determined by the percentage frequency with which each motive was placed first, for each category of students.

	All Students	*Women*	*Men*	*Non-graduates*	*Graduates*	*Other Specialists*
Fondness for children . .	1	1	8	1	2=	—
Desire for a profession in close association with favourite studies . .	2	3	1	5	1	1
Fondness for teaching . .	3	2	5	2	4	5
Security of job	4	4	3	3	5=	2
Ideals (e.g. possibility of influencing young people) . .	5	6	2	8	2=	4
Feeling of special fitness or capacity for the work of teaching	6	10=	4	11=	5=	3
. . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..

" Fondness for children " as a motive owed its first rank to clear preference by women students, particularly non-university women. It is of special interest here, perhaps, that the motive " Desire for a profession in close association with favourite studies " was placed first by three categories of students and was also equally preferable by women graduates to " Fondness for children ". Though the rank order of " Security of job " was relatively high over-all, the percentage preference as a matter of fact was relatively low. Nevertheless it was, perhaps naturally, regarded as of importance by men, and over-all was considered more important than other conditions of employment in teaching, namely " Good conditions of work ", " Good salary ", " Social status of profession ", " Good holidays ", all of which for every category fell towards the end of the rank order. (The worry and concern about these would appear to come later!) Since, in another similar inquiry, reference is made to possible " sophistication " of response, it may be well to add that the first-, second-, and third-year students in the longer courses responded similarly.

Only 25 of the 296 students had parents (in 24 of the 25 cases, only one parent) who were or had been teachers. As to the occupations over-all of the " parent or guardian ", the largest group was

that of tradesmen (joiners, plumbers, bakers, miners, and the like, taken together); the next but a long way behind was the group of clerks of various kinds, followed by merchants and shopkeepers, farmers and farmworkers, engineers of various kinds, chartered accountants, and then by ministers, teachers, and a miscellany of others. The corresponding list in 1937–8, considered similarly, showed much the same occupations and order, except notably that teachers and ministers were in third and fifth place respectively.

As might be supposed, in Scotland all but a small number of the students-in-training come from the secondary schools of the state system and the Scottish universities. Some do come, however, from semi-independent and 'public' schools in Scotland and England, and some from English and other universities.

Though many appear to suspect that the general level of ability of students now being recruited to teaching is falling, there is not much, if any, direct evidence to support this, though it is true, of course, that in certain special subjects, notably science and mathematics, the 'best' graduates seek and easily find opportunities of employment considered more attractive and more financially rewarding than teaching. The general shortage of teachers is a disturbing problem, and teachers not unnaturally have another suspicion, namely, that the status of the profession may be affected adversely by the methods that have been and are being adopted specially to recruit teachers and by the divisions that may thereby be created amongst teachers. Over-all, however, it is hardly possible to agree that there has been much "dipping into lower educational levels". Students recruited from commerce, industry, and the services under the Emergency Scheme, recently terminated for the most part, were found in general to be comparable in ability and achievement with students entering by normal channels. There was, no doubt, some relaxation of requirements for admission and for completion of courses of training, but experience and the qualities of mature personality were regarded, and in the circumstances justifiably regarded, as redressing the balance. Many of these emergency students had simply had their studies interrupted by war and war service: others welcomed what they described as a 'second chance' which the award of a grant enabled them to take. If these recruits are now fulfilling, as teachers, the promise they showed as students-in-training, it is hardly reasonable to suppose that the status of their profession is lowered because of them.

The success of the Emergency Scheme and perhaps the 'second chance' theory, as well as, of course, urgent need, have perhaps justified the Special Recruitment Scheme which is now in operation, and which is attracting into the profession persons who have had experience in other walks of life. It must be emphasised that recruits under this scheme must be qualified or be prepared to qualify in the normal ways for admission to training, and must

have been in full-time employment for at least two years. What is apparently a source of grievance to the profession in this scheme, however, is that financial assistance is given on a generous scale that is denied to other students preparing to become teachers, and in consequence the dark thought has found expression that some may respond to such inducement for other reasons than real attraction to teaching. The grant each year to such a student staying in lodgings or in a college hostel is £184 plus £31 vacation allowance, and if the student is married and has, say, two children, the total allowance would be £392 per annum. By comparison the allowances to normal entrants are much lower; they are nevertheless expected to be substantial enough to ensure that no one is debarred from training for teaching for lack of financial means. Bursaries vary according to family circumstances, and the expenses involved. For students living with parents the grants are something like £80 to £100 a year; for students living in college hostels they are in the region of £100 to £120 a year. No pledge is required or expected of recipients of allowances, apart from the intention, stated or surely implied, to take up teaching as a profession.

First Appointments and Prospects

It is the policy in Scotland that all teachers should be trained professionally and 'certificated': and with very few exceptions they are. When courses of training have been completed successfully, students are given Training Records by the training authority and Probation Certificates by the Scottish Education Department. At the end of a probationary period of teaching service, normally of two years, on the basis of reports by head teachers and recommendations by H.M. Inspectors (the training colleges having nothing to do with this period), teachers receive their Final Certificates.

It is doubtful if the probationary period is necessary, or at any rate if the period should be so described, and doubtful also whether it contributes to the status or self-esteem of young teachers. The number of cases of withholding Final Certificates is negligible, and the recommendation has been made seriously that the probationary period be dispensed with. Nevertheless the placement of teachers in their first appointments, the nature of the supervision and degree of encouragement that may be given by head teachers and others, and scope for the exercise of some degree at least of professional initiative, are matters of the utmost importance and require the utmost consideration and attention, lest a desirable and legitimate measure of idealism and initial professional pride be shattered. The principals of the colleges do what they can in advising students and helping them to secure suitable posts. In times of shortage of teachers, of course, students in general, though not now in every category, find posts relatively easily where they want them, and

after a time may move to other appointments or other areas if they are not suited.

Students-in-training are naturally interested in prospects of advancement in their profession, though many must be, and will be by choice, content to get on with the important business of teaching. Women students know, however, that they may qualify for and seek posts as infants' or nursery school mistresses, and that there are opportunities according to experience and suitability to become mistresses of small schools, heads of secondary school departments, lady superintendents or advisers, specialist supervisors, teacher psychologists, lecturers, and inspectors. Except for posts that are specifically feminine, however, it must be confessed that opportunities for men are greater and more numerous, and to those that are common to men and women in the list already given may be added second masterships, headmasterships, and directorships of education. Many of these posts unquestionably carry with them both status and esteem of a high order.

Present Controversy and Trends for the Future

It has often been said, particularly by teachers and educationists in Scotland and elsewhere, that though the importance of education has been recognised, the important place of the teacher has not. Be that as it may, one may nevertheless doubt whether it is easy to disentangle causes and list reasons for such a state of affairs, or to be certain of the means by which the status of the teaching profession may be raised. Perhaps the main issue and source of controversy lie in the question of the part the universities might or ought to play in the preparation of teachers. The professionally organised teachers, in opposition to the views and the overwhelmingly strong support given to them, recorded in the report on teacher training already mentioned, present the case that all teachers should be university graduates, and indeed propose still further that in each university there should be a Faculty of Education and provision for a professional degree for teachers. These proposals are put forward without doubt in the interests of status, prestige, and unity of the teaching profession, whatever arguments there may be against them; and this is no place for arguing the pros and cons of the case. Nevertheless, it appears unlikely, so far as one can see, that in Scotland the universities will find it possible, or can fairly be expected, to take over the general control of the education and training of teachers, and to the writer it would therefore appear to be more realistic for teachers as a profession by all means to foster such links as are desirable and possible with the universities, but also to recognise the training centres and colleges for what they are intended to be and what they might become. There has been and there is the danger that too little value is attached, by teachers in general, to professional training,

that is to that part of a teacher's preparation and equipment which distinguishes the teacher from other professional people: general education, even to the level of an honours degree in arts or science, however necessary and important it may be, does not distinguish the teacher as such. It is knowledge, research, and above all service, of a professional kind which will in fact support the prestige and status of teaching as a profession.

The door, even now, of admission to teaching by way of the university is wide open to all who desire and can qualify to enter, and it is acknowledged to be a matter of grave concern when the numbers doing so are not considered ample for the posts they are best fitted to fill. For a time, for example, the trend in the ratio of pass-graduate students to non-graduate women entering upon appropriate courses of training indicated previously, was so adverse as to become alarming, but more recently it has improved: in 1928–9 there were 800 pass-graduate entrants to 383 non-graduate entrants: in 1938–9 the numbers were 401 and 337 respectively, and in 1945–6 they were 280 and 547. The numbers reported for 1951–2, however, are 506 and 444, and confirm a rising trend in favour of graduates that had already been observed.

It must be made clear, of course, that it is not all the ablest students taking up teaching who go to the university before entering a training college. There is plenty of evidence to show that many non-university women students-in-training have qualifications for admission to the university and the intellectual ability to complete degree courses successfully. On the other hand, it must also be stated that many primary school women teachers would have been lost to the profession, judging by school results actually achieved, if university admission and graduation had been required. Even so, he would be a very rash person who was prepared to present a generalisation that either the graduate group or the non-graduate group provided better primary school teachers than the other.

Considerations such as these really support the thesis that the status and prestige of the teaching profession and the status and prestige of the training centres are not independent, and that mutual interest is essential as well as inevitable in Scotland. Any improvement in the status of the training centres would therefore be of the utmost importance to the teaching profession, and it is right and proper to underline the significance of a recommendation made by the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland in 1946. The Council envisaged the growth of the training centres into what they described as institutes of education (a term that has since then become so familiar in England, applied to a different kind of organisation). Such an institute in Scotland would become a general headquarters, in the province served, for all students-in-training for teaching, for teachers-in-service, and for all engaged

in the organisation, administration, and supervision of education. It would continue to be the centre for the training of teachers of all types, but would also be a centre for higher study and research, and would provide courses for a greater variety of services, both educational and social. It is hardly possible to doubt that institutes so conceived would provide great educational impetus and the prospect of advancement of the status of the teaching profession.

It need not be doubted that the ingredients of the status of teachers are economic and social as well as intellectual and educational. Nevertheless, the view that the esteem with which they are regarded by the public in general, and more immediately by parents and prospective parents, is largely in the hands of the teachers themselves, is at least worthy of repetition. What the training colleges can do in this respect is to try to convince their students, by every possible means, of the high social and national worth of the professional service that they alone can render, and of the need to maintain through the years their effectiveness both as teachers and as fully active members of society.

ANDREW SKINNER.

PART TWO

TEACHERS-IN-SERVICE

PUBLIC education in Scotland, exclusive of the universities, is administered by a central government department and by local education authorities. The Scottish Education Department is the department of the Civil Service which is responsible for the general control and direction of the national system of education. Its chief executive officer and head of the permanent staff is the Secretary, and the Secretary of State for Scotland, who is the political head, is answerable to Parliament for its administrative policy. The function of the Department is, broadly speaking, to secure the effective operation of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1946, and of the regulations, relating to education, issued by the Secretary of State in the exercise of his statutory powers. The regulations dealing with the conduct, organisation, and curricula of public and grant-aided schools are embodied in the Schools (Scotland) Code, 1950, prepared by the Department and approved by Parliament, and the Department keeps constantly in touch with the schools through its system of inspection.

On education authorities rests the responsibility for the organisation of educational services and the direct management of the schools in their areas. It is their duty to make provision throughout their areas for all forms of primary, secondary, and further education (including the teaching of Gaelic in Gaelic-speaking

areas). These education authorities consist of the town councils of Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, and the thirty-one county councils of the other areas. Each education authority has an education committee, and among its functions are the appointment, dismissal, remuneration, and conditions of service of the teaching staff.

There are some schools outside the jurisdiction of the education authorities. Comparatively few in number, they include some famous foundations with a long history, but, except that the schools are managed by boards of governors and not by education authorities, the status of the teachers in them is not significantly different from what it is in schools administered by education authorities.

The Teacher and the Scottish Education Department

A teacher is regarded as being on probation for not less than two years of actual service in schools approved by the Department, and upon the successful completion of the probationary period he is granted the Teacher's Certificate. This Certificate will not be withdrawn or suspended, except on grounds of proved inefficiency or misconduct, till the teacher receives a gratuity or reaches the compulsory retirement age of 65. It then lapses in terms of the Superannuation Scheme for Teachers.

H.M. Inspectors of Schools are on the staff of the Scottish Education Department and it is one of their many duties to keep the Secretary of State informed about the work of education that is being performed in the schools. Schemes of work and official time-tables must be approved by the District Inspector in the case of primary departments and by the Chief Inspector in the case of secondary departments. The Leaving Certificate Examination is conducted by the Inspectorate. Thus, in many ways, the inspector and the teacher are brought into close touch, and the attitude of the one to the other is of vital moment to the status of the teacher and indeed to the well-being of the national system of education. As is stated in the Advisory Council's *Report on Secondary Education*, in which the relationship of inspector and teacher is discussed with understanding and eloquence, the term 'inspection', if taken to imply anything of an authoritarian or inquisitorial character, is, in this context, a misnomer. While H.M. Inspectors are commissioned to ensure that the exacting duties which the nation has entrusted to its teachers are capably and diligently discharged, "it can be confidently claimed that they enjoy what official status and authority alone could never compel—the trust and esteem of their co-partners in the work of education". The good-will which, as a rule, exists between the teacher and the inspector springs in great measure from the readiness of the latter to co-operate with the teacher in the solution of problems which arise

from day to day in the classroom, and to recognise in him a worthy partner in a spiritual enterprise.

In Scotland, the education authorities have no part in the work of inspection. They employ the teachers in their areas, and much mischief might result if questions arising out of this relationship were even to appear to have any relevance to the inspection of schools. Teachers would probably agree that, if inspection there must be, it should rest with the government department directly responsible for Scottish education, and that it should be conducted by men and women who are independent of education authorities and whose duties keep them constantly in touch with the work of schools in more than one education area.

The Teacher and the Education Authority

The right to appoint teachers for service in their schools is vested by statute in the education authorities, and in practice appointments are made by education committees each of which has, as its chief executive officer, a Director of Education. The education committee can appoint as teachers only those men and women who possess the qualifications required by the Secretary of State, but the present scarcity of suitably qualified teachers has necessitated the employment, as a temporary expedient, of a considerable number of uncertificated teachers. This is entirely alien to the Scottish tradition, and its effect on the status of the teacher and on educational standards is viewed with very great disquiet by the whole profession.

The right of education committees to make appointments is further restricted in the case of the large number of denominational schools which were brought within the jurisdiction of education authorities by the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918. In making appointments to these schools, education authorities must assure themselves not only that the teachers possess the qualifications required by the Secretary of State, but also that they are approved as regards their religious belief and character by representatives of the church or denominational body in whose interest the school is conducted.

An important change in the contract of service of women teachers was made by the Education (Scotland) Act, 1945. Before the passing of that Act, it was usual for the contract of service to provide for the appointment to be terminated on the marriage of the teacher. Since 1945, education authorities have not had the power to disqualify any woman for employment as a teacher or to dismiss her from that employment by reason only of marriage.

An assistant teacher, in accepting an appointment, does so under the condition that the education authority may transfer him or her to any school in their area. On the other hand, the education authority will usually be prepared to meet, if they can, the wishes

of a teacher who applies for transfer from one school to another. There is nothing to prevent a teacher leaving the employment of one education authority and taking up an appointment with another. All that is required is the period of notice (usually one month) for which the contract provides.

After a number of years, the teacher may expect to be considered for suitable posts of special responsibility as they fall vacant. Authorities have their own arrangements for filling vacancies. Some operate promotion schemes under which teachers are invited for interview by the education committee according to a specified length of teaching service. A list of the names of the teachers who have been selected is prepared, and from that list vacancies are filled as they occur. Under this procedure, promotion is confined to teachers employed in the area. Other authorities advertise vacancies in the daily Press and in the *Scottish Educational Journal,* which is published weekly by the Educational Institute of Scotland. All authorities usually advertise their most important posts.

The teacher is a whole-time employee of the education authority, and must be prepared to undertake any duties which fall within the scope of his employment and, as his hours of service are not defined, he is expected to respond to reasonable calls upon his time and professional skill outside the official hours for the attendance of scholars. The head teacher is responsible to the education authority for the organisation and well-being of his school, and it is the duty of the teacher to carry out his instructions loyally. Much depends on the wisdom and personality of the head teacher and on his capacity to evoke a spirit of co-operation in his school, but the distinction between the head teacher and his colleagues is coming increasingly to be regarded as one of function and not of status. The head teacher must, indeed, have the last word, but he does not, as a rule, feel that it takes anything from his authority to consult members of his staff and to take their opinions into account, though staff meetings and discussions are not yet so frequent as many teachers think desirable, nor do teachers commonly think that it is any reflection on their status or self-respect to accept instructions from the head teacher whose business it is to give them. Nor, in the affairs of the classroom, do they conceive it any limitation of their freedom to be required to shape their subject-matter to match the pattern of the general scheme of instruction approved for the school.

Every appointment is held during the pleasure of the education authority, but no resolution of an education authority for the dismissal of a certificated teacher from their permanent staff is valid unless (1) written notice of the motion of dismissal shall, not less than three weeks before the meeting at which the resolution is adopted, have been sent to the teacher and to each member of the education authority, and (2) not less than half of the members of

the education authority are present at the meeting, and (3) the resolution is agreed to by two-thirds of the members so present.

A certificated teacher who has been dismissed has the right of appeal. If, within six weeks after the adoption of a resolution for his dismissal, the teacher presents a petition to the Secretary of State, praying for an inquiry into the reasons for his dismissal, the Secretary of State must make such inquiry as he sees fit, and if, as the result of the inquiry, he is of opinion that the dismissal is not reasonably justifiable, he must communicate his opinion to the education authority with a view to reconsideration of the resolution and, if the education authority does not depart from the resolution within six weeks thereafter, he may attach to the resolution the condition that the education authority must pay to the teacher such sum not exceeding one year's salary as the Secretary of State may determine. Any sum so determined may be recovered by the teacher as a debt from the education authority.

This statutory procedure is regarded by teachers as an important protection to their tenure of office. Not only does it ensure that education committee members have the time and opportunity to address their minds carefully to the whole circumstances but, by giving the teacher the right of appeal, it enables him to plead his case before the highest authority. It is much to the credit of both education authorities and teachers that very few cases of dismissal have occurred since the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, established the county as the unit for the administration of education.

Teachers and Education Authorities—Consultation

(*a*) *Local*

Local joint consultative committees, composed of representatives of education authorities and of the teachers employed by them, have been constituted in most areas. These committees are not statutory but have come into being spontaneously through the desire of both parties to hear each other's point of view. Though the business transacted at the meetings cannot bind the education committee, experience has shown that the exchange of information and opinions can do a great deal to promote efficiency and to remove causes of disharmony in the day-to-day working of the schools. The establishment of committees in all the areas would undoubtedly give to the teachers generally a greater sense of active partnership in the sphere of educational administration.

(*b*) *National*

Representatives of the Associations of County and City Education Authorities and representatives of the teachers come together in the National Joint Council. This Council was set up by agreement between education authorities and the Educational Institute of Scotland, and the representatives of the teachers are appointed by

the Institute. The two panels, each of twelve members, meet under a neutral chairman, appointed by the Secretary of State. Three Directors of Education and three officers of local authorities act as assessors, and there is also associated with the Council an assessor appointed by the Scottish Education Department to act as a liaison officer. The Associations of Education Authorities and the Institute are entitled to withdraw from the Council on giving at least one year's notice of their intention to do so. The functions of the Council are to make deliverances on all questions in regard to salaries and conditions of service of teachers in Scotland, provided such questions have been referred to it by the Scottish Education Department, by the Institute, by the County or City Associations of Education Authorities, or have been initiated in the Council itself. Certain sections of the Teachers' Salaries (Scotland) Regulations, 1951, provide for consultation with the Council by the Secretary of State, and others give education authorities and teachers facilities to have appropriate cases considered by the Council. The National Joint Council is an advisory and not an executive body. All it can do is to make recommendations to the Secretary of State, to education authorities, or to the teachers, as the case may be, but its work has proved of such value that education authorities and teachers look to it for guidance in those questions with which its constitution enables it to deal.

The National Joint Council has a special duty to perform in the preparation of salary regulations. Before the Secretary of State proceeds to make salary regulations, he is obliged by statute to intimate his intention to a council recognised or constituted by him. For this purpose he has recognised the National Joint Council. On receipt of intimation from the Secretary of State, the Council proceeds to salary negotiation, the result of which is a body of recommendations to which the Secretary of State must have regard in framing Draft Salary Regulations. The draft is published, and representations may be made on it by anyone with an interest, including the National Joint Council itself. Final regulations are then prepared, submitted to Parliament and, if approved, become mandatory on education authorities. They do not apply to independent schools, but the governors and managers of these schools adopt them either in full or with modifications favourable to the teachers.

Teachers' Salaries

Section 79 of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1946, places on education authorities the duty of paying to teachers in their employment salaries calculated in accordance with regulations made by the Secretary of State. The Teachers' Salaries (Scotland) Regulations, 1951, as amended by the Teachers' Salaries (Scotland) (Amendment No. 1) Provisional Regulations, 1951, and by the Teachers'

Salaries (Scotland) (Amendment No. 2) Provisional Regulations, 1952, are the regulations at present in force and they will remain in operation till March 31st, 1954. New regulations will then come into effect. The regulations take account of a basic and a responsibility element in salaries, and also of certain increases of the basic element in special cases.

Every teacher is entitled to the appropriate basic element, which is assessed according to a series of incremental scales. Broadly speaking, these scales are based on length of training and academic qualifications. The position of a teacher on the appropriate scale is determined by the length of his teaching service. The scales applicable to men are higher than those applicable to women. A non-graduate woman teacher with less than four years' training begins at £367 per annum and reaches a maximum of £587 (under special circumstances £627) in the twentieth year of her service. A male graduate has a commencing salary of £475 and a maximum of £765 in the eighteenth year of service. The corresponding figures for male honours graduates are £575 and £915. The commencing salaries of women graduates and women honours graduates are £417 and £467 respectively, and the maxima, reached in the eighteenth year of service, are £627 and £767. There are thirteen basic scales in all, and they make provision for varieties of qualifications and types of service.

The basic scales are increased in special cases, particularly where the teacher is employed in a remote school, in a centre for further education, or in a school for handicapped children. Provision is also made for a small additional payment to teachers, other than honours graduates, who possess a special qualification in one or more of the subjects of the curriculum of the secondary school.

Teachers who occupy posts of special responsibility are entitled to a responsibility element in addition to the basic element. The responsibility element of head teachers, principal teachers, infant mistresses, etc., is, in general, related to the number of pupils on the roll of the school. The responsibility payment for head teachers of the highest grade (based on the roll) of primary, junior secondary (three-year course), and senior secondary schools are respectively £310, £490, and £710. The responsibility element of a principal teacher in the largest junior secondary school is £85, and in the largest senior secondary school £200. The maximum responsibility element receivable by an infant mistress is £93.

The vast majority of the thirty-three thousand teachers employed in Scottish schools receive only the basic element, and normally they are over 40 years of age before they reach the maximum of the appropriate scale. Many of them are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain standards of living which the community expects of professional men and women. The consequence is that a large proportion of the best pupils of the secondary schools are not

choosing teaching as a profession, but are turning to medicine, dentistry, law, industry, and commerce, where better remuneration and more favourable prospects of promotion are offered for comparable qualifications. The dearth of mathematics and science graduates is only a particular instance of the disinclination of highly qualified men and women to seek a career in the teaching profession. It is important to note that the maximum salary of the most highly qualified honours graduate in charge of the largest senior secondary school is £1,625. There are very few such posts, and this figure falls far short of the salary which similar qualifications and responsibility command in most other professions.

Sick-pay Regulations

There is no provision in the statutory salary regulations for payment of salary to a teacher when he is absent from duty through illness, but the contract of service of every teacher includes regulations dealing with sick pay. Formerly, these regulations differed from area to area but, in 1947, the National Joint Council negotiated sick pay regulations and recommended them for adoption by education authorities, many of whom have since accepted them. These regulations provide for the payment of salary to teachers, whilst off duty on account of sickness, in accordance with the following scheme:

Service	*Full Pay for*	*Half Pay for*
Up to 1 year	1 month	1 month
Over 1 year and not more than 5 years	2 months	2 months
Over 5 years and not more than 10 years	3 months	3 months
Over 10 years and not more than 15 years	4 months	4 months
Over 15 years	6 months	6 months

These payments are subject to the deduction of any sickness or disablement benefit to which the teacher is entitled under the National Insurance Acts.

Superannuation

The Superannuation Scheme for Teachers (Scotland), 1952, which consolidated the schemes of 1919 and 1926, applies to all teachers whose qualifications are approved by the Secretary of State and who are in whole-time service in day schools, continuation classes, training colleges, central institutions, or other defined spheres of work. Subject to adjustment of contribution and pension to conform with the National Insurance Regulations, the scheme requires (*a*) the payment by each teacher of a contribution equal to 5 per cent. of salary and (*b*) a similar contribution by the employing authority.

The teacher must retire on reaching the age of 65, but may retire at 60 (or earlier if disabled for teaching). If certain minimum periods of service have been completed, the following awards are payable: (*a*) a lump sum and (*b*) an annual pension, both calculated on the teacher's average salary for the last five years of service. The lump sum is 1/30th for each completed year of service, with a maximum of 45/30ths, and the pension 1/80th for each completed year of service with a maximum of 40/80ths. Benefits similarly calculated are payable to a teacher who is unable, through infirmity, to continue teaching provided that not less than ten years of service have been completed. A teacher who has qualified for a retiring allowance on account of age (but not on account of ill-health) and who is in good health may surrender part of the retiring allowance in return for certain benefits to or in respect of the wife or husband (as the case may be) or a dependant of the teacher. Apart from this, there are no provisions in the scheme for pensions for widows and dependants, and the lack of such provisions is regarded by teachers as a very grave defect.

The rise in the cost of living has pressed very severely on teachers living on pensions. Because pension is based on the salary received during the last five years of their service, they are denied the benefit of all or much of the increase in teachers' salaries in 1945, 1948, and 1951. The Pensions Increase Acts of 1944 and 1947 brought some small relief, but their plight has become so serious that they have felt compelled to form associations to urge the government to take measures to assist them.

In the Schools

The length of the school day is not uniform throughout the country, but usually schools are in session from 9 a.m. till 4 p.m. each weekday except Saturday—there is no meeting on Saturdays —with a short break in the forenoon and an interval for lunch. Some education authorities have provided residential schools for selected physically handicapped or backward children and, there, the teachers reside in the schools. In further education centres the school day is usually from 9 a.m. till 5 p.m. The time allocated to instruction in each subject is detailed in a time-table approved by H.M. Inspector, and teachers are required to keep a record of the work actually performed and of any homework done by pupils outside school hours. The Schools (Scotland) Code, 1950, lays down the maximum number of pupils for any class under the charge of one teacher, the number varying according to the department of the school and the type of pupil. In some respects, the numbers are an improvement on those given in the former code, but 45 in the primary department, 40 in the first three years of the secondary department, and 30 in the upper classes of the secondary department are regarded by teachers as much too large for effective work, and it is com-

monly agreed that a reduction in the size of classes is the most urgent problem in the schools to-day.

Under the general supervision of the head teacher or teachers occupying special posts, the class teacher has great freedom in the instruction and management of his class. He is assumed to be *in loco parentis* to his pupils and to have the parents' authority delegated to him so far as is necessary for the child's education and welfare. The relationship of teacher to pupil is very much less formal and much more candid than it used to be. This can also be said of the relationships of teachers and parents. By visits to schools for individual consultation or for school exhibitions and concerts and by the formation, in many areas, of parent-teacher associations, parents have been brought into close touch with the teachers of their children. Moreover, the teacher's attitude to his pupils and to his methods of instruction have been profoundly influenced by the changed educational outlook of the last quarter of a century. Nowhere is this change more clearly reflected than in the series of admirable reports prepared by the Advisory Council which was established to advise the Department on educational matters. These reports and the Department's own excellent memoranda on the curriculum of the primary school and on the subjects taught in the secondary school have, by their fine sense of values, their insight and vision, stimulated and inspired the teacher and, equally important, they not only recognise but encourage his freedom in the exercise of his calling.

The code prescribes that, unless under certain specified circumstances, not fewer than 400 meetings (one full day counts as two meetings) must be held in the course of the full year. Seldom is that number much exceeded. Education authorities fix the holiday periods, Christmas, Easter, and a longer vacation in the summer, with single days arranged to suit local custom. The summer vacation is long enough to enable teachers to travel abroad or to take refresher courses at colleges and universities. In addition, a small number of teachers, nominated year by year, take up posts in the countries of the Commonwealth, in the United States of America, and in certain European countries, mainly France, under official schemes of interchange. During the year of their absence, their posts in Scotland are occupied by teachers from the countries to which they have gone.

Professional Organisations

There is a number of active organisations and groups of Scottish teachers pursuing particular and general educational aims, but the recognised professional organisation representative of all Scottish teachers is the Educational Institute of Scotland, founded in 1847 and incorporated by Royal Charter.

Its membership of over 28,000 includes certificated teachers of

all categories. It has access to the Secretary of State, and deputations from the Institute are frequently received by the Scottish Education Department for the discussion of educational matters.

The Teachers' Panel, which represents all Scottish teachers on the National Joint Council, is elected by the Institute from its membership. The Institute was largely responsible for the establishment of the Scottish Council for Research in Education. It publishes weekly the *Scottish Educational Journal,* which is the only Scottish publication dealing exclusively with education, and it has the right to confer fellowship degrees. Its representatives serve on the committees of over fifty educational organisations. It is a member of the International Federation of Secondary Teachers' Associations, of the International Federation of Teachers' Associations, and of the World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession.

The Teacher and the Community

In Scotland, town councils in the cities and county councils elsewhere are charged with the local government of their areas. Teachers, as employees of these bodies, are debarred by law from serving on them and, consequently, have no opportunity of sharing in the civic honours and public recognition with which service in this sphere is frequently rewarded. But teachers are not excluded from participation in the government of the burghs, many of which are of noble and ancient lineage, and in these burgh councils the contribution of teacher members to the welfare of the community and particularly to the interests of the younger members of it is held in high esteem. Recognition of its value is reflected in the election of teachers, men and women, to convenerships of important committees and to the local magistracy, and it is not unusual for a teacher to be appointed to the highest office of all, that of Provost, and thus to become the head and official representative of his burgh.

Interest in political issues is much the same among teachers as among other sections of the community. The confidence of the public in the integrity of teachers and in their habitual non-partisan attitude to their pupils and to their professional duties is such that the right of the teacher to hold his own views and to be active in support of them is not questioned. A number of teachers have been elected as Members of Parliament. While they have had to relinquish their teaching posts, in order to be able to discharge their parliamentary duties, the practical experience they have had in the schools is of special value when measures dealing with education are under consideration.

If the position of teachers in the community is gauged by the extent to which their help and advice are sought and appreciated by voluntary organisations of all kinds, then their standing is indeed

high, for no other profession of men and women place their gifts and training so unsparingly at the service of the community. The voluntary service rendered individually and through religious and secular societies and organisations is more noticeable, though not more real, in rural and provincial areas than it is in the cities. For reasons outside their control, teachers in city schools do not usually reside in the area from which their pupils are drawn, but in the country the schoolhouse may quite well be and frequently is the centre of the community and the schoolmaster (or schoolmistress) an indispensable figure when the people of the parish come together. Voluntary organisations for the benefit of children and young people feel the need of him and his staff, and it is quite natural for parents to look to him for guidance and leadership in their own social activities.

The status of the Scottish teacher is to some extent assured by a long and honourable record in national education and by the deep and sincere respect which Scottish people have always been ready to accord to intellectual attainment as such. But the changes which have been brought about by the new conception of education have affected not only the organisation and conduct of the schools but the attitude of the public to the teacher, and it is now not easy to define his position. The school and the community—all the members of it—are more closely integrated than they have ever been, and the indications point to a still closer integration. Education is universally recognised as a service essential to the well-being, material, intellectual, and spiritual, of the people, and whatever aids may be found necessary for the better ordering of educational facilities, it seems certain that the central position of the teacher in the educational scheme and the prestige which that position bestows will not be impaired.

WILLIAM CAMPBELL.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE IRISH REPUBLIC

AMONG the literary treasures of Eire's capital are two mediaeval manuscripts, the *Book of Leinster,* dating from the twelfth century, and the *Yellow Book of Lecain.* Both of these manuscripts contain, *inter alia,* a plan of the Banqueting Hall of Tara which is reputed to have been built by the High King, Cormac MacArt, in the third century A.D. From this plan it is evident that the hall was divided into compartments, each of which was set aside for the use of the degrees of rank, trade, and professions. It is noteworthy that the compartment allocated to ' school teachers ' is only one step removed from that of the High King himself, and beside the compartments allocated to the judges, doctors of letters, and goldsmiths. The same High King is credited with having codified the customs and traditions in a corpus of law entitled the *Seanchus Mor,* popularly known as the Brehon Laws. There is still in existence a copy of this code as devised by St. Patrick, dating from the eighth century. It contains this ruling on the rights and duties of the teacher:

> The social connection that is considered between the pupil and his teacher is that, the latter is to instruct him without reserve, and to prepare him for his degree, and to chastise him without severity: to feed and clothe him while he is learning his lawful profession. On the other hand the pupil is to assist his teacher in poverty and to support him in his old age and to give him the honour price of the degree for which he is being prepared, and all the gains of his art while he is learning it, and the first earning of his art after leaving the house of his teacher; and moreover, the teacher has the power of judgment and proof and witness upon his pupil as the father has upon his son, and the Church upon the tenant of Church lands.

This extract contains probably the oldest extant definition of the legal status of the teacher. It contains possibly the first application of the theory *' in loco parentis '*, and taken with the details of the plan of the banqueting hall it shows that teaching under the old Gaelic polity was a recognised profession on a par with the professions of law and letters. Few nations have such a sense of historical continuity as has the Irish nation, especially in the rural parts, and so we find it practically universal to-day that the teacher is still addressed by the mediaeval title of *magister* and spoken of as " Master Murphy " or " Master O'Connell " with the title ' Master ' prefixed to his surname.

But while the Irish people have retained this traditional respect

for the profession of teaching, their outlook with regard to it has not been unaffected by the attitude to it of the contemporary non-Irish world. Ireland has probably the oldest state system of education in Europe. That system was introduced by an alien government. At least in part its introduction was intended to wean the people from their native traditions and culture, and to substitute the traditions and culture of the foreigner. The schools set up under it aimed at producing "good farm labourers and servants", and the attitude of those in control to their teachers was the attitude one would expect from Victorian aristocrats and landowners to their own servants and labourers. At the time of the inception of the state scheme there was in existence a huge number of popular schools to which the pupils paid fees. These popular schools were eventually absorbed into the state scheme, and it was from the teachers of these schools that the state teachers, "National Teachers" as they came to be called, were recruited. These teachers were of the people and from the people. They were, from the first, objects of suspicion to those in authority, and every effort was made to keep them apart from the people and out of popular movements. From 1831 to 1921 the Code of Regulations of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland contained rules such as the following:

> (*a*) Teachers of National Schools are not permitted to carry on, or engage in any business or occupation that will impair their usefulness as teachers.
>
> (*b*) They are especially forbidden to keep public houses or houses for the sale of spirituous liquor, or to live in such houses.
>
> The Commissioners regard the attendance of a Teacher at meetings held for political purposes, or his taking part in elections for Members of Parliament, or for Poor Law Guardians, etc., except by voting, as incompatible with the performance of his duties, and as a violation of rule which will render him liable to withdrawal of salary.

The Practical Rules which were to be strictly observed by the Teachers of National Schools included, *inter alia*:

> To avoid fairs, markets and meetings—but above all political meetings of every kind; to abstain from controversy; and to do nothing either in or out of the school which might have a tendency to confine it to any denomination of children.

Under the liberalising influence which operated during the first two decades of the present century these regulations gradually fell into abeyance, and they disappeared from the Code of Regulations when a native government took control of the educational system.

The attitude of mind to the teachers of the education authorities in the period 1831–1921, referred to above, was reflected in the rates of remuneration and superannuation paid to the teachers during that period. The then salaries of Irish teachers were far below those paid to their English and Scottish colleagues. Indeed,

Mr. Lloyd George once described these salaries as a disgrace to the British Empire. In 1921, however, there came a welcome change. A new scheme of salaries was introduced as a result of a decision by the Civil Service Arbitration Board, which had been set up during the First World War, and for the first time in his history the Irish primary teacher could be said to have a rate of remuneration in some measure appropriate to his status and his responsibilities. From 1921 to 1932, with one slight retrogression, the standard of living of teachers consistently improved. Though the nominal rate of salary remained static the real salary rose each year through a progressive fall in living costs. In 1932 a change came. Western European society, inspired by the Marxian idea that there was room only for two classes in the community, the capitalists and the proletariat, and that all other classes would decay and disappear, accepted a development by which the gap between the rates of remuneration of the salaried class and the wage-earners was gradually narrowed, with a resultant reduction in the standard of living of what were called the 'white-collared' groups. Ireland was not unaffected by this development. During the period 1932–48, the increases in the rates of remuneration of the salaried classes never kept pace with increases in living costs, a development which was particularly marked during the Second World War period. Towards the end of that period, however, all the organisations of salaried workers combined to form a conference representative of professional and service workers, which provided a platform for ventilating their common grievances. In this movement the Irish National Teachers' Organisation took a prominent part, with very great advantage to their own members and to the members of the other professions and services.

Articles in previous volumes of the YEAR BOOK have shown how the primary, secondary, vocational, and technical systems of education have evolved in Eire. The primary schools are, in the main, owned and managed by the various religious denominations, in accordance with regulations drafted by the state Department of Education. The salaries of the teachers are paid in full by the Department from the Education Vote direct to the teacher. Secondary schools are privately owned. The managers of these schools are required by the state to pay their teachers a certain basic salary. There is a scheme of increments which are paid directly, again, from the Education Vote to the teachers. Vocational and technical schools are controlled and managed by county vocational education committees, which are responsible for the salaries of the staffs.

Of the teachers in primary schools, some 10 per cent. are university graduates, 80 per cent. have been trained in one or other of the recognised training colleges, and 20 per cent. are untrained. There is a common scale for single men and women, commencing

at £285 and proceeding by sixteen increments of £11 and four increments of £16 to a maximum of £525. There is a special scale for married men, commencing at £340 and proceeding by five increments of £17, ten increments of £16, and five increments of £13 to a maximum of £650. Men, on marriage, are granted a special marriage gratuity of £75, are placed at the point in the married men's scale which they would have reached had they been married at the date of their first appointment, and then proceed by the increments stated to the maximum of £650. The common scale for untrained men and women teachers commences at £230, proceeds by ten increments of £11 and three increments of £10 to a maximum of £370. The married men's scale for untrained teachers proceeds from a minimum of £285 by ten increments of £17 and two increments of £15 to £485.

Teachers in secondary, vocational, and technical schools have the same rates of salary. The rate for single men and women ranges from £335 to £610. There are two increments of £7, nine of £4, four of £18, and three of £21. The married men's scale commences at £390, proceeds to £407 after two years, then by five increments of £17, eight of £22, three of £24, and one of £30 to £770. All recognised teachers in these schools are graduates. Primary teachers who are university graduates are awarded annual bonuses ranging from £21 10*s*. to £42 10*s*., according to their degree. An annual bonus of £43 is paid to secondary and vocational teachers holding an honours degree.

Lady teachers in all schools who joined the teaching service after April 1st, 1934, are required to retire on marriage, but may re-enter the teaching service should they become widowed. Non-pensionable allowances in respect of dependent children are payable to married men teachers, serving widow teachers, and widows whose husbands were serving teachers. These allowances are payable to married men teachers at the rate of £25 per annum in respect of the third, fourth, and fifth child where there are three or more children under 16 years of age, or between 16 and 21 if invalided or at school. No allowances are paid to married men teachers for the first two eligible children. In the case of widows of men teachers and widow teachers, the allowances are payable in respect of all eligible children up to and including the fifth child.

An annual rent allowance is payable to married men teachers and to widow teachers with one or more dependent children, which ranges from £40 to teachers serving in the metropolitan area, to £30 to teachers serving in the city of Cork, £25 to those serving in Limerick, Waterford, and Galway, £15 to those in the boroughs and urban districts of Kilkenny, Wexford, Sligo, Clonmel, Athlone, Carlow, Drogheda, Dundalk, and Tralee, and £10 serving in rural areas. A responsibility allowance is paid to the principals of primary schools which ranges from £6 in the case of principals of

schools with an annual average attendance of fewer than ten pupils, to £232 in the case of married men principals of schools with an annual average attendance of 450 or over, and £193 in the case of single men and women principals of such schools. All these scales and allowances are national in their application.

Conciliation and arbitration machinery is in operation for all teachers. The conciliation committees set up under it consist of four representatives of the teachers' organisations, two representatives of the Department of Education, and two representatives of the Department of Finance, with the Secretary of the Department of Education as Chairman. If agreement cannot be reached at the meetings of these committees, then the question in dispute is referred to an Arbitration Board consisting of two representatives of the teachers' organisations, a representative of the Department of Education, and a representative of the Department of Finance. The Chairman of the Arbitration Board is appointed by the Minister of Education after consultation with teachers' organisations and the Minister for Finance. The government cannot refuse to honour an award of this Arbitration Board without getting the approval of Parliament.

All grades of teachers in Eire have superannuation schemes. To qualify for pension under these schemes one must have at the date of retirement at least thirty-five years' pensionable service and must be at least 55 years of age. All teachers are compelled to retire on the last day of the quarter in which their sixty-fifth birthday occurs. Pension is one-eightieth of retiring salary for each year of pensionable service, and there is in addition a retiring gratuity amounting to one-thirtieth of the retiring salary for each year of pensionable service. Teachers compelled to retire because of ill-health who have at least ten years' pensionable service are entitled to pensions and gratuities. The legal representatives of teachers who die in the service get a death gratuity of at least one year's salary. Lady teachers compelled to retire on marriage get a marriage gratuity equivalent to one-twelfth of their retiring salary for each year of pensionable service to their credit on the date of their marriage, with a maximum of twelve-twelfths, provided they have at least six years' service under the Department on the date of their retirement.

Movement of teachers from primary schools to secondary or vocational schools is rare, but there is pretty general movement of the teachers in the same system. Young teachers tend to gravitate to the cities, to take advantage of the facilities for university studies which these cities provide. Many of them then return to rural areas to take up principalships of rural schools, the number of vacancies for principalship being greater in rural areas than in the cities. There is a further emigration to the cities when the children of teachers reach later adolescence, so that these children may have the advantage of the higher education which the

three university cities provide. The wastage from the teaching profession is less than 5 per cent. It is usually to the ranks of the higher civil service or to the education inspectorate.

Entry to the teaching profession in the primary branch in Eire is through the preparatory colleges or the secondary schools to the training colleges. Preparatory colleges are residential secondary schools intended solely to provide secondary education in the Irish language for future teachers. Entrance is by competitive examination at the age of 14. The courses followed in these schools are those followed in all secondary schools. The students who, at the end of the four-year course, pass the Leaving Certificate of the Secondary Branch of the Department of Education, are admitted to the training colleges. They fill something less than a third of the places in these colleges. The other two-thirds are drawn from secondary school students who, passing the Leaving Certificate of the Secondary Branch of the Department of Education, obtain honours in the Irish language and pass a preliminary oral test in the Irish language, the English language, and in singing. These students are admitted solely in the order of merit results of this examination. There are four training colleges, three of them under Roman Catholic management, two for women and one for men, and one under Church of Ireland management, to which both sexes are admitted. The ages of students on admission to these colleges generally range from 18 to 20 years.

The courses in the training colleges, which extend over two years, are both practical and theoretical, all students being required to spend a certain minimum number of hours in each year teaching in the practising schools attached to the training colleges. The students in the Church of Ireland Training College attend lectures in Dublin University (Trinity College). The final examination in training is accepted by the universities as the equivalent of the first examination in arts, provided the candidate teachers apply to have it so accepted and provided they have passed in Latin at the Leaving Certificate Examination of the Secondary Branch of the Department of Education. Evening courses are provided specially in the various university colleges to enable teachers to qualify for degrees. There is a department of education in the Faculty of Arts of each of the university colleges. The students of this department may qualify for a Diploma in Education after a one-year course, for a Bachelorship in Arts after two years, for a post-graduate Higher Diploma in Education, for an M.A. in Education and a Doctorate in Philosophy after courses extending from four to six years. A course of research in educational theory or history of education resulting in the preparation of a thesis may qualify for either of these two latter degrees. The primary training colleges are inspected by the inspectors of the Department of Education, and the final examination is held jointly by these inspectors and

the professors of the colleges. The state pays from the Education Vote to the conductors of the training colleges an annual grant of approximately £75, while each student has to pay an annual fee of £40. The students, before being admitted to training, must sign an agreement to serve for at least five years in a primary school in Eire on completion of their training course. Students, on completion of their training course, must serve a probationary period of two years before being finally certificated and awarded the Department's Teaching Diploma. Graduates of the Faculties of Arts, Science, and Commerce in the universities are eligible for recognition as teachers in vocational and technical schools, provided they have the Department's certificate of ability to teach their subjects through the medium of Irish.

To be recognised as a registered secondary school teacher and to be entitled to earn increments from the Department, graduates must have obtained the university Higher Diploma in Education. To qualify for this diploma they must have taught for at least one hundred hours in a secondary school under the direction of the professors and lecturers of the university department of education. Serving teachers in all schools are encouraged to attend refresher and vacation courses organised by the department annually.

Vacancies in the teaching service are more or less generally advertised in the Press. Appointments are made by the managers of primary and secondary schools. In schools under Catholic management, these appointments must be approved by the bishop of the diocese. The Department's regulations set out the minimum qualifications required in each case. Appointments to vocational and technical schools are made by the county vocational education committees. It will be understood, in view of the educational system operating in Ireland, that the teachers appointed are of the same religious persuasion as that of the pupils in the school to which they are being appointed. Recognition is withdrawn from teachers by the Department if their service is unsatisfactory. After three years of unsatisfactory service an inspection is held by a divisional inspector or one of a higher rank, and recognition is not withdrawn except on his recommendation. The teacher has the right of appeal to an appeal board consisting of a representative of the teachers' organisation, a divisional inspector, and a neutral chairman. That board has the right to order a further inspection. In Catholic primary and secondary schools, if a manager wishes to dismiss a teacher he must first apply to his bishop to serve a three months' notice of dismissal on the teacher, and the bishop will not grant this permission until he has given the teacher an opportunity of being heard in his own defence. The teacher may be accompanied by a representative of his organisation when appearing before the bishop. This procedure has been enshrined in the decrees of the Synod of Maynooth, and has operated so smoothly that in only one

instance in half a century has the teachers' organisation found occasion to disagree with the bishop's decision.

The position of the inspectors of the Department of Education is completely different from that of the teaching staffs. These inspectors are civil servants, appointed by the Civil Service Commission in accordance with regulations drawn up by that Commission. They are invariably recruited from one or other of the branches of the teaching service, and all have had, prior to their appointment, experience as teachers. The academic qualifications required for appointment to the inspectorate are those of a university graduate, and the appointments are made by a selection board appointed by the Civil Service Commission. The salary scales are: for men £550–£1,130, and for women £435–£965. Divisional inspectors' rates range from £1,130 to £1,300. The training college staffs are also recruited from serving teachers with university degrees. Salaries range from £540 to £805 for single men and women, and from £615 to £1,000 for married men. Both the inspectorate and the training college staffs have superannuation schemes similar to that which applies to teachers.

All schools in the republic of Eire are required to be in operation for a fixed number of hours each day, and for a certain number of days in each year. In the primary schools the school day consists of four hours of secular instruction, one half-hour of religious instruction, and a half-hour's recreation. These schools are required to operate for 190 school days in the calendar year. Fifty days' vacation is allowed in the year, and the schools are also closed on bank holidays and Church holidays. Managers may permit other closings, provided the required minimum of 190 days is maintained. The managers of secondary schools and the county vocational education committees make their own regulations with regard to the length of the school day and the school year, but departmental regulations set out minimum periods of operation to justify continuance of grants. The teaching staffs are required to be present for the full daily and yearly periods set out in these regulations, with certain exceptions; for example, a primary teacher may be absent without loss of salary for five continuous school days because of a serious illness in his family, or on the occasion of his marriage. He can absent himself to attend the wedding or the funeral of a near relative, or to be present at the ordination or profession of a son or daughter in religion. He can be absent for a calendar month because of illness. At the end of the month he is required to provide and pay a substitute teacher, but the Department refunds to him two-thirds of the cost of this substitute teacher. His absence because of illness may extend to as long as eighteen continuous months, provided the substitute teacher continues to be employed and provided medical evidence of the illness is submitted at the end of each month. In the secondary and

vocational branches teachers may be absent for six months continuously through illness, and need not employ a substitute. If the illness extends beyond six months they are put on half-pay for the period of absence in excess of six months. At the end of twelve months of continuous absence they may get a disability pension.

A minimum programme in the various sections of the curriculum is prepared by the Department. School managers may submit alternative programmes for departmental approval. Within the ambit of these programmes, teachers are free to draft their syllabus, and to adopt new methods in the presentation of the subject-matter to the pupils. The Department also provides an approved list of school textbooks, and teachers are free to make their own selection from this list. Generally the Department's inspectorate, the school managers, the executive officers of the vocational education committees, and the head masters work in a spirit of close partnership with the class teachers.

Irish teachers have three professional organisations. The largest is that of the primary teachers, the Irish National Teachers' Organisation, which was inaugurated in 1868. The Association of Secondary Teachers in Ireland and the Vocational Education Officers' Association date from the period of the First World War. These organisations are recognised by the Department of Education, the school managers, the vocational education committees, the church authorities, and the government as the recognised vehicles of the organised opinion of the school staffs, and are constantly consulted on all educational matters. The first two are nominating bodies for the cultural and educational panel of the Senate, the second house of Eire's Parliament. Ministers of state and members of the hierarchy attend their annual congresses. The Irish National Teachers' Organisation and the Vocational Education Officers' Association are affiliated to the Irish Trade Union Conference, and to the Irish Conference of Professional and Service Associations, and from 1919 to 1945 were constituent members of the Irish Labour Party. The 1945 Congress of the I.N.T.O. decided that it would be better policy not to be so intimately connected with any political party. It will be seen from this that there is no restriction on the activities of these organisations, except what is imposed by the members themselves. Their status as social organs can be estimated from the fact that the conciliation and arbitration machinery is embodied in an agreement signed on the one hand by the Ministers for Education and Finance and on other by the president, vice-president, and general secretary of the appropriate teachers' organisation.

There is no limit in the Irish republic to the activities of teachers as citizens. They can engage in any or every business, occupation, or activity, provided there is no interference with the performance of their duties as teachers. They are prominent in every political

party. At the moment there are five teacher deputies in *Dail Eireann,* the Irish House of Commons, and two teacher senators. In many of the previous Parliaments the proportion of teacher deputies and senators was even higher. Teacher deputies and senators are allowed to absent themselves from school to attend meetings of Parliament, provided they employ a substitute teacher. There are teachers on many county councils, on every county vocational educational committee, on every county library committee, and on every county scholarship committee. For several years, Eire's capital, Dublin, had a primary school teacher as its Lord Mayor. Teachers are also prominent in cultural and athletic movements, and in organisations for rural development. For over two decades teacher succeeded teacher in the presidency of the Gaelic Athletic Association, which controls the largest amateur athletic movement in the country. Teachers play a leading part in musical, dramatic, and literary societies.

It will be deduced from all this that in Eire, teachers have a rich and varied social life and have the interests common to an educated class in any community. The sons and daughters of teachers are to be found in the professions, in religion and medicine, in the higher ranks of the civil service, and in the banking service. Many teachers, too, have brothers and sisters in these professions. In such cases there are social contacts between them and the members of these professions, but in a world where income and rates of remuneration are often the criteria of social status it can hardly be said that Irish teachers have the social status of lawyers, doctors, or clergymen. The class teacher has an income somewhat similar to that of a captain in the army or of an executive officer in the civil service, and this may be one standard by which his general social status may be judged. In rural areas the teacher is generally the recognised leader of the local community, and is accorded in these areas a higher social status than that of his city colleague. This holds also for bank officials and civil servants.

In the opening paragraphs of this article I have adverted to the traditional respect of the Irish people for education and the educator. That attitude has not been unaffected by the general levelling-up process which is such a characteristic of modern social life. But while this is so, the improvement in the standard of living of the members of the teaching profession which has taken place, and is taking place, and the fact that more and more members of that profession are being drawn from the graduate class, must mean a raising of the status of the teacher, and a greater recognition of the importance of his function in the life of the individual, the community, and the nation.

M. P. LINEHAN.

SECTION III

ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES

CHAPTER ONE

THE UNITED STATES

THERE are certain characteristics of the American school system that should be held in mind as one considers the position and social status of teachers in the United States. Education is considered to be a state rather than a national function. As such, educational practices, policies, and standards that have developed in each of the states tend to differ in various respects from those in other states. Statements regarding the status and position of teachers, therefore, must be mainly of a generalised nature.

The public schools are free to all the children of all the people. It is the responsibility of the public schools to-day to help each boy and girl, regardless of ability, race, colour, or creed, to develop to his maximum capacity for democratic living. This responsibility of the school has its many and subtle resulting effects upon the status and position of public school teachers.

The major portion of the support of schools, approximately 60 per cent. as an average for all the states, is derived from local taxation. Less than 3 per cent. of the total cost of education is paid from federal funds. Although wide variations exist among states, approximately 35 per cent. of the funds for public schools are provided from state funds. During the past few years contributions made in many states have tended to increase, while the local contributions have tended to decrease. As a result, the educational standards in financially poor communities have tended to be raised. In spite of these trends towards the equalisation of educational opportunities, wide variations exist throughout the United States.

The United States is a relatively young country that has experienced tremendous growth and progress. As a result, many rapid changes, modifications, and variations have taken place in the development of the schools as they have attempted to meet the expanding educational needs of each generation of boys and girls. The function of the school has broadened, the enrolments have increased tremendously, organisational patterns have been modified, and many new subjects have been added to the curriculum.

Although other differentiating characteristics of American schools

should perhaps be mentioned, attention in this article is to be directed specifically to the position and status of teachers. The following major aspects are to be considered: number of teachers, salaries and remuneration, certification, selection, recruitment and preparation, appointment and dismissal, mobility and promotion, pensions or retirement benefits, professional organisations, and the social status of teachers.

Number of Teachers

There are more than a million teachers, administrators, and supervisors employed in the public and private schools and colleges in the United States. This means that approximately 2 per cent., or one person in fifty, of all gainfully employed workers are educators. There are considerably more teachers in the country than there are engineers, lawyers, medical doctors, clergymen, and architects combined. In fact, there are more secondary school teachers alone than there are members of any of these other professional groups. The table on the next page shows the approximate distribution of teachers according to the levels as well as the type of institution in which they teach.

In addition to the 860,700 elementary and secondary teachers employed in the public schools alone in 1947–1948, there were approximately 18,500 superintendents and professional staff, 9,200 supervisors, 37,100 principals, 6,200 attendance officers, and 13,100 clerical assistants.[1] State officers of education employed in 1947–1948 totalled approximately 2,712 professional staff members and 3,672 clerical assistants.[2]

Approximately 73 per cent. of all teachers in the United States are women. Although more men teachers are tending to enter the elementary schools, they constitute only approximately 7 per cent. of the total number of elementary school teachers. Approximately one-third of the secondary teachers are men. Men outnumber women only on the university, college, and professional school level, where approximately three-fourths of the instructional staff consists of men.

A question may be raised with regard to the effect that the high predominance of women teachers, especially in the elementary schools, has upon the character of American youth. Unfortunately, no outstanding studies seem to have been made in this area, probably because of the complexities of the problem involved. There is a general feeling among educators as well as parents, however, that children should have experience with both men and women as they progress through the elementary and secondary schools. For

[1] *Statistics of State School Systems, 1947–1948,* Biennial Survey of Education in the United States (Federal Security Agency, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C., 1950, Ch. II, p. 3).

[2] *Ibid.*

this reason increasing numbers of men are being encouraged to enter the elementary schools especially. Recent increases in salaries for public school teachers will probably encourage more men to enter the profession at all levels. Furthermore, it is highly probable that an increase in the number of men in the profession will raise the prestige of teaching in the opinion of the general public.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF TEACHERS IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, BY TYPE OF SCHOOL AND BY SEX, 1947–1948 [3]

Type of School, by Level	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
TOTAL	319,800	844,658	1,164,485
Kindergarten and elementary schools:			
Public	39,655	515,284	554,939
Private	3,753	63,677	67,430
Secondary Schools [1]:			
Public	122,258	183,481	305,739
Private	15,578	25,990	41,568
Non-collegiate departments of colleges:	2,618	2,493	5,111
Higher Education:			
Normal schools and teachers' colleges:			
Public	5,794 [2]	5,208 [2]	11,002 [2]
Private	359 [2]	543 [2]	902 [2]
Universities, colleges, and professional schools	124,545 [2]	37,755 [2]	162,300 [2]
Residential schools for exceptional children	1,148 [3]	4,771 [3]	5,919 [3]
Federal schools for Indians and Alaskans	555	1,118	1,673
Private commercial and business schools	3,537 [4]	4,338 [4]	7,875 [4]

[1] *Includes teachers in junior high schools.*

[2] *Includes duplicates between non-collegiate departments and critic teachers in institutions of higher education.*

[3] *Statistics*, 1945–1946.

[4] *Estimated.*

In the United States, men are generally considered to be better administrators than women. Whether this opinion is valid or not, the vast majority of the school administrators, especially superintendents and secondary school principals, are men. As the size of the school or school system increases, the probabilities of a man's holding the administrative position likewise increase. Only in the elementary school principalships is the number of men and women approximately the same. Women generally are very willing to delegate the administrative responsibilities to the man. Women

[3] Adapted from *Statistical Summary of Education, 1947–1948*, Biennial Summary of Education in the United States (Federal Security Agency, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C., 1950, Ch. I, p. 38).

tend to take more pride in becoming outstanding classroom teachers than in becoming administrators.

Salaries of Teachers

The salary status of teachers, especially since World War II, has been an item of increasing concern both nationally and locally. Various attempts have been and are being made to increase the salaries of teachers. Data on salaries for any one year, therefore, quickly become obsolete. For this reason emphasis will be placed upon trends in teacher salaries.

Comparison of Teachers' Salaries. It is difficult to compare the income of teachers with incomes in other occupations, for a number of reasons. Accurate information on the earnings of others, especially those not on fixed salaries, is difficult to obtain, but it is known that since World War II considerable change has taken place. Wages in some occupations fluctuate rapidly according to the cost-of-living index; whereas others, especially fixed incomes, remain relatively constant. What is true to-day may not be true to-morrow. About all that can be done is to study trends and current conditions carefully.

In January 1950, the Research Division of the National Education Association completed a study in which the average annual salary of teachers was compared with the average annual earnings in other occupational groups from 1929 to 1949. It was found[4] that during those 20 years the national average salary of teachers, principals, and supervisors for the calendar year increased from $1,400 to $2,890, an increase of 106 per cent. The average annual earnings per full-time employee working for wages or salaries, either privately or as a government employee, increased from $1,421 to $2,869, or 102 per cent. Three representative groups of employed persons also were studied. The earnings of 2,268,000 farm employees, the lowest-paid group in the industrial classification used by the U.S. Department of Commerce, increased from $430 in 1929 to $1,287 in 1949, or 199 per cent. These averages do not include farmers who operate their own farms; they include only those who are employed farmers. The average earnings for 14,187,000 workers in manufacturing industries in 1949 was $3,093, which represented an increase of 101 per cent. over their average salary of $1,543 in 1929. Government employees, including approximately 966,000 public school teachers, totalled 7,062,000 in 1949. Their average earnings had increased from $1,552 to $2,892, or 86 per cent., during this 20-year period. In studying these figures it seems that, with the exception of farm employees, the salaries and the percentage of increases are very similar. However,

[4] From an unpublished memorandum prepared by the Research Division of the National Education Association, dated 1950.

as compared with the 1939 salaries, the 1949 salaries would be represented by the following percentages: teachers, principals, and supervisors, 204; all employed persons, private and governmental, 226; farm employees, 340·5; manufacturing employees, 227; governmental employees, 216.

The Research Division of the National Education Association also studied the average non-salaried income of dentists and lawyers from 1929 to 1949. During this period of time the average income of dentists increased from $4,267 to $7,146, or 67 per cent., and that of lawyers increased from $5,534 to $8,083, or 46 per cent. In 1949 the estimated national average salary of teachers was $2,890. This means that the average income of dentists was 147 per cent. higher than that of teachers, and the average income of lawyers was 180 per cent. higher.[5]

It should be pointed out that studies such as these need to be interpreted carefully. Use of the average income as a comparison tends to distort the facts in any vocation. This is particularly true of teaching, for a number of reasons. Only a relatively small percentage of women teachers have made teaching a life career. As a result, a large number of the teachers are either beginners or those with limited amounts of experience. Obviously, these salaries are low. Over 80 per cent. of the teachers in the public elementary and secondary schools are women, and they tend to be paid less than men. Many teachers in the elementary schools have had two years or less of college training. These teachers are paid appreciably less than are those who have had four or five years of preparation. In other words, the heterogeneous background of the teacher population makes it unwise to compare the income of teachers with incomes in other occupations, such as law and dentistry, where the amount of training is more homogeneous.

Comparison of Teachers' Salaries in Various States. In view of the fact that education is a state rather than a national responsibility, it is to be expected that salaries of teachers vary from state to state, since the federal government cannot act as an equalising agency. Some states are much more able to support schools through public taxation than are others, due to differences in the amounts of taxable wealth. For example, the natural, industrial, and personal wealth to be found in the state of New York far exceeds that of the relatively poor agricultural state of Mississippi. Furthermore, local communities within states vary in their financial resources for school support. Some communities may have large industries located within them, whereas others are forced to depend only upon relatively poor land and property as sources of school revenue.

For the school year 1950–1951 the estimated average salaries of public school teachers, principals, and supervisors in the continental

[5] *Ibid.*

United States was $3,080. The average salaries by states ranged from $1,560 in Mississippi to $4,095 in New York.[6] Generally speaking, the northern and extreme western states have higher average annual salaries than do the southern states.

A direct relationship exists between the size of a community and the salaries paid to public school teachers. In 1948–1949, public school teachers in cities of 500,000 or over in population had salaries approximately 60 per cent. greater than those of teachers in cities having a population of from 2,500 to 5,000. Undoubtedly salaries of teachers in cities under 2,500 population and in the open country were lower.

Teachers, like individuals in other occupations, tend to gravitate towards areas in which high salaries are paid. This means that many of the able teachers leave the poorly paying states and find positions in states paying higher salaries. The same condition exists with respect to communities within states. In addition to inadequate equipment and materials, the states as well as the local communities having low teachers' salaries are left with a relatively high percentage of inferior teachers.

Comparison of Salaries of Various Types of School Employees. Throughout the history of education in the United States, secondary teachers have tended to receive higher salaries than elementary teachers. In 1948–1949 this difference amounted to an average of approximately $500 in cities having a population of 30,000 to 100,000. Reasons accounting for the differences that have existed include the following: (1) lower standards of training have been required for teaching in the elementary school, (2) a higher percentage of the teachers in the elementary schools than of those in the secondary schools have been women, who tend to receive lower salaries than men, and (3) a higher prestige has been attached to teaching in the secondary school. However, there seems to be a definite trend towards closing the gap between these types of classroom teachers. Many states now require equal training for elementary and secondary teachers. There is a predominant feeling that equal pay should accompany equal training.

School administrators and supervisors, likewise, receive decidedly higher salaries than do classroom teachers. However, there has been a tendency to lessen the difference between the salaries of classroom teachers and those of administrators. For example, the median salaries of all classroom teachers advanced 70 per cent. between 1930–1931 and 1948–1949, while, in this same period, the median salaries of no administrators in large schools increased more than 43 per cent.[7]

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[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Salaries and Salary Schedules of City-School Employees, 1948–1949*, Research Bulletin, National Education Association, Vol. 27, No. 2, April 1949, p. 53.

The salaries of various school employees increase generally as the size of the city increases. The principalship salaries in cities having a population of 500,000 or above are almost twice as high as those in cities of 2,500 to 5,000, whereas the salaries of superintendencies are more than three times as great. However, the size of the city does not make so much difference in the salaries of directors, assistant directors, or supervisors of various areas.

Salaries of Men and Women Teachers. A number of states have enacted legislation requiring school boards to pay women teachers the same as men teachers, provided the training and experience are the same. It should be pointed out, however, that the discrimination against women teachers is not so great as it may seem. Many women in the elementary schools have far less than a four-year college degree. The great majority of men teach on the secondary school level, where the degree is required. Furthermore, a high percentage of the administrative positions are filled by men.

Some educators feel that teachers who have dependants, as is especially true of men teachers, should receive higher salaries than those without dependants. A very few school systems have solved the problem of dependants partially by adopting a policy similar to the one used in computing income-tax. Allowances in salary are made for the number of dependants, regardless of the sex of the teacher.

Minimum Salaries and Salary Schedules for Teachers. In November 1950, the Research Division of the National Education Association reported that some form of minimum-salary law for teachers on a state-wide basis was in effect in 31 of the 48 states, Alaska, and Hawaii. These laws provide several different types of minimum-salary requirements and widely differing amounts of salary. Some states guarantee a flat-rate minimum only. Other states specify only minimum salaries for beginning teachers, according to the amount of preparation; whereas other states specify a minimum salary both for beginning teachers and for teachers who have a maximum amount of teaching experience, for which credit is received. The law in seven states in 1950 guaranteed for teachers with Bachelor's degrees a minimum salary of at least $2,400 for a full school term of nine months. It is reasonable to believe that before many years all states will have minimum-salary requirements, and that these requirements will become increasingly higher.

The 1948–1949 National Education Association survey of salary schedules of city-school employees indicates that almost all the large cities and nearly three-fourths of the small cities reported the use of a definite salary schedule.[8] The classroom teachers with four years of preparation or the Bachelor's degree in 1948–1949 were receiving median minimum salaries of $2,550 in cities of 500,000

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

population or over, $2,342 in the 100,000 to 500,000 population group, and $2,350 in cities having a population of 30,000 to 100,000. The medians of maximum salaries for the same level of preparation were $4,450, $3,836, and $3,800 respectively.[9] The median typical increments, or yearly increases, for the three groups of cities were $175, $115, and $106, respectively. For teachers having a Bachelor's degree, relatively few schedules provide less than 10 or more than 17 increments, the median being approximately 13. The number of increments usually is greater for teachers who have more than the Bachelor's degree. The trend to-day is to increase the number of increments.

Unfortunately, most salary schedules are based upon the amount of training and experience and do not provide merit raises for outstanding work of teachers. It is difficult to provide adequate incentive for a teacher to perform outstandingly when salary increments are based only upon the factors of training and experience. As a result, outstanding teachers frequently reduce their levels of performance, after a few years of teaching, to a 'satisfactory' status. A few school systems, however, do provide for merit raises in their salary schedules. In addition to recognition for outstanding performance in the classroom, merit raises are frequently granted to teachers for additional training and travel of an enrichment nature, experimental research, and the like.

It seems that the single-salary schedule is destined to become characteristic of the American public schools. This kind of a schedule specifies the same salary for classroom teachers with equal training and experience when assigned to regular positions in elementary, junior high, or senior high school. The single-salary schedule assumes that teaching in the first grade is just as important as teaching in the twelfth grade.

In 1946 the National Education Association Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards outlined some minimum professional standards for teacher salary schedules. The standards are intended to serve as an authoritative working guide in the evaluation of salary schedules, development of salary policy in state and local systems, and negotiations between teachers' associations and Boards of Education. These minimum salary standards are visualised in the table on the next page.[10]

From the time the Commission proposed these standards in 1946, there has been steady progress towards achievement of the standards throughout the nation. Some public school systems have already met a major portion of these standards. It is reasonable to believe that this progress will continue.

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[10] Ralph McDonald, "Professional Standards for Teachers", *National Education Association Journal*, Vol. 38, December 1949, p. 662.

TABLE II

MINIMUM PROFESSIONAL SALARY SCHEDULE

	First Year	*Second to 14th Years*	*15th Year*	*Years beyond 15th*
Bachelor's degree	$2,400	Annual increments to add $2,400	$4,800	Further increases for advanced education and proved usefulness.
Master's degree .	$2,600	Annual increments to add $2,600	$5,200	Additional annual increments; further increases to $6,000 or more.
Year beyond Master's .	$2,800	Annual increments to add $2,800	$5,600	Further annual increments beyond those at Master's level; top salaries beyond $6,000.
Doctor's degree .	$3,000	Annual increments to add $3,000	$6,000	Still further annual increments beyond those at the two-year graduate level; top salaries substantially beyond $6,000.

Out-of-school Income of Teachers. Accurate data on the out-of-school earnings of teachers are not available. It is a well-known fact, however, that many teachers do supplement their incomes through out-of-school work, especially during the summer vacation period. In addition to the financial gains, many teachers utilise this out-of-school work as a means of gaining experiences that enrich their professional backgrounds. For example, the chemistry teacher may spend the summer working in a chemical industry. Summer employment opportunities for teachers are usually good. The types of work in which they engage vary greatly.

Pension or Retirement Benefits of Teachers

The National Education Association reports that since 1946 all states and territories of the United States have made at least one law providing retirement or pension benefits for teachers who have reached a stated age or have served for a stated length of time. There is considerable variation in the provisions of the various state laws. A complete analysis of them is beyond the scope of this article.

Four of the 48 states have pension plans, in which the pension is paid usually from a general fund set aside for this purpose by the state government or by the local school district. The remaining

states have some form of retirement allowance, to which both the teacher and the state or school system contribute. This type of retirement system is commonly referred to as a joint-contributory plan. The teacher contributes to the retirement fund from his active salary a given percentage (usually 4 or 5 per cent.) or a flat rate, and this amount is usually matched by the local school system or state.

As of 1950, teachers in 22 states were able to retire upon reaching a designated age, usually 60, without especially meeting any service requirements; in 22 states teachers were eligible to retire after having served for a designated number of years; and 25 states required a combination of service and age for retirement.

An increasing number of states have established plans whereby a teacher may retire voluntarily without meeting the full requirements and receive proportionately less retirement benefits. A number of retirement laws specify ages when a teacher is compelled to retire, regardless of the amount of time the teacher has taught. This age usually ranges between 65 and 70.

When the requirements for retirement have been met, most systems specify a formula for computing the allowance. The allowance, to be paid for the remainder of the teacher's life, usually depends upon a certain percentage of his average salary during the last five or more years of his service. Normally, the retirement benefits, when computed upon a percentage basis, are approximately equal to one-half of the average salary.

Almost every state makes provisions for early retirement, with compensation, if the teacher becomes permanently disabled prior to normal retirement. Most of the laws, however, state that the teacher must have a specified minimum number of years of service, such as 10 years, before he is eligible for disability retirement.

Teachers, like all public employees, are not affected by the federal Social Security Act which constitutes the main old-age-pension plan for people in the United States. Some people feel that the federal Act should be amended so that teachers may be included on a voluntary basis. Those in favour of the amendment point out the weakness in the present system in providing for the teacher who moves from one state to another. Unfortunately, most retirement systems do not provide for retirement reciprocity. It is probable that further changes and modifications will be made in the laws governing teachers' retirement and social-security benefits.

Selection, Recruitment, and Training of Teachers

In order to enter a college or university in the United States a student must normally have graduated from an accredited secondary school. Some institutions of higher education may also require one or more of the following: high scholarship in secondary school subjects; completion of certain prescribed subjects in the secondary

school; recommendations from school personnel, such as the secondary school principal; personality ratings; physical fitness ratings; and scores on entrance tests administered by the institutions.

Factors considered for entrance to the period of professional specialisation ordinarily include such things as scholarship in college courses; patterns of college courses completed; scores earned on examinations, including intelligence tests, personality tests, subject-matter tests, English-usage tests, contemporary-affairs examinations; health, speech, and personality ratings derived from examinations and/or interviews.[11]

Selective retention of prospective teachers is usually a matter of maintaining at least a minimum scholarship status in various required subject areas. An increasing number of teacher training institutions are broadening and intensifying their basis for retaining students to include: evidence of desirable professional attitudes, successful experience in working with children in many types of situations, wholesome personality characteristics, constructive citizenship, and above-average scholarship.

Recruitment of Teachers. Public school teachers are recognising increasingly that they have a major responsibility for the effective recruitment of teachers. Obviously, a very high percentage of decisions to become or not to become teachers are made by pupils while they are in the elementary and secondary schools. Research indicates [12] that the selection of teaching as a vocation is affected by such matters as: the assistance teachers give pupils in the selection of an occupation, the extent to which secondary school pupils engage in experiences of a teaching nature, the attitude that pupils have towards teachers, and the amount of correct information that parents have regarding teachers and teaching as an occupation.

Teachers in many schools are making concerted attempts to interest more secondary school pupils who hold outstanding promise for teaching to prepare for the profession. Among other things many schools have organised Future Teachers of America clubs, in which members are given teaching experience with younger children. Many other kinds of activities are sponsored by the clubs in order to interest boys and girls in becoming teachers. Closer relationships between public schools and teacher training institutions are being developed in regard to effective teacher recruitment programmes.

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[11] Charles W. Sanford and J. Lloyd Trump, "Preservice Selection", *Encyclopædia of Educational Research,* p. 1393, edited by Walter S. Monroe (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1950).

[12] Robert W. Richey and W. H. Fox, "A Study of Some Opinions of High School Students with Regard to Teachers and Teaching," *Bulletin* of the School of Education, Indiana University, Vol. 27, No. 4, Bloomington, July 1951, pp. 21–23.

The teaching profession in the United States is faced with a very serious shortage of teachers. Following World War II the birth-rate in the United States increased greatly. It is estimated that in 1957 the enrolment in Grades 1 to 8 will reach 26½ million pupils. During the 10-year period (1949–1950 through 1958–1959) it is estimated that at least 800,000 new elementary teachers will be required to handle new enrolments and replace teachers who withdraw from the profession.[13] In addition, a sizeable but unknown number will be needed to replace teachers who are teaching on substandard or emergency permits. In 1950 the total number of elementary teachers certificated in the United States was 35,582.[14] This number was totally inadequate to meet the demand for elementary teachers. Prospects for adequate numbers of individuals preparing for elementary teaching to meet future demands seem exceedingly remote.

During the next three or four years the need for secondary teachers will be limited primarily to replacements. As the large numbers of pupils move through the elementary schools and into the secondary schools, however, the need for secondary teachers will increase. It is estimated[15] that approximately 85,000 new teachers will probably be needed between 1952 and 1960 to provide for additional enrolments. Likewise, the number of teachers required for replacement purposes will probably be over 20,000 per year by 1960. From these data it may be concluded that the elementary schools face a much greater teacher shortage than do the secondary schools in the United States.

Scholarships for Teachers. An increasing number of scholarships are being granted to students who hold outstanding promise for teaching. The sources of these scholarships are varied. Some of them are provided by the teacher training institutions, others by professional or semi-professional organisations, whereas others are granted by foundations or philanthropists. The scholarships usually cover only a relatively small portion of the total cost of the training. In view of the great shortage of teachers, especially in the elementary schools, an increasing number of people feel that scholarships derived from state and from national funds should be granted to outstanding prospective teachers.

Many students, including those who hold scholarships, defray varying amounts of their college expenses by engaging in various types of work during the academic year and/or during the summer

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[13] *Employment Outlook for Elementary and Secondary Teachers,* Bulletin No. 972, Occupational Outlook Series, Bureau of Labor Statistics (U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., 1949, p. 2).

[14] Ray C. Maul, *Teacher Supply and Demand in the United States,* National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards (National Education Association, Washington, D.C., 1950, p. 5).

[15] Bureau of Labor Statistics, *op. cit.,* p. 8.

vacation months. It is not uncommon for a prospective teacher to defray all his tuition and living expenses in this manner. No accurate data are available regarding the number of students involved as well as the percentage of expenses defrayed. Obviously these factors are affected by economic conditions. In times of economic prosperity the percentage in regard to both factors tends to be less than in times of economic stress. It is a regular practice for teacher education institutions to reserve various types of jobs (clerical, secretarial, assistantships, etc.) for students so that they may earn a portion of their college expenses.

Institutions preparing Teachers. Approximately 1,200 of the 1,700 institutions of higher education in the United States are engaged to some degree in the preparation of teachers. In 1938–1939, the institutions approved for teacher training included approximately 238 teachers' colleges and normal schools, 677 colleges and universities, 228 junior colleges, and 53 independent professional and technical schools.[16] These institutions vary in size from approximately a 100-student population to the largest universities in the world. Many of the small institutions are private colleges originally established by certain religious denominations. In general the preparation of the staff, the quality of instruction, and the extensiveness of physical facilities are positively related to the size of the institution and to the presence of state support for the institution. Colleges and universities require more years of training for their graduates than do normal schools and junior colleges. Work beyond the Bachelor's degree is reserved for colleges and universities.

During the past 50 years there has been a decided shift in the type of institutions preparing teachers. It is reported that 286 normal schools were preparing teachers in 1900, whereas 39 years later only 61 were performing this service.[17] On the other hand, the number of teachers' colleges preparing teachers increased from 2 in 1900 to 174 in 1939. Although accurate figures are not available, the trends noted above have continued since 1939. By far the major portion of prospective teachers now receive their preparation in institutions of college rank. More and more state universities consider the preparation of teachers as one of their major functions.

In order to train teachers, an institution must normally be approved by the state Department of Education in the state in which the institution is located. Each institution is free to exceed the minimum standards or requirements prescribed by the state Department of Education. Members of the state Department of Education have a right to inspect a teacher training institution to

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[16] Benjamin W. Frazier, *Teaching as a Career*, Bulletin No. 11 (Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C., 1947, p. 34).

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

ascertain whether or not standards prescribed by the state are being met. Upon fulfilling the requirements for graduation, a student is normally recommended by his teacher training institution to the state Department of Education for certification. The state Department, after ascertaining his qualifications for teaching, then issues an appropriate certificate or licence to the applicant for teaching in that particular state. A teacher must have a legitimate certificate issued by a state Department of Education in order to teach in elementary or secondary public schools of that state. If he wishes to move to another state he must first secure approval from the state Department of Education under which he wishes to work. In moving from one state to another a teacher may be required to take additional work, especially if the certification requirements in the state he is leaving are lower than the requirements in the state to which he is going. As a part of certification for public school teaching, approximately one-half of the states require proof of citizenship in the United States. Some states make an exception to the citizenship requirement for teachers of foreign languages, exchange teachers, or those who have filed their first citizenship papers. Twenty-seven states require proof of good health as a requirement for certification. The following states require an oath of allegiance as a part of the certification procedure: Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Indiana, Michigan, New Jersey, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, and Washington. This oath of allegiance in no way hinders a teacher in fulfilling his political pursuits, provided the local community sanctions this type of behaviour upon the part of the teacher.

Preparation for Teaching. Throughout the history of education in the United States the requirements for elementary teachers have been lower than those for secondary teachers. Only one state requires less than four years of post-high-school education for secondary teaching, whereas 28 out of 47 states specify less than that amount of education as the minimum requirement for elementary teachers. Massachusetts has no state requirements for elementary teachers. In 1949 nineteen states required a minimum of four years of college training for elementary teachers, four required three years, nineteen required two, and five required one year of training. In recent years there has been a decided trend towards raising the amount of college training for elementary teachers. The gradual adoption of the single-salary schedule has been a tremendous influence for increasing these requirements.

Furthermore, there is much evidence to indicate that the supply of elementary teachers generally increases as standards are raised. An increase in standards is usually accompanied by an increase in salary. The levels of standards and salary bear positive relationships to the prestige of an occupation—all of which effects the supply of potential candidates.

Four years of training in a recognised college is a standard requirement for secondary teaching. Four states and the District of Columbia require five years of college work for high school certification. Many educators feel that five years of college training will become a common standard for the preparation of secondary teachers in the relatively near future.

An increasing number of states require administrators, principals, supervisors, and school personnel, such as librarians and guidance officers, to hold special certificates appropriate to their respective positions. These certificates usually require some successful teaching experience as well as some college course work applicable to the special type of work for which the certificate is granted.

College teachers are not affected by state certification laws unless the college is considered a part of the public school system. There is a tendency, however, to extend the public schools to include the first two years of college. Each college and university establishes its own requirements for teachers. In order to secure a full-time appointment on the college level, a person must normally have at least a Master's and usually a Doctor's degree. The requirements may vary according to subject fields within a college or university. Successful teaching experience is almost a universal requirement for teaching professional education courses. Likewise, the Doctorate is fast becoming a requirement for teaching professional education courses.

Considerable variation exists in the specific nature of programmes to be found in teacher education institutions to-day. Generally the programme for the preparation of elementary and secondary school teachers consists of three major areas: general education, subject-matter specialisation, and professional education. Elementary teacher trainees normally take more general education, which includes experience in all fields of knowledge relating to the major human activities, than do secondary teachers. Secondary teachers spend more time specialising in one or more subject areas. Prospective elementary teachers usually spend about twice as much time during four years of training in professional education courses than do secondary teachers.

In spite of variations in the details of professional programmes for teachers, there is a fairly common pattern in evidence. The programmes generally can be divided into the following major areas, although the amount of emphasis on each varies between institutions as well as within institutions, according to the area or level of specialisation:

(1) Introduction to education.
(2) General and educational psychology.
(3) General methods of teaching.
(4) Special methods of teaching.
(5) Student or practice teaching.

Student teaching for a period of time under the supervision of a critic teacher has become almost a uniform requirement for elementary and secondary teacher certification. There is a decided tendency to increase the amount of student teaching required for certification. Many schools of education are requiring students to gain extensive experience working with children prior to student teaching. This practical experience tends to make professional courses much more meaningful to prospective teachers.

Many opportunities exist for teachers to continue their training after the formal period of preparation is over. Most teacher education institutions provide summer school programmes which teachers may attend during the summer months. During this time teachers may broaden their professional backgrounds as well as pursue advanced degrees, either Master's degrees or Doctorates.

An increasing number of school systems are sponsoring workshops during the regular school year in which teachers may work together on common educational problems. It has been found that well-conducted workshops as well as educational conferences add much to the professional growth of teachers.

Appointment and Dismissal of Teachers

A teacher is eligible to begin teaching immediately after completing his training, assuming that he has applied for and been granted a certificate by the state Department of Education in the state in which he wishes to teach. His major problem at this time is to find a position.

The law of supply and demand helps to determine where a teacher begins his career. For example, the demand for elementary teachers is so great that beginners usually receive positions, if they so desire, in a city school system where beginning salaries are appreciably higher than in rural areas. Secondary teachers, on the other hand, usually begin their teaching careers in the rural districts, especially if they are prepared to teach in subject areas in which there is a large supply of teachers. Secondary teachers are appointed to teach in one or more subject areas; whereas elementary teachers usually teach all subject areas to a group of children.

In a small school, members of the Board of Education, or the local superintendent, or both, decide who shall be employed. In a larger school, the responsibility for hiring, as well as dismissing, a teacher is usually delegated to the superintendent. In a very large school system these responsibilies are often delegated to a personnel director. The bases of selection of a teacher are usually the result of a personal interview, specific preparation, apparent aptitude, high scholarship, and influence with local authorities. Increasing importance is being attached to letters of recommendation from the teaching training instructors who know the applicant.

A teacher may secure a position by discovering, through inquiry, a

vacancy for which he is qualified and applying for the position. On the other hand, many school administrators prefer to list the vacancies in their school systems with college and university placement officials and have them recommend possible candidates. According to a study made by the National Education Association, 88 per cent. of the 1,790 schools reporting secure recommendations from college and university placement bureaux when vacancies occur. Eighty-six per cent. use personal applications sent in voluntarily by candidates, 46 per cent. secure suggestions from commercial agencies, 41 per cent. make inquiries in other systems, 28 per cent. make inquiries at professional conventions, and 24 per cent. use the services of placement offices in the state Department of Education or in the state employment service. Fifty-six per cent. of the schools replying reported college and university placement bureaux as the most productive sources of new teacher candidates, 24 per cent. indicated voluntary applications as most productive, and 11 per cent. favoured commercial agencies.[18]

Most teacher training institutions maintain placement bureaux whose function it is to canvass the available situations and to recommend teachers for definite positions known to be vacant. These teacher training placement bureaux do not charge fees from the graduates for these services. Rarely does a teacher need to resort to the use of a commercial teachers' agency, where he is required to pay a fee for placement.

Security of Employment

The legal causes for dismissal of a teacher, as specified in many of the state laws, seem to include the following: incompetency, insubordination, neglect of duty, immorality, inefficiency, physical or mental disability, and justifiable decrease of teaching positions. Some state laws specify that dismissal is not to be made for political, personal, or religious reasons. In cases where a teacher may be dismissed for a justifiable decrease of teaching positions, the law states that the teacher must be placed on the preferred list and re-employed as vacancies occur.

Considerable progress has been made in enacting tenure laws to protect teachers from being dismissed from their positions without justifiable professional reasons. According to a report by the National Education Association,[19] 12 states in the United States provide state-wide tenure by law. All except 7 states have some legislation on the duration of the term of employment. State-wide continuing contract laws are in effect in several states; while in other states similar legislation is applicable to at least parts of

[18] *Teacher Personnel Procedures: Selection and Appointment,* Research Bulletin, National Education Association, Vol. 20, March 1942, pp. 64–65.

[19] *Teachers in the Public Schools,* Research Bulletin, National Education Association, Vol. 27, No. 4, December 1949, p. 144.

the state. Some tenure laws make separate provisions for teachers not qualified for tenure status by requiring that they be employed under spring-notification continuing contracts.

In some instances dismissal of a teacher during a school year is regulated even without a tenure law. Under these conditions either notice of a stated amount of time, a statement of reasons for the dismissal, or even a court hearing, may be required if a teacher is to be dismissed before the termination date of the contract. Procedure for dismissal of a tenure teacher usually requires a statement of reasons, an opportunity for self-defence, and an appeal procedure.

It is impossible to determine the extent to which the character of the teaching profession in the United States is affected by such security factors as tenure and pensions or retirements. It is doubtful if these factors greatly influence young people to enter the teaching profession. Reasons listed by nearly 6,000 teachers in service,[20] as well as approximately 750 prospective teachers,[21] for entering teaching as a profession indicate that tenure and retirement benefits are of minor importance. Undoubtedly men are more affected by these factors than are women, primarily because men tend to consider teaching more as a life career than do women who enter the profession. Men, however, constitute less than one-fifth of the public elementary and secondary teachers.

Mobility and Promotion of Teachers

Accurate information on the mobility and promotion of teachers is not available. Obviously, salary differences between rural and urban schools bring about considerable mobility of teachers within states. Furthermore, it is a well-known fact that the interstate migration of teachers has increased greatly due to such factors as: rapid transportation and communication, fluctuations in teacher supply and demand, and differences in salary, tenure, and retirement benefits. Most of this migration takes place in the early stages of a teacher's career. Efforts are being made to establish reciprocal certification agreements between states so as to facilitate the easy migration of teachers.

It is estimated by the National Education Association that about 5 per cent. of all the public school teaching positions are vacated each year because of 'natural causes' such as death, retirement, illness, and marriage.[22] It is estimated that an additional 5 per cent. (approximately 41,117) of all teachers annually leave the profession to accept higher-salaried positions in other fields, or become

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[20] M. Margaret Stroh, Ida A. Jemett, and Vera M. Butler, *Better Selection of Better Teachers* (National Capital Press Inc., Washington, D.C., 1943, p. 10).

[21] Robert W. Richey and William H. Fox, *op cit.*, p. 26.

[22] *Teachers in the Public Schools,* Research Bulletin, National Education Association, Vol. 27, No. 4, December 1949, p. 136.

dissatisfied with their work and quit, or are dismissed because of incompetence. Economic conditions affect considerably the number of teachers leaving as well as the number returning to the profession. In times of economic depression, fewer high-salaried positions occur outside the profession to attract teachers, and more married women continue to teach. In times of prosperity the reverse conditions exist.

Accurate data are not available regarding the types of work into which teachers go when they leave the profession. Many of them accept positions as salesmen. Science teachers frequently accept research positions in industry. An increasing number of industries are developing training programmes for new employees, and teachers are frequently placed in charge of these programmes. Other teachers become city recreational directors, camp counsellors, church and Bible school teachers, educational consultants, personnel directors, service-agency workers, radio and television workers, and the like.

A few teachers leave the public school classroom in order to pursue teaching at the college or university level. This appeals to a number of teachers primarily because of the higher salaries that are paid, the added prestige associated with college teaching, and the opportunity to pursue research interest.

Each year a number of administrative and supervisory positions are vacated in the public schools. Since these positions (primarily principalships and superintendencies) normally pay higher salaries than regular teaching positions, they represent advancements for those especially interested in administrative or supervisory work. Factors normally associated with the selection of individuals to fill such positions include: certification (if required by the state Department of Education) for the type of work, evidence of professional leadership qualities, success in previous work as a teacher, desirable personality characteristics, and apparent aptitude.

In years past the possibilities of securing an administrative or supervisory position represented the greatest promise of professional advancement for most public school teachers. Improved salaries, definite salary scales, and increasingly less differential between the salaries of classroom teachers and those of administrators and supervisors, are tending to decrease the importance and prestige formerly attached to these positions by classroom teachers. Increasing numbers of teachers look with a high degree of favour upon the wisdom of becoming outstandingly good classroom teachers.

Conditions of Work

Conditions of work in public schools differ considerably throughout the United States. There are great gaps between what a teacher does in a one-room school and what another does, for example, as a senior English literature teacher in a large metropolitan high school.

Their lives vary in significant ways. There are, however, many elements that are common to the work of teachers.

Nature of the School Year. Schools are usually in session for eight to nine months of the year. The school year normally begins in September. City school systems usually have a longer school year than do school systems in rural areas. Traditional holiday seasons in the school calendar include approximately two school days in November for Thanksgiving, two weeks in December to include Christmas and New Year's Day, and from one to five school days in the spring to include Easter. Saturdays and Sundays are not considered to be school days.

Although the length of the school day varies slightly from community to community, boys and girls are normally in school from 8.30 or 9.00 a.m. until 3.30 or 4.00 p.m. Teachers are usually expected to report to their classrooms approximately 30 minutes prior to the arrival of the pupils. Policies vary greatly regarding the time that teachers may leave their classroom after the pupils have departed. Some teachers have responsibilities that necessitate their remaining longer in the school building than other teachers. After the official school day is over, a teacher is normally very free to determine how he shall spend his time unless it is necessary for him occasionally to attend various functions such as parent-teacher meetings, athletic events, and dramatic programmes in the evening.

Nature of a School Day. The number of classes taught by teachers per school day varies, for several reasons. Elementary teachers generally stay with their particular groups for the greater part of the school day. In some school systems elementary music, art, health and physical education, and special speech work are taught by highly specialised teachers, who move from grade to grade in a single school or in several schools in a district. Secondary school teachers generally meet several different classes in one day. The number of different subjects taught by each teacher is greater in small schools than in large ones. Usually a secondary teacher will have an 'unassigned' class period during the day in which he is free to do as he chooses. During this period a teacher may wish to observe other teachers in action in different classes throughout the school, schedule conferences with pupils or parents, plan school work for the next few days, read various professional magazines and books, or relax completely from academic work.

A complete description of a teacher's day is beyond the scope of this article. It normally includes such matters as: teaching classes, supervising pupils during study periods, ordering learning materials, handling paper work, evaluating pupil progress, reporting to parents, caring for the classroom, sponsoring extra-class activities, and meeting other professional responsibilities.

Community Expectations of Teachers. Communities normally expect teachers to take an active part in the life of the community.

In small communities particularly, teachers are encouraged to become contributing members of one or more community agencies, and to fulfil the responsibilities of effective citizenship. Unlike practices in earlier days, increasing approval is being given to women continuing to teach after marriage. In fact, a high percentage of women teachers in the elementary schools are married. In 1951 the Indiana state legislature passed a law prohibiting school authorities from exercising discrimination against employment of married women teachers. Similar legislation will undoubtedly be passed in other states.

School Administrative Relationships of Teachers. In contrast to the autocratic procedures used in earlier days, school administrators are increasingly encouraging teachers to assume responsibilities in administrative policy making, in planning instructional programmes, in developing new methods of instruction, in selecting instructional materials, and in working together in the solution of common educational problems. Behind this movement is the belief that teachers must live in a democratic atmosphere if they are to achieve maximum success in helping boys and girls to become effective democratic citizens. Professional organisations and unions of teachers, as well as increased professional education of administrators, have contributed greatly in establishing more democratic administrative procedures in school systems and improved conditions for teachers.

Professional Organisations

During the past century teachers' organisations in the United States have multiplied very rapidly and have become more definite in purpose, more permanent in form, and more influential in their work. The *Educational Directory*, an annual publication of the U.S. Office of Education, lists about 500 national and regional associations and more than 100 state organisations.[23] Local organisations have become so numerous that no attempt has been made to include them in the directory.

Local teachers' organisations exist in practically every city in the United States and in many rural areas. They seem to be the oldest, the most varied in character, and the most numerous of all organisations. There are many subject-matter associations, principal-supervisory associations, elementary school teachers' associations, secondary school teachers' associations, schoolmasters' clubs, and others of miscellaneous character. Many of the local organisations serve as smaller units of the state organisation, and therefore play a dual role in the solution of local problems and as the

[23] T. D. Martin, "Teachers' Organizations", in *Encyclopædia of Educational Research*, p. 1442, edited by Walter S. Monroe (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1950).

medium through which the teachers of the group participate in the broader problems of the state and national associations. The ultimate purpose of all the professional organisations is the advancement of the interests of the teaching profession and the promotion of the cause of education.

Membership in a state association is larger than in the local groups. Dues are paid by the teachers for their memberships in the state association. A journal is published, usually monthly, to keep teachers all over the state informed on problems, trends, and events in education. Meetings of the total membership are arranged usually once or twice a year. The typical state association has a large and competent central office. Significant educational experimentation and research are often centred there, and the results are communicated to the entire professional body. State teacher associations often know of important job opportunities within the state, and frequently engage in placement activities. Most state organisations provide legal protection for individual teacher members against unfair or unjust practices which may arise in local situations.

Since the central legal responsibility for education rests with the separate states in the United States, the state sets minimum standards for teacher certification, school facilities, instructional programmes, and the like. Some of the most significant laws relating to education in the several states are created or promoted, or both, by the state education associations. The securing of favourable legislation and the improving of conditions in schools are primary concerns of state education associations.

The National Education Association is the oldest, largest, and best-known of the several national associations. In 1951 it had a membership of 465,266. Annual dues are only $5, payment of which permits a teacher to attend the annual meetings of the association, to receive the *National Education Association Journal* for its nine months of publication, and to call upon various divisions for a variety of assistance and service.

There are now 29 different departments within the parent N.E.A. Each one serves a particular level, subject area, administrative division, or other special concern of its members. Without question, the work of the N.E.A. in the improvement of education in the United States has been exceedingly great.

General Social Status of Teachers

The social status of any profession can usually be determined to some extent by the type of people who seek to enter it. Research studies seem to indicate that those who strive to enter the teaching profession in the United States usually regard it as advancing them in the social scale. Teachers come generally from families with incomes slightly above the average for the country as a whole. Approximately half of their fathers are businessmen or skilled

labourers, and three-eighths of their fathers are either unskilled labourers, professional workers, or farmers.[24]

Young people from families of wealth or high social positions are not likely to be attracted to teaching because of the salaries, unless they have a strong academic interest. Teaching generally seems to be beyond the reach of persons in the lowest economic classes, due to their financial inability to attend college. In some cases, however, young people from lower economic classes are able to prepare for teaching through the benefits of scholarships and/or money earned from various types of work in which they engage while attending college. The extremes of the social and economic scale contribute relatively few individuals to the teaching profession. Generally speaking, the teaching profession is most attractive to young men and women of middle-class socio-economic families, to whom the cost of training is not altogether prohibitive.

Another indication of the middle-class origin of the average school teacher of the United States is furnished by the size of families from which teachers come. Teachers usually come from families larger than average. Census figures reveal that there is a notable correlation between size of family and economic status. There is some indication that the families of women teachers stand slightly higher in the social scale than do those of men teachers. Men teachers, as a rule, come from families larger than those of women teachers. Since business opportunities are not so readily accessible to women, the daughter of a well-to-do family may turn to teaching. The son from the same family may look beyond teaching to business or some other profession.

The attitude of the general public towards the public school teacher has slowly improved during the last few decades. In some communities, especially in small rural areas, a teacher is restrained from enjoying the full personal freedom accorded to those in other occupations, with the possible exception of the ministry. For example, in some communities teachers are not permitted to smoke in public; men may not appear in the street without jacket and tie, neither men nor women may drink alcoholic beverages even in their homes; and teachers must be careful in their expressions regarding political, economic, social, and religious views. However, in a majority of communities the teacher may enjoy as much freedom in personal matters as any other professional person. Research [25] indicates that youth to-day takes an exceedingly liberal

[24] Robert W. Richey, Beeman N. Phillips, and William H. Fox, "Factors that High School Students Associate with Selection of Teaching as a Vocation", *Bulletin* of the School of Education, Indiana University, Vol. 28, No. 2, Bloomington, March 1952, p. 18.

[25] Robert W. Richey and W. H. Fox, "An Analysis of Various Factors Associated with the Selection of Teaching as a Vocation," *Bulletin* of the School of Education, Indiana University, Vol. 24, No. 3, Bloomington, May 1948, pp. 35–40.

attitude towards the personal freedoms that should be enjoyed by teachers. If the students studied are representative, if they reflect the feelings of their parents, if they suggest the tenor of the attitudes they will assume as mature adults, then teachers may shed any grave fears about undue restrictions on their personal lives.

The occupational prestige of teaching has been raised considerably as salaries and certification standards of teachers have risen and the importance of formal education for boys and girls has increased. In 1948, a representative group of 1,615 college students was asked to indicate the relative esteem associated with 15 carefully selected occupations. The students ranked the physician number one, followed by the lawyer, college professor, clergyman, high school teacher, elementary school teacher, government employee, bookkeeper, policeman, farmer, machinist, carpenter, labourer, truck driver, and bootblack.[26] It is reasonable to say that the prestige of teachers will continue to rise as the professional standards, salaries, and quality of members within the profession are improved.

In the study of 1,615 college students cited above, the students were asked to consider all the people they knew best in a community and to compare public school teachers as a group with these individuals in respect to 24 selected characteristics. The results were summarised in the following manner.[27]

> In the opinion of all the students, percentages showed that teachers ranked far above the average in scholarship, dependability, culture, leadership, breadth of interest, refinement, and co-operation; definitely above average in industriousness, resourcefulness, good sportsmanship, attractive personal appearance, social adjustment, considerateness, community participation, and tolerance; average or slightly above average in enthusiasm, fairness, practicality, sympathy, and forcefulness; and below average in originality, happiness, open-mindedness, and magnetism.

It is possible that those teachers who are rated below average in originality, happiness, open-mindedness, and magnetism have been deeply influenced by autocratic systems of administration and supervision, by slavish adherence to textbooks, by assign-study-recite techniques, by schools effectively isolated from present-day life. Situations of this sort have been all too prevalent in American education, but the trends are in the opposite direction to-day, and as a result schools should become more conducive to sound mental health and wholesome personalities among teachers.

In contrast to the timid, unadventurous type of individual who

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[26] Robert W. Richey, William H. Fox, and Charles E. Fauset, "Prestige Rank of Teaching", *Occupations*, Vol. 30, October 1951, p. 35.

[27] Robert W. Richey and William H. Fox, "How Do Teachers Compare with Other Community Members?", *Educational Research Bulletin*, Vol. 27, December 10th, 1948, p. 239.

frequently entered teaching several years ago, the teaching profession seems to be attracting individuals who are as normal as those entering virtually any other profession. For example, it is a common occurrence to find prospective teachers assuming their full share of extra-curricular activities while in college. Women preparing for teaching win many of the beauty contests held on college and university campuses. Academically, both men and women prospective teachers rank well with students preparing for other occupations.

The average student to-day seems to attach importance to and hold a real pride in preparing for teaching. In a recent study of high school students who definitely plan to teach, 51 per cent. felt that teaching was more desirable or much more desirable than other occupations requiring four years of college training. An additional 41 per cent. considered teaching to be equally as desirable as other occupations.[28] Furthermore, these students seemed to have clearly conceived and valid reasons for wanting to become teachers. The most important reason listed, especially for girls, was that of liking to work with young people. Next in importance, especially for boys, was the fact that they were interested in teaching a particular subject. Other major factors for both boys and girls, listed in descending order of importance, were: a desire to be of service to children, leadership opportunities, encouragement from others, permanent employment, and good working conditions.[29] It is interesting to note that an increasing number of women also look upon teaching as one of the finest types of preparation that they may have as prospective parents. In the minds of many women students, teaching presents one of the best opportunities for them to combine a career with marriage and parenthood.

There is considerable evidence[30] to indicate that teachers generally take their civic and religious responsibilities seriously. They tend to join and attend church, as well as vote in political elections, more frequently than do people in general. Many teachers have insisted upon exercising their political rights. Some have been elected to high political positions. They, furthermore, have insisted increasingly upon the right to discuss political and other controversial issues in the classroom upon the assumption that such issues and problems cannot be divorced from the schools. Such problems are being considered by people every day, and boys

[28] Robert W. Richey, Beeman N. Phillips and William H. Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[29] Robert W. Richey and William H. Fox, "A Study of Some Opinions of High School Students with Regard to Teachers and Teaching," *Bulletin* of the School of Education, Indiana University, Vol. 27, No. 4, Bloomington, July 1951, p. 51.

[30] William H. Kilpatrick (Ed.), *The Teacher and Society*, First Yearbook, John Dewey Society, Appleton-Century-Crofts Inc., New York, 1937, p. 220.

and girls need to gain skill in handling them intelligently and adequately.

Teachers, like people in other occupations, like to talk about their work during their leisure time. As a result, they tend to draw a majority of their friends from those who are teachers. In other words, they tend to invite them to their homes, thus providing opportunities to talk about their common problems and interests outside of school.

Teachers tend to participate in rather passive activities during their leisure time—reading, spectator sports, and the like. They seem to participate less frequently in such forms of recreation as bowling, camping, fishing, swimming, hiking, etc. On the other hand, it seems characteristic of teachers to go to movies, concerts, lectures, and to similar types of activities. Many teachers travel, especially during the summer months when the public schools are not in session. Some teacher training institutions provide opportunities for teachers to travel under the guidance of a college instructor as a part of a planned programme of in-service education, for which credit is granted. Increasing numbers of teachers are exchanging positions with teachers in other lands for a year's time as a means of combining travel and work. These assignments present excellent opportunities for teachers to become well acquainted with other cultures and their educational problems, and to develop more meaningful world understanding.

Summary

Only a limited number of factors affecting the status and position of teachers in the United States may have been considered in this article. Inadequate attention may have been given to some of these factors. Many of the statements have had to be generalised in nature due to wide differences existing among the various states and, occasionally, to the absence of accurate data. In view of the relatively rapid change in educational practices and policies, trends have frequently been indicated.

Generally speaking, the status and position of teachers in the United States have improved greatly during the past few decades. There is every reason to believe that, with the importance which Americans increasingly attach to education, the status of teaching will continue to improve. A democratic society is based upon an enlightened public. The future of our democracy depends greatly upon the resources, insight, and courage with which teachers face their educational responsibilities, and the extent to which the general public makes it possible for those responsibilities to be fully accepted and realised by teachers.

ROBERT W. RICHEY.

CHAPTER TWO

CANADA

THE status and position of Canada's teachers vary greatly from province to province. Variability is inevitable when ten provinces have complete autonomy in education; are widely separated geographically; have populations that are predominantly rural in some instances and urban in others, and have school systems supported by wheat farming in the prairie provinces and mixed farming and manufacturing in the older and central areas. Then, too, Canada has two large language-groups, the English and the French, with different religions, different philosophies of education, and different education systems. Until recent years educationists from the provinces seldom met except in regional conferences; there was little interchange and pooling of opinion; educational practice differed greatly from province to province. Now that two organisations, the Canadian Education Association and the Canadian Teachers' Federation, are bringing teachers and administrators together annually, differences between the provinces may gradually disappear. Many common standards are evolving, which, as attained, will wipe out some of the more outstanding differences in practice.

One hundred years ago the educational needs of Canadian children were thought to be adequately met when the local school district provided a little log schoolhouse in which someone, standing guard over the children, might hear the daily recitations. Teachers were then untrained; educational standards were low; all the money required for the support of education was collected locally. When governments became interested in public education, they took over from the local districts practically all responsibilities except that of providing and financing the schools. One wonders what the status and position of Canada's teachers would have been to-day if provincial governments had decided to finance education instead of throwing this heavy responsibility upon local property holders. One wonders, also, if the public's definitions of the words 'school' 'teacher', and 'teaching' were not in large part formulated in those pioneering days when the schoolhouses were cheap, the equipment meagre, and the teaching relatively inefficient and unprofessional. The Canadian public believes in education, pays lip service to the work of its teachers, but does little to improve basic conditions that determine efficiency. School buildings have

been transformed, schools are being consolidated and curricula are being revised, but the school depends for about 70 per cent. of its support upon the local property-tax, which may be ten times as large in one district as in another quite adjacent, and for its education upon a teaching personnel that includes many young men and women with inadequate education and training. There is little doubt that heavy local taxation and small provincial grants, which remain unsupplemented by Federal funds, are responsible for the low standards summarised in Table I, which is copied from the 1949 report of the Canadian Education Association on the Status of the Teaching Profession.

Although the problem of financing a satisfactory minimum programme has not been solved, the size of the job is increasing. The number of secondary school pupils has increased 200 per cent. in the last thirty years, while the general population increased only 50 per cent. For the non-matriculants who are now in the majority in the high schools, diversified curricula should be provided. The electives that appear in printed courses of study include shop, home economics, commercial and agricultural courses, but the outlines are often more complete than are the course offerings themselves. Shops and laboratories, necessarily expensive, cannot be provided liberally by school boards whose finances are so restricted that they cannot engage staffs over 50 per cent. of whom have the equivalent of a Grade XI education.

There is evidence that more thought and money are being given to the betterment of school administration than to the improvement of teaching. Public attention is focused more upon means than upon ends. Publicity is given to organisation of districts, new school buildings, and revised and expanded curricula, but little to the fact that when the organisation and buildings are completed, there will be little equalisation of educational opportunities for the majority of our 2,310,000 school children. Ministers of Education and their departmental officials, superintendents of schools, school board members, and architects are all busy ensuring physical conditions that make education possible, yet often forgetting that the school's contribution is dependent more upon the ability, aptitude, and education of its teachers than upon any other factor. It is upon the status and position of 86,748 Canadian teachers that we are now to report.

Who Are Canada's Teachers? How Are They Recruited and Selected?

Approximately 4,000 trainees register each year in the normal schools and schools of education to train as teachers. In 1948, accurate information was gathered regarding the home backgrounds of 3,577 students registered in teacher training classes. Thirty-seven per cent. of these future teachers came from farm homes, this

TABLE I

Education and Training of Canada's Teachers

Professional Training	*Academic Training*									
	4-yrs. University beyond Grade XII	*3-yrs. University beyond Grade XII*	*2-yrs. University beyond Grade XII*	*1-yr. University beyond Grade XII*	*Complete Grade XII (Senior Matric.)*	*Complete Grade XI*	*Complete Grade X*	*Less than Grade X*	*Unspecified*	*Totals*
None	115	54	—	—	51	226	1,018	681	50	2,195
Less than 6 months	3,065	4	2	—	1,221	1,773	238	242	—	6,545
6 months but less than 12 months	1,403	2,555	11	738	15,599	17,296	6,509	73	—	44,184
12 months but less than 18 months	802	647	10	215	1,370	737	2	—	—	3,783
18 months but less than 24 months	20	3	6	3	122	34	1	1	—	190
Totals	5,405	3,263	29	956	18,363	20,066	7,768	997	50	56,897

Data given by provincial Departments of Education : Catholic Quebec schools not included.

occupational group being the largest in each province. In second, third, and fourth places were those whose fathers were in the skilled labour, clerical, or civil service and merchant-retail groups, from which respectively 10, 8, and 8 per cent. of the students came. Although the 3,577 trainees represented twenty-six nationality backgrounds, 47 per cent. were of Anglo-Saxon and 9 per cent. of French descent.

Teaching, though not a well-paid vocation, appears to be an avenue by which students from the lower and middle socio-economic groups can improve their social and financial standing. Many students who do not intend to make teaching their life-work use teaching as a stepping-stone to professions and vocations more remunerative than teaching. Because fewer than 30 per cent. of those who train as teachers ever intend to continue in the profession, it is not surprising that the average period of service of all teachers is less than ten years.

What steps are taken to interest capable high school students in teaching as a career? How are prospective teachers selected? The growing teacher-shortage has resulted in more emphasis on recruitment than upon selection. Several Departments of Education have distributed to the high schools vocational-guidance bulletins with titles such as, "Should I Teach?", "Teaching as a Career", and "To Teach or Not To Teach", in the hope of interesting senior students in teaching. It may be, however, that the attitude of staff members towards teaching has more influence upon student choice of vocation than have the bulletins. Many teachers are apparently advising their best students to select some vocation other than teaching, because of the few opportunities the latter offers for social, economic, or professional advancement. The attitude of the teachers may be inferred from the fact that although 75 per cent. of the children of professional folk generally choose the professions of their fathers, only 23 per cent. of teachers' children select their fathers' vocation. Students in the training colleges report that many of their teachers advised them against selecting teaching. Besides distributing guidance bulletins to students, a few provincial Departments of Education are reducing or abolishing fees in the training colleges, giving scholarships of $200 or $300 per year to all who agree to teach for at least three years after graduation, reducing entrance requirements, shortening training periods, and lowering standards of training. Few attempts are being made to select, from those applying for admission to teacher training schools, those who give promise of becoming successful teachers. With the exception of the Ontario College of Education, which interviews all candidates wishing to register in candidacy for high school certification, the writer does not know of any school or college that does not accept all applicants who meet minimum entrance requirements, which, unfortunately, have been lowered in

some provinces as a 'short-term' method of coping with the shrinking teacher supply. Although positive, controlled measures of selection are not being applied, there are many factors at work determining who do and do not wish to be teachers.

Entrance requirements for the normal schools are lower than for Matriculation into the universities, except in a few instances when Junior Matriculation admits to either institution. Ordinarily there are more electives in the first-mentioned programmes with the privilege of substituting non-academic subjects such as shop, home economics, music, and art for foreign languages, mathematics, and science courses.

In Alberta, where the university is responsible for all teacher training, candidates are required to present complete Senior Matriculation if registering for a two-, three-, or four-year programme in education. Until very recently candidates for temporary licences were permitted to register for a one-year programme if they held a high school graduation diploma with Senior Matriculation credit in two subjects. Candidates permitted to register with these low qualifications were, on the average, of lower ability than others. On the 1945 edition of the Thurstone Psychological Examination the median score of the 144 senior matriculants was 122·7; that of the temporary licence group, 90·2. The ninth decile score of the latter group was 118·6. In this single instance where reliable data are available, the students attracted to teaching by the lower entrance requirements were inferior not only in educational attainments but also in intellectual capacity.

There is evidence that at least 25 per cent. of the present normal school student body would not be accepted for training if elementary screening techniques were used. When 1,767 of these students were asked why they enrolled in the teacher-training programme, 26 per cent. said they "liked working with young people"; 28 per cent., that they thought they would be successful teachers; 14 per cent., that they had been advised by teachers or parents to take the course; while 22 per cent. said that they were candidates for the profession because "Salaries are high", "Teaching is easy", "Holidays are long", "It's easy to get a certificate", and "I wanted to earn a little money before getting married."

Education and Training

If asked to describe very briefly the education and training of Canada's teachers, one might generalise as follows: "Elementary teachers have a Grade XI or Grade XII education; high school teachers are university graduates; all have had one year of professional training." This generalisation is not correct, though approximating the truth and stating what the majority of Canadians consider to be desirable and adequate requirements. On every hand one hears of 'short-term' measures adopted because of the

teacher shortage. Of course, there has always been a shortage of well-qualified teachers, and the 'short-term' measures have become 'long-term' devices for dealing with the ever-present teacher-supply problem.

In depression years, when large numbers of high school students turn to teaching for employment, standards are maintained fairly well; in prosperous times, when few young people wish to enter the profession, standards are relaxed. Density of population, determining, as it does, the ease with which elementary and secondary school pupils are brought together in large classes, affects qualifications of high school teachers. For example, in Ontario fifty years ago, when the population density in the province was fairly high, nearly all high school teachers were university graduates, whereas, in the prairie provinces, until very recently, graduates of Grades [1] XI and XII were the only teachers available for the hundreds of rural and small village schools in which pupils of Grades I to X, XI, or XII were taught.

Does the public think that teachers are adequately educated and trained? What should be the requirements for entrance to the profession? The opinions of business, industrial, and professional folk and of teachers themselves have been sampled [2] (82 replies were received from non-teachers; 507 from the teachers). Forty-seven per cent. of the business, industrial, and professional group think that elementary grade teachers need a general education equivalent to Grade XII; 15 per cent. would be satisfied with less; 27 per cent. vote for two years of university education. The teachers would be satisfied with a lower standard, 49 per cent. asking for Grade XII education, 21 per cent. asking for Grade XI only, 16 per cent. suggesting two years of university. Although 8 per cent. of the non-teachers and 33 per cent. of the teachers would be satisfied with Grade XII, the majority opinion of both groups is that high school teachers should be university graduates. The low standards suggested by the teachers may be attributed to the fact that many teachers of high school grades hold only a First Class Certificate based on Grade XII. Any major improvement in educational standards appears to be some distance in the future. One is prompted to ask, "Should teachers raise their professional sights?" Apparently they attach more relative value to the detailed methods courses of teacher-training days than to general education, for only 36 per cent. think one year of professional training ample for either elementary or secondary school teachers, although few thought post-secondary education necessary. Forty-eight per cent.

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[1] As a rough approximation the age of students can be obtained by adding 6 or 7 years to the 'grades'—thus a Grade XI graduate would be 17 or 18 years of age.—EDITORS.

[2] C.E.A. Report, 1949, *The Status of the Teaching Profession.*

suggest two years of technical, professional training for elementary grade teachers; 30 per cent., the same period for teachers of secondary school grades.

Ordinarily, training of elementary grade teachers is given in provincial normal schools, which are conducted by provincial Departments of Education, while that of secondary school teachers is given in and by the universities. In Newfoundland and Alberta all teacher training is the responsibility of the universities; in Saskatchewan elementary school teachers may take their training in either type of college. In the three provinces named, the Ministers of Education define policies to be followed, but the universities are given full responsibility for administering the programmes of training. Close liaison is maintained between the provincial Departments of Education and the teacher training departments of the universities. When training is completed in programmes of one, two, or three years' duration the universities recommend successful students to the governments for certification. A minimum of two years' training has been recommended by the Canadian Education Association but, because of the present teacher shortage, certificates of lowest grade are given to elementary school teachers upon completion of one year's training, except in the province of Alberta, where graduates of the one-year programme are given only a letter of authority valid for one year, and are required to complete their second year of training in winter or summer sessions of the university if they wish to qualify for a certificate. Candidates for secondary school certification ordinarily begin their professional training after completing requirements for a university degree, although, in three provinces, candidates for high school certification combine arts and science and professional courses in programmes that lead to high school certification at the end of the third or fourth year.

The fact that the ten provinces issue fifty-four different certificates, exclusive of those in special subjects, indicates that there are many different training programmes and that the emphasis is on specialisation rather than general education. In professions such as medicine, law, dentistry, and engineering, in which lengthy basic programmes of education and training are prescribed, specialisation follows training. In education specialised, technical job training is given early.

The idea that education rather than training should be emphasised in certification programmes of elementary grade teachers is slowly gaining acceptance. The 1949 report of the Canadian Education Association recommended a minimum of two years' preparation beyond Senior Matriculation, with at least half this time given to courses now found in junior arts and science programmes. In most provinces at the present time the lowest grade of certificate is given to candidates with Junior Matriculation

and one year of teacher training, although in one province the basic training period is of only six weeks' duration. In spite of the fact that minimum requirements for certification are low, it should be made clear that for higher grades of certification, in certain provinces, the time requirement is lengthened by from one to seven years of combined education and training.

The content of training programmes reveals rather clearly the underlying philosophy. In normal school and college calendars the term 'broad education subjects' includes child psychology, guidance, history and philosophy of education, mental hygiene and forty-five other subjects; 'general methods' covers principles of teaching, general teaching methods, science and practice of teaching, and eighteen others; 'special methods' relates to agriculture, arithmetic, social studies, handwriting, and seventy-six other subjects; 'academic subjects' covers all subject-matter courses from Grade X to university level. For thirteen programmes selected at random from a total of fifty-four, the average distribution of time in hours per year given to different parts of the training is as follows: academic subjects, 42 hours; broad education subjects, 101 hours; general methods courses, 19 hours; special methods, 578 hours; practice teaching, 68 hours; observation, 20 hours. This summary shows clearly that the emphasis in the majority of training schools is upon special methods and techniques. In Saskatchewan and Alberta, where teacher training is given in the universities, the emphasis is upon general rather than special methodology. Teacher training staffs are not in agreement concerning the relative merits of general- and special-methods courses. Probably, for graduates who are to teach for only two or three years, special-methods courses contribute more than do others to immediate efficiency, while for those who intend to make teaching a life-work, the general courses would be more beneficial. At the present time the short-range view of programmes prevails. Few teachers begin classroom work with an extensive background of psychology and philosophy.

All training schools have complete autonomy with full responsibility for training, examining, and recommending their students for diplomas and certificates. Instruction is neither inspected nor supervised by officials of the Departments of Education.

In-service Training

With in-service training one associates the summer sessions conducted by Departments of Education and Faculties of Arts and Science and Education, which are attended annually by 25 to 30 per cent. of all teachers. There are, however, a few interesting experiments under way. One-day institutes for teachers in local areas are arranged by teachers' professional associations; evening workshops attended one or two nights per week for three or four weeks are conducted by city staffs; a few school boards, the Greater

Montreal and Calgary School Boards included, are experimenting with special types of in-service training classes.

Minimum Qualifications for Teaching in Schools of Different Types

It is impossible to summarise briefly the relationship between types of certificate and teaching privileges. In Ontario, the minimum qualification for any Elementary School Certificate is five Grade XIII subjects and one year of normal school training; that for secondary school teachers, exclusive of shop teachers in vocational schools, a university degree plus a year of professional training. In the Atlantic provinces all certificates, whether based on Junior or Senior Matriculation, are valid in all grades. One fairly accurate generalisation regarding all the other provinces is that, preceding one year of professional training, a general education represented by Grade XII is required of elementary school teachers, that represented by partial degree requirements of teachers in intermediate grades, and degree standing of secondary grade teachers. Exceptions to this rule are many. In Alberta, for example, the minimum requirement for either the Standard E Certificate, valid in Grades I to IX inclusive, or the Standard S Certificate, valid in Grades V to XI inclusive, is two years of arts and science and education beyond Grade XII Senior Matriculation. In Catholic Quebec the situation is very different again, because of the number of certificates, the large number of training schools, and the fact that candidates for certification enter the training schools at various stages of educational attainment, some entering after completing Grade IX, others when B.A. requirements have been completed.

In all provinces teachers are appointed to relatively permanent positions as soon as they complete training. There is no probationary period. There is some evidence that because of the security of tenure enjoyed by teachers and the continued pressure for improved salary scales, probationary periods may be introduced by school boards. It is true that the first certificate given a teacher is marked 'Interim', and stated to be valid for only one, two, or three years. This certificate may be converted to 'Permanent' status if the holder, after a designated term of experience, completes supplementary prescribed training. Requirements for the permanent certificate vary from province to province, but all may be met through in-service training, generally in summer sessions conducted by provincial Departments of Education. In-service training for many teachers merges with undergraduate and graduate study, pursued mostly in summer sessions for the convenience of teachers who are not free to attend regular winter sessions.

All provinces have difficulty in staffing their schools in the prevocational and vocational departments. Although teachers' associations advocate full teacher training for all members of the profession, the policy is not observed. Information is incomplete on

this point, but apparently all provinces accept experienced trade workers or journeymen and certificate them after training periods as short as six weeks in some instances. As there is no apprenticeship period for teachers, it appears that standards of training are uniformly low across Canada for this special group of teachers.

The pre-vocational and vocational schools are not the only ones sometimes taught by persons without professional training. In nearly all provinces such persons are found in charge of rural schools. One province reports that 12 per cent. of its so-called teachers have had no professional training. Normally these substitutes are permitted to practise without training for one year only but, in some instances, a second year of service may follow attendance at a short summer session. Urban schools have little difficulty in obtaining the services of qualified teachers.

After one or more years' experience, many normal school graduates register in summer-session university programmes leading to B.A., B.Sc., or B.Ed. degrees. About 25 per cent. of all teachers are university graduates, the majority of them placed on secondary school staffs. In the older provinces practically all high school teachers are university graduates, but in the newer provinces, where many high school classes are found in ungraded and semi-graded schools, much instruction in secondary school grades is given by teachers with incomplete degree standing. The proportion of elementary school teachers holding university degrees, though not large, is increasing year by year.

Financial Aid to Teachers in Training

In all provinces Dominion-Provincial bursaries of $200 to $300 per year have been available to needy university students and teachers-in-training provided only that they have satisfactory academic standing. Because of the acute teacher shortage several provinces have provided other financial assistance to attract students to the teaching profession. In Saskatchewan the government has an interest-free revolving loan fund, upon which needy students may draw. In Alberta the government has gone much further in providing aid. Every teacher who intends to prepare himself for elementary school teaching is relieved of university fees for two years and given a one-year bursary varying in value from $200 to $300. In return for this assistance the Alberta students must teach for two years immediately after graduation. Loans are available to students in New Brunswick; fees are low in Ontario and non-existent in Protestant Quebec; bursaries are available to needy students in Ontario and Protestant Quebec, while in Newfoundland students are advanced sufficient money to pay cost of room and board, and in the University of Ottawa Normal School—where teachers are trained for work in schools attended by French-speak-

ing pupils, in which French is taught as part of the course of studies—a grant of 70 cents per day is given. Pledged service is required of the students in Newfoundland for a period equal to the period of training; of the teachers trained at the University of Ottawa, for four years. In spite of such financial assistance given to trainees, the number of qualified teachers continues to be wholly inadequate. Noting that of 66,000 teachers trained between September 1st, 1939, and June 30th, 1948, only 26,500 were in the profession in December 1948, teachers' associations argue that government money should be used to increase the salaries of those already trained rather than to finance the training of thousands who leave teaching for other vocations soon after their training is completed.

Salaries and Salary Schedules

The 1949 salaries of Canadian teachers are shown in the following table.

TABLE II

1949 SALARIES OF CANADIAN TEACHERS IN EIGHT PROVINCES

	Prince Edward Island	*Nova Scotia*	*New Brun.*	*Ont.*	*Man.*	*Sask.*	*Alta.*	*B.C.*
All male teachers:	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
1st Quartile	946	1,348	1,168	2,093	1,515	1,417	2,150	2,421
2nd Quartile	1,136	1,983	1,460	2,721	1,925	1,785	2,649	3,081
3rd Quartile	1,450	2,795	1,949	3,111	3,073	2,332	3,072	3,527
All female teachers:								
1st Quartile	913	1,167	1,017	1,582	1,392	1,315	1,724	1,870
2nd Quartile	1,036	1,460	1,234	1,803	1,512	1,474	2,036	2,285
3rd Quartile	1,177	1,949	1,477	2,256	2,215	1,727	2,311	2,756
All teachers:								
1st Quartile	926	1,185	1,053	1,625	1,403	1,340	1,792	1,995
2nd Quartile	1,048	1,520	1,258	1,974	1,593	1,514	2,036	2,502
3rd Quartile	1,227	1,977	1,552	2,681	2,600	1,924	2,311	3,028

1st Quartile: Point on scale below which are 25 per cent. of salaries.
2nd Quartile: Point on scale below which are 50 per cent. of salaries.
3rd Quartile: Point on scale below which are 75 per cent. of salaries.

The following salary schedule approved by the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Quebec, although only a basis for negotiation, gives a fairly accurate idea of salaries paid.

TABLE III

PROPOSED SALARY SCHEDULE: PROTESTANT TEACHERS OF QUEBEC

Salary	*Grades*		
	Elementary	*Intermediate*	*Secondary*
Initial	$1,500	$1,700	$2,000
Maximum	2,400	2,600	3,800
Increments and number of years	100 (9)	100 (9)	100 (2) 200 (6) 100 (4)
Marital status allowance	200	200	200

The average salaries paid to rural teachers (1951–52) are: Prince Edward Island, $981; Nova Scotia, $1,144; New Brunswick, $1,085; Ontario, $1,645; Manitoba, $1,380; Saskatchewan, $1,386; Alberta, $1,811; British Columbia, $1,934. It will be noted that rural salaries (one-room schools) are from 6 per cent. to 25 per cent. lower than average provincial salaries.

Governments name minimum salaries, but these salary floors are always far below prevailing averages and below actual minima. Newfoundland is the only province with a recognised salary scale, province-wide in application. In all other provinces, salary schedules, negotiated by teachers and local school boards, vary greatly. There would, doubtless, be marked variation in the schedules were it not for the fact that each provincial teachers' association publishes a salary schedule which is accepted by all negotiating committees as the minimum they should accept. Present methods of salary-schedule negotiation certainly give higher salaries than would result from the application of provincial scales. It appears, however, that an excessive amount of time is spent by teachers and school boards in negotiation, time that might otherwise be devoted to study, research, and professional advancement. Salary discussions between teachers and local school boards make news for the local Press. The result is that teachers, appearing to be always talking about salaries, are too frequently receiving the wrong type of educational publicity.

Following immediately hereafter is the salary schedule proposed by the Western Conference of Teachers' Associations in November 1951, and recommended to local negotiating committees as a basis for negotiating new salary agreements. The proposals recognise the fact that both single-salary and positional schedules are in use by different school boards. The scale is about $200 higher at the

low end and from $500 to $1,000 higher at the top than actual salaries now paid in the western provinces.

SALARY SCHEDULE 1951–2

Proposed by the Western Conference of Teachers' Associations, November 1951

Single-salary Schedule:	*Minimum*	*Maximum*
1. 1 year's training	$2,000	$3,500
2 years' training	2,300	4,000
3 years' training	2,600	4,500
4 years' training	2,900	5,000
5 years' training	3,200	5,500
6 years' training	3,500	6,000
7 years' training	3,800	6,500

2. Partial allowances: $60 per university course.
3. Annual increments: At least $200 per year.
4. Allowance for previous experience:
   (i) Full credit for each year of teaching.
   (ii) Full credit for each year of war or auxiliary service.
5. Allowance for administration and supervision:
   (*a*) Principal:
   Elementary rooms, $100 per room up to 12 rooms.
   Intermediate and high school rooms, $125 per room up to 12 rooms.
   Note.—Over 12 rooms, allowance per room on graduated scale.
   (*b*) Vice-principal: One-half of allowance for principals.
6. Allowances for extra-curricular activities:
   A stipulated amount for each unit of work in connection with extra-curricular activities.

Positional-salary Schedule:

The positional schedule proposed by the negotiating committee should be comparable to the single-salary schedule. The minimum and maximum for one year of training in the single-salary schedule and for one year of training in the elementary school in the positional-salary schedule should be identical—$2,000 to $3,500. Four years of training in the single-salary schedule and four years of training and teaching in a high school position under a positional-salary schedule should be identical—$2,900 to $5,000. Sections 3, 4, 5, and 6 apply to both schedules.

Few women teachers, except the married women who are teaching temporarily during the present acute shortage, work during the summer months, but a fairly large proportion of male teachers find it necessary to supplement their incomes in this way. Even during the school year many work on Saturdays; some sell insurance; a few supervise farm holdings. A married man with two or three children finds it rather difficult to live at the standard approved and enjoyed by his friends on the salary he can earn in any but the larger city schools.

Teachers' associations are agreed that there should be "Equal

pay for equal work". They have persuaded the majority of school boards to frame their schedules in accordance with this principle. The Protestant schools of Quebec, however, have a fairly high differential between salaries paid to the two sexes, the difference being as high as $1,200 in the City of Montreal. Adherence to this policy of equality inevitably results in lower salaries than would otherwise be paid to male teachers, who formed 28 per cent. of the teaching body in 1949. The difference in median salaries paid to men and women in all provinces is due to the fact that nearly all principalships in urban schools, elementary and secondary, are held by men. Weighting the scale at the present time in favour of the men is the practice followed by many school boards of paying larger cost-of-living bonuses to teachers with dependants than to others.

There is no discrimination in salary schedules against any racial groups. It is, admittedly, a little difficult for teachers of a few minority groups to obtain teaching positions but, if appointed to a staff, they have equality of pay, privilege, and opportunity.

Qualifications and Salaries of Instructors in the Training Colleges

The educational qualifications of teacher training personnel are uniformly high, those of instructors in university departments being a little higher than those of the normal school staffs, although, of late years, the M.A. degree is generally required of all. There are staff members with only Bachelor standing, but these have been selected because of their outstanding success in teaching. Probably 10 per cent. of the normal school and 75 per cent. of the university staff members have Ph.D. or D.Ed. degrees.

Salaries vary greatly, those of college and Faculty of Education instructors averaging from $4,000 to $4,500, while those in the normal schools are about $500 less. Averages cannot tell the whole story when salaries in one training college range from $2,560 to $4,000, while in another doing similar work with students of equal maturity and attainment they range from a minimum of $4,200 to a maximum of $5,676. Provincial autonomy results in outstanding differences in salaries, qualifications, curricula, and standards of attainment.

Appointments and Dismissals

Teachers-in-training learn of vacancies through newspaper advertisements, contacts with school boards, and interviews with superintendents of schools. Many of the superintendents visit the training colleges before the students graduate and accept students only after an interview. Due to the shortage of teachers there is in reality little selection. Almost any student with any sort of certificate can get a job if willing to accept a rural school. The actual

appointment of a teacher to a staff is made in city systems by the local school board on the recommendation of a principal; in rural areas, on the advice of the district superintendent of schools. A young teacher, subject only to the grade restrictions named on his certificate, may accept a position in any school district. Of late years many inexperienced teachers are appointed to town and city staffs. In large units of administration teachers are appointed to the system, assigned to particular schools, and transferred and promoted at the discretion of the school boards.

There are few, if any, restricting conditions on the appointment of teachers. Some school boards will not employ married women and try to force all lady teachers to resign upon marriage. One or two test cases which were carried into the courts were decided in favour of the recently-married teachers. Occasionally school boards of districts with a predominant religious or racial ratepayer body will, when advertising for a teacher, state preferences. School boards often make discreet inquiries regarding a teacher's religion, inquiries which later influence decisions regarding appointments.

Tenure regulations are quite favourable to teachers. School boards, whose teachers are among the lowest 25 per cent. in efficiency, think there is too much security. Teachers in all provinces may be dismissed for immorality, gross misconduct, proven inefficiency, or for refusal or neglect to obey a lawful order of the board. In Newfoundland a teacher 'who does not suit' may be given three months' notice at any time. In Saskatchewan no reason for dismissal need be given if before May 31st the board advises a teacher that services will terminate on June 30th. In Ontario teachers may be dismissed as in Saskatchewan, but reasons must be given in writing and teachers may appeal to a Board of Reference. At least three provinces have Boards of Reference to which all dismissed teachers may appeal. Generally, dismissal must be for a cause which must be established. Varying degrees of security follow naturally from the diversity in the nature of engagements, some provinces adhering to yearly contracts, others having continuous agreements and no signed contracts.

Before World War II few married women were teaching; to-day, there are probably over 10,000 in the schools. Doubtless all young ladies look forward to matrimony. Whereas, twenty years ago, marriage led almost inevitably to housework, to-day it may not. Many young women contemplate marriage associated with continued service in the classroom.

Living and Working Conditions

Twenty-five years ago society set a standard of behaviour for teachers that was definitely restrictive; to-day, restraints have largely disappeared. It is generally accepted that the social

behaviour of teachers should be exemplary, but such behaviour is regulated by self-imposed rather than societal controls. In the central and eastern provinces custom is more conservative than in the newer West.

There are a limited number of senior positions in education. In staffing the schools a policy of economy is followed throughout. Seven hundred and fifty city schools, each with at least 250 pupils in attendance, reported 750 principalships and 256 vice-principalships. Most of us would agree that there should be 1,500 vice-principalships in these schools. If the school is to prevent retardation, take care of the educational needs of all children, diagnose difficulties, and provide correctives, should there not be four assistants to each principal? There are too few opportunities for promotion and too few inducements for young teachers to qualify for senior teaching and administrative positions.

Maximum salaries are relatively low in education. For business executives $10,000 is a relatively low salary, yet there are fewer than half a dozen positions in Canadian Departments of Education, Faculties of Education, and teacher training institutions paying this amount to any staff member.

Salaries of urban classroom teachers are, of course, higher than those in rural areas. The following summary, when compared with other tables in this report, reveals the extent of these differences.

TABLE IV

MEDIAN SALARIES IN URBAN SCHOOLS

Number of Cities	*Population*	*Schools*	*Men*		*Women*	
			Median of Minimum Salaries	*Median of Maximum Salaries*	*Median of Minimum Salaries*	*Median of Maximum Salaries*
11	100,000 (+)	Elem.	$1,800	$3,900	$1,700	$3,700
		Sec.	2,035	4,800	2,000	4,635
4	100,000 to	Elem.	1,890	3,525	1,650	3,325
	50,000 (−)	Sec.	2,500	4,150	2,325	3,900
15	50,000 to	Elem.	1,790	3,300	1,700	3,300
	20,000 (−)	Sec.	2,500	4,500	2,300	3,850
12	20,000	Elem.	1,710	3,240	1,650	2,770
		Sec.	2,140	4,000	2,110	4,000

For twenty-seven cities the salaries of the principals of the largest high schools ranged from $3,500 to $7,500, with a median value of $5,750.

Salaries paid in Departments of Education and teacher training institutions are defined fairly clearly in the following summary.

TABLE V

SALARIES PAID FOR SENIOR ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS

	Salaries: Ten Provinces		
	Median of Provincial Minima	*Median of Provincial Maxima*	*Range from Lowest Minimum to Highest Maximum*
1. Chief directors and deputy ministers	$6,390	$7,500	$6,380
2. Chief inspectors of schools	5,325	6,090	2,800
3. High school inspectors	4,032	4,752	3,740
4. Elementary school inspectors	3,750	4,712	3,576
5. Principals of normal schools	4,440	5,166	3,740
6. Normal school staff members	3,120	4,428	3,940

Mobility and Stability

In the older provinces there is less moving about from school to school at the end of each school year than in the prairie provinces, where living conditions in outlying rural school districts are quite unsatisfactory. Then, too, in the newer provinces, there were until recent decades relatively few secondary school pupils. Departments of Education issued certificates unlimited in teaching privileges. As high school enrolments grew, teachers with low qualifications, having gained in experience, confidence, and scholarships, moved along from school to school to assume increasing responsibility for the teaching of secondary school grades. There is little movement of personnel in the cities and larger urban centres. In the large administrative units school boards have reduced the number of changes that formerly marked the end of each school year. In rural areas, outside large units, from 20 per cent. to 50 per cent. of all teachers change schools each year. In 1951 the average length of time Canadian teachers, urban and rural, had been in the positions then held was less than 2·5 years.

In spite of the fact that there are no interprovincial exchanges of teaching privileges, and that all teachers meet certification requirements and examination hurdles when they change provinces, many transfers are made each year. Provinces with low salary schedules lose their teachers to the more prosperous and generous provinces. British Columbia, because of its attractive climate, draws many teachers from provinces in which salaries are low.

In spite of what has just been said, pupils in rural schools might

hope to have the same teacher for two or three consecutive years, now and then, if teachers remained long in the profession. The median length of experience for teachers in eight provinces for which we have data ranges from 4·6 years in Newfoundland to 11·3 years in British Columbia, where urban schools greatly outnumber the rural. In one province, where the average number of schools has been 4,500 during the last forty-five years, the Department of Education, though it has certificated 37,000 persons during the period named, has a large teacher shortage to-day.

One province reports that its teachers leave the profession to seek companionship instead of isolation, better pay, easier work, more prestige, and better living conditions. Surveys in two provinces indicate that about 35 per cent. of those leaving the profession each year are girls who have been persuaded to change their status from teacher to housewife.

In the 1948 C.E.A. survey, business, industrial, and professional groups, teachers-in-service, student veterans, and school board members were asked to list the causes of the present teacher shortage. The percentage of answers that named each item is shown in the following table.

TABLE VI

CAUSES OF THE TEACHER SHORTAGE

Cause of the Teacher Shortage	*Percentage Frequency Recorded*			
	Business, Industrial, Professional Group ($N=77$)	*Teachers in Service* ($N=144$)	*Student Veterans* ($N=88$)	*School Trustees* ($N=125$)
1. Low salaries	95	90	94	57
2. Low standards of selection and training	43	33	77	16
3. Unsatisfactory working conditions	44	41	57	32
4. Poor living conditions in rural areas	31	50	50	46
5. Too little prestige	14	31	48	25

For all groups questioned the percentage of answers naming each of the five items was: Item 1, 81 per cent.; Item 2, 38 per cent.; Item 3, 41 per cent.; Item 4, 48 per cent.; Item 5, 30 per cent. There is a growing belief that the teacher shortage cannot be greatly relieved until standards are raised, salaries increased, and living and working conditions improved.

Superannuation

There are superannuation provisions in all provinces covering teachers employed by school boards and, generally, teachers in the full-time employ of teachers' associations. In four provinces normal school instructors and university teacher training personnel contribute and receive benefits as teachers, while in other provinces such persons, together with superintendents of schools and officials of Departments of Education, are classified as civil servants for annuity and pension purposes. Eight provinces have no fixed retirement age, termination of service being voluntary at ages varying, according to province and sex, from 55 to 65 years. There are approximately 81,000 teachers covered by pension schemes at the present time, while 6,400 are drawing annuities.

Eight provinces provide both service pensions and annuities, others annuities only. There are disability benefits for those who have taught a prescribed minimum length of time.

Contributions to superannuation funds are made by teachers, school boards, and provincial governments. Amounts contributed by each group vary greatly, the teachers of different provinces paying monthly into the fund from a minimum of 2·3 per cent. to a maximum of 6 per cent. of salary. Benefits vary even more than contributions, the former ranging from less than 50 per cent. to more than 70 per cent. of average salary per annum. One province has a minimum pension of $365, a maximum of $3,000.

There are no interprovincial arrangements regarding pension payments. The Canadian Teachers' Federation has been urging Dominion-wide certification and interprovincial agreements regarding freezing and payment of retirement allowances. The Canadian Education Association, reporting on these matters last year, said that there was little hope of interesting many provinces at the present time in either a Canadian professional certificate or interprovincial superannuation agreements.

Prestige and Social Status

In spite of the fact that Canadians believe in education and have faith in the efficiency of their schools, 80 per cent. of the business, industrial, professional, high school student, and student veteran groups, whose opinions were canvassed in the 1948 survey, replied that the teaching profession lacks prestige. The public believes that students with initiative, ambition, drive, and personality turn to business and industry rather than to teaching. An individual teacher, if highly efficient, gains prestige if in service clubs and community groups he rubs shoulders with the work-a-day world. One imagines, however, his new friends saying, " He's a good sort with plenty of ability. I wonder why he doesn't get out of teaching." Teachers are given credit for doing a worth-while social work, for giving service far above what is ' per agreement ', and for

being sincerely interested in the education of their pupils. It is the opinion of many that the granting of temporary and low-grade certificates to partially or wholly untrained persons, who substitute as teachers in times of teacher shortage, does much to lower the prestige of the profession. If teacher training were everywhere the responsibility of the universities, standards of entrance and training would be higher than at present and teaching might be given recognition as a profession.

Teaching is robbed of prestige that rightly belongs to it when experienced and highly capable members, on promotion to senior administrative and teaching posts, withdraw from membership in their professional organisation. With very few exceptions, instructors in normal schools, superintendents and inspectors of schools, Deputy Ministers of Education, and other senior-ranking officials may not retain membership in teachers' associations. The group with most prestige is a group apart. For some teachers a personal question must be, "How many promotions may I get before I cease to be a teacher?"

Classroom teachers are respected, but as a group they have not the social status of more prosperous professional folk. They stand on a social par with civil servants, below business managers and bankers. In small urban centres all vocational groups are mutually friendly, but in the cities teachers do not enjoy equality with other professional people. Social status is determined very largely by economic standing. One teacher writes, "My impression is that teachers as a class tend to have as friends other teachers, church associates, and people in routine business jobs, rather than members of other and better-paid professions. We seek our own economic level when choosing associates."

Nowhere in Canada are teachers appointed and paid by the government. Free from the restrictions surrounding civil servants they exercise full citizenship rights, participate in discussion of controversial public questions, and share with their neighbours on an equal footing the right to serve on municipal councils, as members of the provincial Assembly, or as members of the House of Commons. In all provinces except one many teachers are active in political life. A conservative estimate gives three hundred as the number of teachers, active or on leave of absence, who are to-day serving in the House of Commons, the provincial legislatures, or on municipal councils. In one province five teachers who left the classroom when elected to the legislature are members of the provincial Cabinet.

Professional Associations

Canadian teachers are well organised at both provincial and Dominion levels. Within provincial groups there are locals and sub-locals throughout the provinces. Membership in provincial

associations is automatic in all but one province. Provincial bodies elect executives and standing committees to look after teachers' interests and study educational needs and trends, with the result that modern educational policies and practice are frequently suggested first in the teachers' organisations. The Canadian Teachers' Federation provides a forum for discussion of provincial policies and a means of joint action and mutual support.

The prestige, strength, and sincere educational interests of the provincial teachers' organisations have won them representation on nearly all Department of Education councils and committees. The associations have done much to improve living and working conditions of their membership. Although they are interested in general educational problems and are now attempting to organise for educational research on a national scale, they have to date accomplished more in the economic and administrative fields than in education itself. The interests of teachers have been so exclusively centred in their provincial professional bodies that they have few associations with other psychological, scientific, humanistic, or social-science groups.

What Lies Ahead?

There appears to be nothing wrong with the status and position of Canada's teachers that money cannot correct. The service given in both classroom and community by those who have chosen teaching as their life-work is very much appreciated by the public, who have not forgotten the loyal, wholehearted work of teachers during depression years, when salaries were both low and in arrears. It is recognised, also, that the constant negotiating for higher salaries, better living and working conditions, and higher standards in the profession is, and may remain, unavoidable until some adequate and equitable method of financing education has been found that will make it possible for the schools to retain the services of the able, trained teachers whose work brings prestige to the profession, and general social recognition that will eventually win for teaching true professional status.

M. E. LaZerte.

CHAPTER THREE

AUSTRALIA

General Social Status

IT is an interesting fact that in Australia the status and position of teachers in a few non-state schools are higher than those of teachers of corresponding rank in any state school. These schools are the secondary schools and colleges of the grammar school type,[1] especially those in the capital cities of Victoria and South Australia and, perhaps less definitely, in New South Wales. There is the further qualification to be made that it is the headmasters or headmistresses of these schools who, principally, enjoy a high social status in the community. For example, in one state the heads of the 'great public schools' must be members of an exclusive club. The explanation seems to be that among the pupils attending these schools are the sons and daughters of doctors, lawyers, graziers, judges, business executives, who in Australia form the 'higher social group' and, in consequence, the heads of these schools have contact with and enjoy equal social status with members of this group in society. But it should be noted that many of the members of the 'higher social group' of to-day were pupils in state primary and secondary schools of yesterday, though they tend to send their children to non-state schools—their daughters at the primary stage or earlier, their sons at the secondary stage. Perhaps another factor contributing to an explanation is that the majority of these heads have come from outside the country, usually from England, where they have been assistant masters (or mistresses) in English public schools.

For other types of non-state schools and for all state schools the broad generalisation may be stated that the status and position of teachers vary with the type of school, being highest for teachers in academic secondary (high) schools, next highest for teachers in other types of secondary schools and least favourable for teachers in the larger primary schools. An immediate qualification is necessary with respect to primary school teachers in rural districts, who frequently enjoy a relatively high social status in their community and are looked to for leadership in civic as well as in educational matters.

Although no studies comparable to those undertaken by Warner

[1] These have affinities with the English 'public schools'.—EDITORS.

and his colleagues in the United States have been made regarding social class in Australia, it would be generally agreed that in the community at large teachers rank lower in social status than the doctors, lawyers, etc., mentioned above and higher than artisans, tradesmen, and, of course, unskilled workers—though from this it should not be inferred that the financial status of teachers occupies a correspondingly intermediate position. For, in fact, many skilled tradesmen and some unskilled workers may earn considerably more than teachers on the lower ranges of the salary scales for teachers in each state. In short, teachers fall within the middle-class group in the Australian community.

No restrictions are placed on teachers' actions as persons: in the choice of their friends and associates, in their membership of religious organisations, clubs, lodges, etc., in the matter of smoking, or of entering public-houses, teachers in Australia are completely free. But it is assumed (and is indeed the fact) that their public actions will be dictated by a sense of responsibility and will fall within the generally accepted canons of good taste.

State school teachers are subject to some restrictions of a professional nature arising from the fact that they are state servants or public servants.[2] This means that they come under the jurisdiction of a Public Service Board or Commissioner in some states, in others under the Minister for Education alone. One public service regulation forbids them to criticise publicly their higher administrative officers, the minister, or the government on matters of educational policy.

However, teachers enjoy political freedom: they may, and do, stand for parliament, except in South Australia, or for municipal and shire councils; they may belong openly to any recognised political party and stand for election under its auspices. Normally they would take leave of absence during the period of active campaigning for parliament and, if not successful, would generally return to teaching: if successful they must resign. Several members of the State Parliament in each state were former teachers in state schools.

The social life enjoyed by teachers is that of the social group to which they belong, and this is to a large extent determined by salary. In country towns, for example, teachers would generally be members of the local tennis or golf club, a proportion of them would belong to church organisations, and in many instances they would hold office in the societies of which they were members. This general picture of their participation in the life of the community is affected by the mobility of teachers, to which reference will be made later. Because of the high mobility rate in some states

[2] It will be noted, therefore, that the term 'public servant' in Australia does not correspond to 'civil servant' in England.

teachers may come to be regarded by communities as 'birds of passage' and consequently, especially in the larger country towns, assistant teachers may not find it easy to identify themselves with the life of the town. But where teachers stay for any length of time in smaller country towns they become active workers and leaders in the corporate life of the community.

With teachers in the cities and larger country towns it is otherwise. They tend to be less definitely identified with the community and to lead lives that are indistinguishable from other members of 'suburbia'. That is to say, they seek their social life among friends of their own choosing and presumably of like social status, and participate in the cultural life of the community to the degree dictated by their personal interests. More than that it is not possible to say.

State and Non-state Schools

While, broadly, the foregoing statements apply equally to all teachers, in most of what follows it will be necessary constantly to keep in mind the distinction between teachers in state and non-state schools in Australia. State schools organised under state Departments of Education offer an education covering the whole range of schooling—kindergarten to school leaving, with incursions into nursery education—and differentiated to provide for the interests and aptitudes of all pupils. Non-state schools consist of those organised by the Roman Catholic church in a system closely paralleling the state system in range and type of organisation and about one-quarter the size of the state system, and, in addition, separate schools, mainly of the secondary grammar school type, controlled by other denominations or by non-denominational school councils. It is the latter schools which in certain states in Australia enjoy a higher status than the corresponding state schools.

Teachers in state schools are public servants, appointed, trained, and paid by the state, subject to some restrictions of a professional nature and liable for service in any part of the state to which the Education Department may wish to transfer them.

Teachers in the non-state schools are not public servants; they are employed by the council of the school, are selected by the headmaster, and are paid salaries which are not subject to corporate negotiation; they teach under conditions laid down by the headmaster and usually are employed under limited contract; they need not have had professional training.

Selection, Recruitment, and Training

Only two Australian states, Tasmania and Victoria, demand that teachers in all schools, non-state as well as state, should receive professional training for teaching. In the remaining states, teachers

with no professional training may be and are employed to teach in non-state schools.

However, because of the training facilities provided by non-state agencies such as the Roman Catholic church and the Seventh Day Adventists for teachers in the schools organised by them, and by the universities and kindergarten unions in each state for non-state secondary and infant school teachers respectively, the number of untrained teachers who teach in Australian schools is not large. It would be true to say that many more have had quite inadequate training. The chief employers of teachers having no professional training are the non-state schools other than those just mentioned. To some extent this would be the result of a deliberate choice on the part of the headmasters, but it may also be due to the fact that assistants in these schools receive considerably smaller salaries than do assistants in the state schools.

In order to teach in state schools in all Australian states teachers must possess professional qualifications in the form of a Teacher's Certificate or a classification of some kind based on professional studies and practical teaching experience. Preparation for these certificates is given in state teachers' colleges and in university Departments or Faculties of Education.

Trainees for teaching in state schools are recruited at about the age of 17 years, mainly from students who have completed a full secondary education of the academic grammar school type, though future teachers of home science and the manual arts will have attended home science or technical high schools. In each state provision is made for admitting to training a number of more mature students who have had experience in other occupations since leaving school. The number of such recruits is small, and in general little or no concession is made to them for work done elsewhere. This means that they undergo the full course of training prescribed for the younger students. In Western Australia students at the intermediate secondary school stage (14 to 15 years old) are granted bursaries to enable them to stay on at school to complete their School Leaving Certificate and so qualify for admission to training as a teacher.

The students entering state teachers' colleges come from lower-middle-class homes; the occupations of their parents are shown in Table I.

Stated in another way, while parents of only 6·2 per cent. of students follow occupations associated with the land, 28 per cent. follow occupations generally associated with industry, 25 per cent. with commercial interests, and about 23 per cent. with public services including teaching. It should be noted that very few children of doctors, dentists, lawyers are to be found among the students attending the state teachers' colleges. In view of the ranking which these occupations are given in relation to teaching in studies of

TABLE I

TABLE SHOWING FATHERS' OCCUPATION OF TEACHERS' COLLEGE STUDENTS (DATA FOR NEW SOUTH WALES ONLY)

Occupation	*Percentage*
Industry	12·9
Commerce	18·2
Public administration	14·1
Teaching	8·4
Transport and communication	4·4
Finance and property	7·1
Not employed	7·3
Primary production	6·2
Building and construction	8·9
Deceased	6·1
All others	6·4
	100·0

social class, the generalisation may be made that by becoming teachers the majority of students in Australia increase their social status by one, two, or more grades.

Surveys of student opinion show that students in Australia elect teaching for one or more of the following reasons:

Liking for teaching.
Fondness for children.
Wish to continue their own education.
Opportunity for community service.
Special interest in a subject (secondary).
Nothing better to do.
Feeling of special fitness for the work.
Security.

No special stress was placed by them on improving their social status.

The selection of students in each state is made from those who apply for a teachers' college scholarship. An interviewing committee, consisting usually of a panel of inspectors and/or representatives of the teachers' colleges, interviews students and judges their personal fitness for teaching—their deportment, speech, personality. Each student must undergo a medical examination conducted by state medical officers or others nominated or approved by the state. This medical examination is conducted with care because the students are prospective beneficiaries under a state superannuation scheme; and it is usually repeated just before the students complete their course of professional training as a check on fitness for teaching.

Until very recently the recruitment of teachers for state schools reasonably matched needs in Australian states. But school populations in Australia have begun to increase at a rate which no longer

makes this possible. The earlier balance was due to the fact that teachers' college scholarships were available to prospective entrants to teaching, in such numbers and carrying such benefits as made them very attractive to parents and students alike.

The recent introduction of a Commonwealth scholarships scheme, whereby scholarships carrying comparable benefits but with fewer restrictions became available to abler students, and the general competition from the labour market for the employment of youth, have undoubtedly led to the more recent difficulties experienced by the states in recruiting students for teaching. The striking fact remains, however, that in some states between one-sixth and one-fifth of all students taking the school leaving examination are at present being recruited for teaching.

The benefits associated with the teachers' college scholarships are free tuition in the institution where all or part of the training may be done (teachers' college, university, conservatoire of music, technical college), sometimes a grant for the purchase of textbooks, and the loan of textbooks (in some states). The amount of the allowance varies according as the student lives at home or boards away from home, and also for married students, as is shown in Table II.

Students who receive these allowances are required to sign a bond whereby they undertake either to teach in state schools for a period of years, or to repay a sum of money roughly corresponding to the amount spent on them during their training. The length of service required under the bond varies with the number of years of training: a two-year course of training requires three years of service; a three-, four- or five-year course of training requires five years of service. The size of this obligation tends to have the effect of forcing some students, especially women students, to elect the shorter courses of training. Many students who elect a two-year course of general training for these reasons seek an opportunity later to qualify for a university degree as evening students.

The Commonwealth scholarships already mentioned carry financial benefits based on a means test, but they do not carry any obligations in the nature of a bond.

In Australia there are 15 state teachers' colleges—six in New South Wales, five in Victoria, and one each in the other states—training a total of nearly 6,000 students. All the colleges offer a course of training for primary school teachers, and in nearly all of them the course for some women students is given a bias towards preparation for teaching in infants' schools. Two of the New South Wales colleges offer, in addition, courses for teachers in secondary schools—Armidale Teachers' College, a course of professional training for high school teachers; Sydney Teachers' College, courses for teachers of the academic subjects in high schools and junior high schools, and also for teachers of special subjects, art,

TABLE II

TABLE SHOWING ALLOWANCES PAID TO STUDENTS IN STATE TEACHERS' COLLEGES DURING PROFESSIONAL TRAINING (AS AT JANUARY 1ST, 1952)

State	Years of Training										Adult Allowances		
	1		2		3		4		5				
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
New South Wales	156 [1]	216 [2]	156 [1]	216 [2]	112 [1]	235 [2]	112 [1]	235 [2]	112 [1]	235 [2]	235 [1]	325 [3]	
Victoria [10]	169 [1]	195 [2]	169 [1]	195 [2]	195 [1]	221 [2]	208 [1]	234 [2]	208 [1]	234 [2]			
Queensland	78 [1]	104 [2]	104 [1]	130 [2]	130 [1]	169 [2]	169 [1]	221 [2]			265 [4]	312 [5]	390 [6]
South Australia	190 [1]	260 [2]	200 [1]	270 [2]	210 [1]	280 [2]	210 [1]	280 [2]					
Western Australia	193 [4]	253 [5]									350 [7]	400 [8]	
Tasmania	208 [9]												

[1] *Living at home.*
[2] *Living away from home.*
[3] *Living away from home and married male students.*
[4] *Single man or woman living at home.*
[5] *Single man or woman living away from home.*
[6] *Married man.*
[7] *Married students—no family.*
[8] *Married students with child or children.*
[9] *For 3, 4, or 5 years, according to length of course.*
[10] *Cost-of-living adjustment for trainees was £102 p.a. as from November 11th, 1951. This should be added to the figures in this row.*

home science, manual arts, music, physical education, in secondary schools.

The course of training for primary school teachers typically consists of three parts. One part is devoted to furthering the general or cultural education of the students beyond the secondary school stage. It includes such studies as literature, biological science, social science. Another part includes the professional subjects, education, psychology, methods of teaching (general and special), speech training, hygiene. The third part consists of practical teaching experiences, such as attendance at demonstration lessons taught by selected teachers in special demonstration schools throughout the year and periods of practice teaching in each year of training amounting to a total of about three months in the two-year course.

Secondary school teachers receive their training either in teachers' colleges or in universities. In New South Wales, teachers in junior secondary schools undergo a two-year course of training at Sydney Teachers' College: teachers in full high schools undergo a four- or five-year course of training, three years (or four years for an honours degree) at the university and one year of professional training for a Diploma in Education of the University of Sydney or for a Teacher's Certificate. The professional training of these teachers is shared by the University of Sydney, New England University College, and Armidale and Sydney Teachers' Colleges. South Australia has a plan of training for secondary teachers which the University of Adelaide and the Adelaide Teachers' College jointly share during the four-year period of training. In the other states the university, with the approval of the state, has assumed responsibility for the training of secondary school teachers. In Victoria a training centre for secondary teachers has been established at the University of Melbourne under the general direction of the Dean of the Faculty of Education. In the other states—Queensland, Tasmania, Western Australia—Faculties of Education have been established recently, generally with the purpose of providing professional training for secondary school teachers as well as of pursuing advanced studies in education.

The training provided in non-state teachers' colleges is generally for primary school teachers only, and in some instances it is designed to cover the minimum professional requirements of the certification authorities in Victoria and Tasmania. The kindergarten training colleges in each state provide a two- or three-year course of specialist training for teachers in non-state nursery and infants schools.

Appointment and Dismissal

The state Departments of Education in Australia are both training and employing authorities. On leaving a teachers' college students may have qualified for either a full or a conditional

Teacher's Certificate or classification.[3] Teachers so qualified are appointed to state schools in their home state, usually without delay, though in the depression years several states did not appoint all teachers immediately they completed their training. Certainly in these days of teacher shortage there is no delay in receiving appointments after completion of training. On occasions, training has been shortened for a few students who were needed immediately to fill vacancies.

The first appointment is made nominally by the Director or Director-General of Education, but actually by the Chief Inspector or Superintendent in charge of the particular division [primary (including infants), secondary, technical] in which the teacher will serve. A good proportion of first appointments is to schools in rural areas; men students are quite likely to be appointed to one-teacher schools. However, a certain number receive appointments in city schools immediately; and it is the general practice to allow others to return to the city after reasonably short periods of country service. On first appointment a teacher is usually graded as an assistant teacher on probation, or as an ex-student. He becomes a qualified assistant at the end of a period of probation (one to three years), provided his teaching is satisfactory.

Assistant teachers in state schools receive automatic increases in salary for a number of years, during which time they may secure additional qualifications (degree, higher degree, higher classification, etc.) which will help them later to gain a position on a promotions list. Throughout their career, teachers in state schools may be transferred to teach in any part of the state.

Positions higher than assistant or trained assistant, as it is sometimes called, are included on a promotions list. In primary schools these positions are deputy headmaster/headmistress (or first assistant) and headmaster/headmistress; in secondary schools there are several types of promotion positions generally corresponding to, though the terminology varies, master of a subject, master or mistress in charge of a division of a mixed primary and secondary school, deputy headmaster, headmaster or principal.

The range of positions and the salaries associated with them are listed later (see Table III). The only real barriers to promotion are inadequate qualifications and inefficient teaching, though it is generally agreed that no man may be appointed as head of an infants' school and no woman as head of a mixed staffed school.

Placement on a promotions list takes place mainly on the report of an Inspector of Schools, who in Australia is charged with the responsibility of both assessing and guiding teachers.

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[3] The holding of a conditional Teacher's Certificate means that the students are required to take further examinations in one or more subjects during their early teaching years if they wish to qualify for a Certificate.

Teachers are rarely dismissed from the state teaching service, the number amounting to perhaps one or two a year in a large service. They may be dismissed for one or other of the following reasons: gross neglect of professional duties, serious moral offences, gross breach of discipline. Teachers who suffer physical or mental breakdown are retired by the Department of Education.

Teachers in non-state schools seek their own positions and negotiate with the head of the school regarding salary and conditions of work. Since they are employed on limited contract it is easier for their appointments to be terminated than is the case for state school teachers.

Mobility and Promotion

There is considerable mobility of teachers in the larger state school systems in Australia, for the reasons that country service is required of teachers, that promotions may be to any part of the state, that unsatisfactory teachers may be moved to other appointments, that retirements, resignations, marriage of women teachers, deaths take place at all times during the year and readjustments of staffing have to be made accordingly. Except for transfers arising from these emergencies, the state departments aim to keep teachers in the same appointment for at least two years. However, the degree of mobility is shown by the information given by an Inspector of Schools in one state that at the end of only three years' service as District Inspector in one district there were only five teachers left out of a hundred and forty who were there at the beginning of that period. Since all state school teachers must be trained, their mobility does not adversely affect the fact of equality of educational opportunity, which is one of the more desirable consequences of the centralised educational administration in Australia. Hence, while there is movement of teachers it is not, in general, movement which results in a concentration of unqualified teachers in one particular region or locality in a state.

Nor is there much interstate movement of state school teachers. Such movements are not encouraged by the administration in each state, so that teachers who wish to transfer to positions in other states must first resign their positions in the home state. On the other hand, teachers in non-state schools, having to seek their own employment, move quite freely from state to state.

Some attempt is being made to reduce the number of moves and also the distances moved by teachers by the setting up of area directorates in a number of the states, the area director having a pool of relieving teachers attached to him for use when and where need arises.

Promotion of teachers in all states is determined on the basis of academic and professional qualifications (degrees, Teacher's Certi-

ficate, and similar qualifications), seniority, quality of teaching. As mentioned earlier, the trend is for promotion positions to be advertised in the *Education Gazette* of each state, and for teachers eligible for them—in terms of their rank on 'promotions lists'—to apply for or to be offered them. If seniority is disturbed in making any promotion teachers passed over can, in most states, appeal against the decision. For example, in New South Wales the appeal can be taken to a promotions committee consisting of a representative of the teachers, a representative of the department, and a third member agreed to by the other representatives. While appointment to a position carrying a higher salary is principally regarded as a promotion, transfers to schools of equal status but in a more favourable area or carrying a higher 'prestige' do occur. This is especially true of transfers to headships of certain high schools.

In Australian states positions in teachers' colleges are in general filled from the ranks of teachers, high academic standing and rich and successful teaching experience being the principal qualifications for selection. In New South Wales, particularly, all permanent positions in teachers' colleges are advertised, and the way is left open for the appointment to them of persons from other states or overseas should local candidates not be of sufficient merit.

By contrast, the method of appointment of Inspectors of Schools and of higher administrative officers is interesting: for in no Australian state are these positions advertised. Inspectors are selected from within the state teaching service by the higher administrative officers of the state Department of Education. In time some of these persons become higher administrative officers themselves, and then they have the duty of recommending others for appointment as inspectors. There is inherent in this scheme the danger of perpetuating that uniformity for which overseas observers generally criticise Australian educational administration. In recent years two of the states (South Australia, Tasmania) have sought a Director of Education from outside the state, but this has not been the typical practice in Australia.

In non-state schools promotion of teachers depends on the quality of their work. Promotion to headships may be by selection through advertisement or by recommendation, and in many instances senior masters in a large non-state school may be appointed to the headship of one of the smaller non-state schools. The larger non-state secondary schools follow the practice of appointing headmasters from overseas—usually from England—where they will most likely have had teaching experience in the English public schools. This fact accounts to some extent for the differences between state and non-state secondary schools, and possibly also for the social prestige, already noted, of the heads of non-state schools.

Conditions of Work

When developments over a period of years are considered, it is obvious that teachers in Australian schools now enjoy much more favourable conditions of work than did their colleagues of earlier years. True, many difficulties remain, especially at the present time, due to the rapid increase in the school population, which has delayed the reduction in size of classes, has limited the number of old school buildings and classrooms that could be repaired or replaced, has necessitated the employment of many casual teachers —either married women who formerly were teachers or men and women called from retirement.

But there have been positive gains: teachers have been granted higher salaries, more promotions positions have been created, inspections have become less formal, more facilities for in-service training have been provided, more teachers have been given the opportunity to obtain university degrees, opportunities to teach and study abroad have been extended. Many of these changes have come as a result of pressure or representations from teachers' organisations, but they also reflect a change in outlook and attitude on the part of the administration, which now tends to favour co-operation rather than prescription.

Moreover, groups of teachers are taking an increasingly active part in the work of syllabus committees, and teachers' organisations are framing education policies which from time to time they urge on governments and Departments of Education.

Since teachers work in state Departments of Education, their hours of work and the length of school terms are prescribed by departmental or public service regulations. Generally in Australia the school day is 6 hours, with an hour for lunch; from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. or 9.30 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. five days a week, for three terms each year. Three periods of school holidays are granted in each state—a long vacation of 6 or 7 weeks in the summer (December–January), and 1 or 2 weeks at the end of each school term, giving a total of 9 or 10 weeks during the year.

During school hours teachers are expected to be on duty at the school, but they may and do leave the school premises from time to time with the consent of the head.

Generous provisions are made for teachers who are ill for lengthy periods. In New South Wales, leave on full pay for 22 working days, followed by 22 working days on half-pay, is granted in any period of twelve months; or a teacher may accumulate sick leave at the rate of 5 days for each year of service, the leave being taken, as needed, on full pay. In South Australia, sick leave amounting to 10 days a year is credited to a teacher to a maximum of 175 days. In Western Australia a teacher of less than three years' service is granted 3 months on half-pay and 9 months on one-third pay; for

service extending for longer than three years he is granted 1 month on full pay, 8 months on half-pay, and 3 months on one-third pay. In Queensland, teachers may be granted leave of absence on account of illness for periods equivalent to 5 working days on full pay, 5 working days on half-pay, and 5 working days without pay, for each year of service.

Furthermore, long service is rewarded by the granting of long-service leave in each state in addition to the provision for sick leave.

Typical provisions for long-service leave are as follows:

(*a*) 3 months on full pay *or* 6 months on half-pay — after 10 or 15 years' service.

(*b*) 6 months on full pay *or* 12 months on half-pay — after 15 or 20 years' service.

(*c*) 12 months on full pay — after 25 or 30 years' service.

(*d*) 1 week on full pay *or* 2 weeks on half-pay — for each year of service commencing *after* 13 years' continuous service.

Owing to the acute shortage of teachers in some states at the present time, teachers are not allowed to take long-service leave unless they have served for a very long period.

Some provisions for sick leave and superannuation are made in non-state schools, but these vary with the organisation in control of the schools. There is not a single co-ordinated pension or leave scheme for the whole group of teachers in non-state schools.

Salaries and Remuneration

Public (i.e. state) school teachers in Australia are paid by the state. The salaries corresponding to the various teaching positions in each state are summarised in Table III, which is a condensation of detailed information given in the Commonwealth Office of Education *Bulletin 19,* January 1952.

The basic salaries listed in Table III are determined using a specified basic wage [4] as the basis. When the basic wage changes, the teachers' salaries change automatically (that is, increase or decrease) with it. This adjustment is made at different intervals in the several states—quarterly in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia; half-yearly in Tasmania (January,

[4] The basic wage is a minimum wage which must be paid to all adult workers. Specified factors (costs of food, clothing, rental, etc.) have to be taken into account in determining the basic wage. The determination is made by a state tribunal in Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia, by a federal tribunal for the Commonwealth and the remaining states.

July), and at no specified interval in Queensland. Besides these automatic adjustments in the basic wage (or for cost of living), teachers share equally with other members of the community in social service benefits—child endowment, pharmaceutical benefits, hospital benefits—which the federal government provides.

Moreover, teachers in each state come under the provisions of a pension or superannuation scheme, voluntarily in Western Australia and compulsorily in the other states. Benefits under the superannuation schemes are in the form of an annuity, the amount of which increases with salary. Contributions to the superannuation fund are shared by the teachers themselves and the state, on either a 50–50 or a 60 (state)–40 (teacher) basis. Units of superannuation are allotted according to salary, and each unit represents a weekly amount of pension on retirement. Teachers may retire on pension at either 60 or 65 years of age in the case of men, or 55 or 60 in the case of women. The superannuation schemes have 'breakdown' clauses which allow for benefits to be paid to teachers whose health fails in service. The amount of the benefit paid under the breakdown clause depends on the length of service of the teacher.

In New South Wales the maximum number of units for which any teacher is allowed to subscribe is 26, each at present worth 15*s.* a week. In South Australia the maximum pension for an assistant teacher is £520 per annum, for a headmaster £650 per annum. In Queensland, teachers must elect to subscribe for a minimum of £200 per annum, the maximum being £500 per annum. The maximum figure for Western Australia is a £680 annuity.

Teachers in Australia do not think that the salaries paid are commensurate with the nature, responsibility, and importance of their work, and, though considerable improvements have been won recently, their salary scales lag behind those for teachers in other countries. A consequence of this is that many teachers feel the need to earn additional income. This is done by coaching, by examining, by part-time work in the evening in technical colleges, evening institutes, and the like. In general, teachers are required to get permission from the authorities to do this additional work. It is difficult to estimate the number of teachers engaged in this kind of extra work. But it is true that the technical colleges and evening schools would have their work greatly restricted if teachers did not volunteer in this way.

It will be observed from Table III that in each state there is a range of increments for the teacher with the basic qualification—trained assistant—and that additional increments or allowances go with the many promotions positions that are available in each state. However, the margins for promotion and responsibility (headships, inspectors) are narrowing relatively. Assistants at the end of a promotion range are not very much below the heads of schools or inspectors. The reason for this is that the salaries for higher

TABLE III

TABLE SHOWING SALARIES OF TEACHERS IN STATE SCHOOLS IN AUSTRALIA

Type of Teacher	*State*					
	New South Wales	*Victoria*	*Queensland*	*South Australia*	*Western Australia*	*Tasmania*
Salaries of untrained, unclassified, or uncertificated assistants	£ —	£ —	£ 250–450 (over 7 years)	£ 378–614 (over 8 years)	£ 303–640 (8th year)	£ Monitors . . 103–138 Probationary junior teachers . 194–206 Junior teachers . 164–184 Junior temporary teachers . . 174 Uncertificated temporary teachers . . 241–398 Uncertificated assistants . 423–473
Salaries of trained assistant teachers without promotion in primary and secondary schools — PRIMARY	415–540 [1] 415–725 [2] 450–765 [3]	*Class* V 325–450 IV 500–625 III 675–725 II 775–825 I 875–925	*Class* I 625–750 II 425–600	449–674 (9th) [11] 459–811 (13th) [12]	556–620 [8] *Classification* C2 585–655 C1 610–730 B2 640–745 B1 680–825 A3 770–875 A2 895 A1 915	*Grade* II 598–748 (7th) III 423–573 (7th)
Salaries of trained assistant teachers without promotion in primary and secondary schools — SECONDARY	480–850 [4] 515–850 [5]	*Class* V 350–500 IV 550–650 III 700–750 II 800–850 I 900–950		459–707 (9th) [6] 607–841 (10th) [7]	680–905 (10th) [9] 680–945 (10th) [10]	
Salaries and/or allowances attached to position above the rank of assistant in primary and secondary schools — PRIMARY	Headmaster: *Class School* I 1,005–1,080 II 930–980 III 905 IV 830–855	Classified salary plus extra allowance £20–£30 [13]	Head teachers and teachers in charge: Classified salary plus extra allowance £30–230 (depending on class of school)	Head teachers and headmasters: *Class School* V 860–890 IV 920–950 III 980–1,010 II 1,040–1,070 I 1,100–1,130	Head teachers and first assistants paid classified salary plus allowance: *Class School* VII 40 III 140 VI 70 II 160 V 100 I 190 IV 130 IA 230	Head teachers: *Class School* IA 1,023 I 973 II 898 III 893–823 IV 823–698 V 798–673 VI 623–510

	SECONDARY					
	Headmaster: *Class School* I 1,105–1,180 (4th) II 1,005–1,080 (4th) Subject master: 905	Classified salary plus extra allowance £40–50.[12] Special salaries to £1,050	Principal: *Grade* I 955–1,155 II 930–1,105 III 905–1,105	Extra allowance £40–60 Principal high school 1,160–1,240 Headmaster: *Class School* I 1,125–1,155 II 1,040–1,070 III 980–1,010 IV 920–950	Headmaster: *Class High School* III 1,165 II 1,205 I 1,245 Special 1,280	Head teachers: *Class School* IA 1,073 I 1,023 II 948 III 898–848 Subject masters: I 848–873 II 798–823
Salaries of teachers in charge of one-teacher schools	Assistants' salary plus allowance £52 (not to exceed £790)	An allowance of £20	An allowance of £30–100 (depending on class of school)	Assistants' salary plus £26 (not to exceed £821)	An allowance depending on the class of the school	Head teachers: *Class* VI £510–623. Junior teachers-in-charge receive £40.
Salaries of teachers' college staff	Lecturers: *Division* II 615–905 (13th) Ic 930–955 (2nd) Ib 1,005–1,080 (4th) Ia 1,105–1,180 (4th) Principals 1,300–1,400	Lecturers 750–875 (4th) Senior Lecturers 900–1,050 (4th) Principals 900–1,100 Principals 1,325 (Melbourne)	Lecturers 730–880 (6th) Principals 980–1,180 (6th)	Lecturers 895–970 (6th) Senior Lecturers 990–1,035 (4th) Principals 1,196–1,271 (4th)	Lecturers 785–1,055 (10th) Principal Lecturers 1,090–1,150 (4th) Principal 1,319–1,389 (3rd)	Teacher training conducted by university in co-operation with Department of Education
Inspectorial staff	Inspectors: School 1,025–1,250 (7th) Staff 1,300 Director of Primary Ed. 1,700–1,800 Director of Secondary Ed. 1,700–1,800	Inspectors: School 900–1,150 (6th) Chief 1,500	Inspectors: District 1,005–1,155 Secondary schools and technical colleges 1,035–1,205 Directors of Primary, Secondary & Tech. Ed. 1,105–1,305	Inspectors 1,167–1,237 Senior Inspectors 1,167–1,287 Director of Education 1,887	Superintendents 970–1,150 District Sup. 1,259–1,389 (6th) Divisional Sup. 1,319–1,389 (3rd)	Education officers: Chief 1,325–1,425 Senior 1,300 For high schools: 1,300 Infant schools: 885

NOTES.

A. Details in this table are condensed from the Commonwealth Office of Education *Bulletin 19*, January 1952.

B. *To all salaries* in this table *must be added* cost-of-living allowances for each state, as at March 1952. For example, the allowance for N.S.W. was £242 p.a.

C. Figures in brackets indicate the year when the final figure (salary) is reached; for example, in the top column under Western Australia the £640 salary is reached in the 8th year of service.

D. The salaries stated are those for men: women teachers receive 80 per cent. or 90 per cent. of the salaries for men.

[1] *Conditional certificated assistant.*
[2] *Two-year-trained certificated assistant.*
[3] *Three-year-trained certificated assistant.*
[4] *Four-year-trained certificated assistant.*
[5] *Five-year-trained certificated assistant.*
[6] *Junior assistants.*
[7] *Assistants.*
[8] *Ex-student, ex-monitor.*
[9] *Three-year school.*
[10] *Five-year school.*
[11] *Classification IIIB.*
[12] *Certificated teacher.*
[13] *Headmaster, head teacher, or principal.*

administrative officers (director-general, superintendent or senior inspectors, staff inspectors, etc.) are determined independently of teachers' salaries, and are themselves related to the salaries of senior public servants in other state departments. For example, the salary of the Director-General of Education in New South Wales is related to the salary of a District Court Judge, and to some extent to the salaries of members of the Public Service Board. This means in practice that the salaries won for assistant teachers by their unions press reasonably close to salaries for the lower ranks of administrative officers, and consequently that small margins are available for the promotions positions in the schools.

What the long-range effect of this policy may be it would be difficult to predict, but already there is evidence of reluctance on the part of many assistants in secondary schools to accept promotion to deputy headships, etc., in country schools. This means that ambitious young teachers get opportunities for promotion earlier, but it also means that the city secondary schools will have an undue proportion of ageing assistants on the staff.

Through their representatives in the teachers' unions, teachers in Australia take part in the negotiations that determine salary scales. The machinery for salary determination is somewhat different in each state. In New South Wales the Teachers' Federation negotiates with the Public Service Board, and any agreement reached must be endorsed by the Minister for Education; if agreement is not reached the federation has access to the Arbitration Court. In Queensland the secretary of the Teachers' Union and the Public Service Commissioner present claims before the Arbitration Court. In South Australia there is a Teachers' Salaries Board having a special magistrate as chairman and having two representatives each of the teachers and the government. These boards review salaries periodically, the periods ranging from two to five years.

In all states women teachers are paid a fraction of the salary for men holding corresponding positions, namely 90 per cent. in Queensland and 80 per cent. in all other states. There is some agitation for equal pay for both sexes.

Salaries paid to teachers in non-state schools (other than in Roman Catholic schools) are determined by the school council and/or headmaster. The salaries paid to headmasters of the more important non-state schools range from £1,500 to £3,500 a year. These are much larger than salaries paid to headmasters in any state school in Australia. For senior assistants the salary range is of the order £1,000–£1,500, and for junior assistants £600–£1,300.

It is more difficult to compare teachers' salaries with those paid in commerce or in other professions because these salaries are not necessarily made public.

A sample of salaries and wages offered to persons in a variety of

occupations, obtained from the advertisement columns of a leading daily newspaper (1952), may give some basis for comparison: carpenter £22 per week; butcher's assistant £18 per week; fitter £13 19*s.* per week, automotive mechanic £857–£1,007 per annum; town clerk (country town) £979 per annum; engineering draughtsman £661–£953 per annum; lecturer in electrical engineering (with honours degree and professional experience) £957–£1,207 per annum; architect £809–£1,131 per annum. (The wages would include cost of living; but adjustments in cost of living would need to be added to the salaries.)

Professional Organisations

Professional organisations of teachers were formed relatively early in the history of Australian education, but they have been a force principally during the present century. Through them teachers have been able to draw public attention to educational needs and problems, even though as public servants they could not openly criticise the government or the educational administration. The annual conference of the teachers' union or federation in each state has called attention to these needs from time to time, principally by inviting outside speakers to discuss urgent problems. An outstanding example of the value of this practice was the address by Professor Francis Anderson in 1901 to the Annual Conference of Teachers in Sydney, which resulted in widespread reforms in education in New South Wales.

In 1921 the Australian Teachers' Federation was founded to co-ordinate the efforts of the state associations and to formulate educational policies having nation-wide significance, such as, for example, uniform standards of certification of teachers. However, it has not become a force comparable in influence to the state teachers' associations.

The state teachers' associations have become powerful during recent years; one of them, the New South Wales Teachers' Federation, has allied itself with the trade union movement in the state by becoming affiliated with the Australian Council of Trades Unions and the Trades and Labour Council. Not all teachers, however, agree that such affiliation is wise.

The teachers' associations have concentrated their efforts during recent years principally on ensuring the material well-being of teachers through pressing for increases in salaries, and on urging, as yet unsuccessfully, the federal government to make a large grant (£100 million) for urgently needed developments in Australian education. Though these associations also hold and express views on educational policy, they do not appear to be as professionally minded as their counterparts in other countries; for example, the N.E.A. in the United States and the N.U.T. in England; nor do

they influence educational policy as definitely as do the latter organisations.

Teachers may belong to their union without let or hindrance; occasionally a Minister for Education has let it be known that teachers were expected to belong to a union.

Teachers in Australia join professional and academic societies such as the Psychological Society, the Mathematical Association, the English Association, the Historical Society, and thus take the opportunities available to keep in touch with developments in their specialities. While the number of teacher-members of such societies is in general a fairly small fraction of the total number of teachers, the journals which some of these societies produce enjoys a wide circulation among teachers. For example, *The Australian Mathematics Teacher,* produced by the New South Wales branch of the Mathematical Association, has over 800 subscribers, which must represent a considerable percentage of the total number of teachers of mathematics in all secondary schools in Australia. Likewise an educational journal for teachers, *The Forum of Education,* enjoys a wide distribution, as does also *The Australian Geographer.*

Towards Professional Status

Finally the question may be asked, what progress have teachers in Australia made towards professional status? The answer to this question must be based on a consideration of the factors which characterise a profession. K. S. Cunningham [5] has recently stated some of these:

> When we come to those occupations loosely known as the professions—and teaching must now be placed in this group, or at least regarded as a near-profession—other elements (prestige and monetary reward) as well enter into the question of status. The term "profession" implies first a degree of scholarship—and secondly, the application of this knowledge to some branch of human affairs. This right to "practise" on others requires regulation. Thus there arise such questions as the length and severity of officially required training courses, the control or selection of training agencies, the permanence of any certification granted, the conditions under which certification may be revoked, and finally the extent to which the profession is permitted to regulate itself or the individual practitioner to use his own judgment in his daily work.

Judged in terms of these criteria, teaching in Australia enjoys the status only of a near-profession. While for teachers in state schools there are prescribed courses of professional training, albeit many of them are too short, teachers in non-state schools in most states need have no professional training; while in most states the professional preparation of secondary school teachers (grammar school type) is

[5] K. S. Cunningham, "The Status of the Teacher", *Education News,* Jubilee Issue, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 3, 4.

given in universities, there is no general movement towards linking the preparation of teachers for other types of schools with the university; while through their professional organisations teachers have won considerable material benefits for themselves—salary increases, improved conditions of supervision and inspection—they have not won the right to regulate their profession in the same way as doctors and lawyers, for example, have done.

The graduation of teaching to full professional status in Australia is likely to be slow in coming " partly because teachers are required in such numbers that it would be extremely expensive to train them all ' fully ', and partly because . . . the largest group of teachers are those in the public service." [6]

However, the national attitude towards education has changed considerably during recent years, and it is still changing. As in other countries, one effect of the recent war was greatly to increase public interest in education. This in turn has led to wider recognition of the nature and importance of the work of the teacher, and it may also be expected to lead to a gradual improvement in his social status.

I. S. TURNER.

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[6] K. S. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

CHAPTER FOUR

NEW ZEALAND

Social Status in New Zealand

As articles in earlier issues of the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION have pointed out,[1] New Zealand is comparatively speaking a very democratic country, without great extremes of wealth and poverty or sharp social divisions. In many social relationships a man's income or occupation, his level of formal education or his family connections, matter relatively little, his standing depending much more on his personal qualities and achievements. Yet differences in social status certainly exist, and these are usually related, though not always in a direct or simple way, to occupation.

The scientific study of the social structure of New Zealand is in its infancy, but a useful beginning has been made. Of special relevance to the theme of this article is an investigation being conducted by A. A. Congalton of Victoria University College. As a first step, Mr. Congalton and his co-workers have been getting people to rank, in order of social standing, each of thirty selected occupations. The list is the same as that being used by the Social Science Division of the London School of Economics and Political Science in its investigation into the class structure of England and Wales, though the designations of certain of the occupations have been brought into line with local usages. The samples from which replies have so far been received comprise representative groups of people in two country towns, a small city group, and a group of university students.

The results of the main country-town survey (based on 479 replies) are given in Table I. Further research will lead to changes in the mean rankings, but it is unlikely that these will be very great. For purposes of comparison the English rankings are given also.

In general, the New Zealand order is similar to the English, though there are a number of interesting differences. Some of these may perhaps be partly due to the changes in the designations of the occupations. It does not follow, of course, that if the difference between the mean rankings of any two occupations is the same in England as in New Zealand that the difference in social status is also of the same magnitude. On the contrary, there are

[1] See especially the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION, 1950, pp. 361–74.

TABLE I

MEAN RANKINGS OF THIRTY OCCUPATIONS ACCORDING TO SOCIAL STANDING

Occupation	N.Z.	Eng.
1. Doctor (general practitioner)	2·0	1·3
2. Solicitor	5·2	2·6
3. Business manager (10–99 hands)	6·4	6·0
4. Minister (nonconformist)	6·7	6·4
5. Company director	7·1	1·6
6. Public accountant	7·7	3·2
7. Civil servant (highest grade)	8·5	6·0
8. Farmer (about 100 acres)	9·2	7·3
9. Works manager	9·8	6·4
10. Primary school teacher (asst.)	10·5	10·8
11. Jobbing master builder	11·8	11·4
12. Policeman	12·6	16·1
13. Carpenter	15·1	18·6
14. Fitter	15·5	17·6
15. Clerk	16·0	16·1
16. News reporter	16·2	11·8
17. Newsagent and bookseller (one-man shop)	16·4	15·0
18. Commercial traveller	16·6	12·0
19. Insurance agent	17·2	14·6
20. Bricklayer	18·0	20·2
21. Carrier	18·5	25·8
22. Shop assistant	19·2	20·2
23. Agricultural labourer	19·5	25·5
24. Tractor driver	20·4	23·0
25. Coal miner	21·6	23·2
26. Chef (hotel)	21·8	13·8
27. Railway porter	22·4	25·3
28. Wharf labourer	25·6	27·0
29. Roadsweeper	26·9	28·9
30. Barman	27·1	26·4

many reasons for believing that the differences in status so indicated are smaller in New Zealand.

All four of the groups mentioned gave primary school teacher (assistant) an average ranking very close to 10, which, interestingly enough, is the same as that for England. It is to be noted, however, that post-primary assistants would probably have been given a rather higher ranking, as also would primary head teachers, post-primary principals, inspectors of schools, and others in senior positions in the education service. Hence the ranking is lower than it would have been for the education service as a whole.

In New Zealand, as elsewhere, the factors determining differences in the general social status of occupations are many and varied, and until further research has been done the interpretation of the facts so far revealed must contain a large element of guesswork. However, it seems clear that one factor of considerable importance is

the economic status of the occupation. Though there are exceptions, the most respected occupations tend to be those that offer the best opportunities for economic security and advancement. Where high earnings are linked with the ownership of a farm or a business or a private professional practice, status is usually further enhanced. Secondly, the qualifications demanded by an occupation are important. By and large, an occupation has high status to the extent that it demands a good standard of general education, exceptional abilities of one kind or another, or long and exacting training, and, further, is able to insist on such qualifications in its recruits. Thirdly, the status of an occupation is affected also by judgments on its intrinsic dignity and social worth, attitudes towards the conditions under which it is carried on, and beliefs about the quality of the service given by those engaged in it. These are subtle matters, and it is far from easy to see the underlying pattern to which specific evaluations can be related. It can be said, perhaps, that the New Zealand standard of dignity and social worth tends to be rather utilitarian, often placing very strong emphasis on the functions that minister directly and obviously to material well-being. However, many other considerations enter into the final evaluation. Thus the old distinctions between white-collar work and manual labour persist to some extent; work that gives scope for initiative and responsibility, and involves a minimum of regimentation from above, tends to stand relatively high; particular occupations gain or suffer in status through the accidents of their history (for example, their association with militant unionism), and through all kinds of special circumstances. Finally, every occupational group develops an attitude towards itself, which affects its relations with the community and the kind of service it gives, and this in turn influences the community's valuation of it.

The Economic Position of Teachers

From the moment a student enters on training, teaching in New Zealand offers him a very high degree of economic security. During his years at a teachers' college he receives a living-allowance, at present £200 per annum plus another £46 if he lives away from home, or, for students over 21 years of age, £375 for men and £300 for women. These rates apply to the one-year graduate group preparing for post-primary teaching as well as to the primary school trainees. Throughout the three or four years of their university courses most of the former now hold post-primary teachers' bursaries which have an annual value of £70, plus another £40 for those who live away from home.

After entering on service, the teacher enjoys almost complete security of tenure and is fully safeguarded by law against unjust dismissal. An education board or a governing body of a post-primary school may suspend or dismiss a teacher for wilful dis-

obedience to a lawful command given in relation to his duties; misconduct; inefficiency; permanent ill-health; or gross misbehaviour. In practice, cases of dismissal are rare; and whenever they occur the teacher has the right to have his case heard before a Teachers' Court of Appeal. Teachers whose positions are affected by such circumstances as a fall in the roll number of a school are protected in a number of ways from suffering hardship.

There are generous provisions for continued payment of salary during periods of sickness. The amount of sick-leave for which a teacher is entitled to full pay is determined by his length of service: for example, 46 days for service over 9 months and under 5 years. However, there are various supplementary provisions under which sick-leave may be extended or absence through sickness may be disregarded in calculating the total sick-leave to which a teacher is entitled in accordance with the basic schedule.

Finally, teachers contribute to a Government Superannuation Fund, subsidised by the state, and are entitled to superannuation allowances on retirement. The rate of contribution for most teachers is 5 per cent. of salary. Under the formula by which pensions are computed, a male teacher with 40 years' service whose average salary during his last five years was £960 (to take a typical example) receives a pension of £620 per annum.

Teaching is, therefore, a very safe occupation economically. How far it also offers remuneration at an adequate level is another question, and one on which there are sharp differences of opinion.

In New Zealand the only teachers employed by the central Department of Education are those in Maori schools and in a few special institutions. The general body of teachers in public primary and post-primary schools are employees of local boards. All teachers, however, are paid in accordance with national salary scales; and as there is no system of local rating for education the boards have practically nothing to do with the determination of teachers' salaries. This is now the responsibility of a Government Service Tribunal, consisting of a judge or deputy-judge of the Court of Arbitration and representatives of the government and the teachers. The tribunal hears the cases of the advocates for the teachers and for the government, and in due course makes an order.

Details of the salaries paid to teachers in New Zealand can have little meaning to the overseas reader unless earnings in other representative occupations are given as well. In 1952 the minimum rates of payment for the great majority of the rank and file of adult male workers—labourers, tradesmen, factory workers, shop assistants, clerks, and the like—ranged from £8 to £10 for a forty-hour week, while the rates for adult women in comparable occupations ranged from £6 to £8 10*s*. a week. The minimum rates for certain groups were substantially higher. Further, many were being paid above the minimum rates, or were working a considerable amount of

overtime. As a result, earnings were often from £1 to £2 a week higher than the minimum weekly wage, and in exceptional cases reached £15 a week or more. As examples of the earnings of professional or managerial employees, the following salaries paid by a large city corporation may be cited: internal auditor, £800 per annum; chief clerk, engineer's department, £900; engineers, architects, town planners, surveyors, £700–£1,200, according to qualifications and responsibilities. Full-time medical men in the State Department of Health (excluding the highest administrative officers) receive salaries ranging from £1,600 to £1,900. Full information on earnings in the private practice of such professions as medicine or law, or in business and farming, is not available. Earnings in medicine are certainly often very high, occasionally exceeding £8,000 per annum and very frequently exceeding £3,000. Earnings in law may also be very high, though the average is probably considerably lower. The moderately successful lawyer will earn perhaps £1,500–£2,000 net by the time he is 35 or 40. Incomes from business or farming naturally vary greatly. The average net income of dairy farmers was £919 in 1951, and may reach £1,000 in 1952; and there is evidence that many quite small businesses provide their owners with still greater returns. It is to be remembered, of course, that the operation of the social security system and of graduated income-tax considerably reduces the gap between the higher and the lower incomes.

A new salary scale for primary school teachers has just been adopted, and post-primary teachers have at the same time received salary increases. The salaries cited below are those in the revised scales, but primary school teachers, juniors in particular, will not receive the full benefit of their new scale until their years of service take them up step by step to the higher maxima now provided.

The new scale provides that certificated assistants in public primary schools are to receive commencing salaries of £430 per annum for men and £370 per annum for women, and thereafter annual increments of £30 until in their eleventh year of service the men receive £730 and the women £670. However, teachers may not proceed beyond £550 (men) or £490 (women) unless they have completed three years of service in a country school, or are teaching in a country school, or if their work is judged to be inefficient. Male teachers who are married, whether assistants or not, receive an additional £57 10*s.* per annum, and married women also may receive this allowance in certain circumstances. Possession of a university degree is recognised in additional allowances ranging from £20 to £60 per annum, or, in the case of first appointments of teachers who have graduated after full-time university study, by commencing salaries at points above the basic level. Sole teachers or head teachers in the smallest schools (9–70 pupils), whether they are men or women, are paid according to a separate scale beginning

at £520 and rising by eight annual steps to £760. Teachers on this scale are subject to the same bars as the assistants and may receive the same additions to salary.

For first assistant masters in the larger schools, and for infant mistresses and senior assistant mistresses, there is a special scale commencing at £700 for men and £640 for women and rising, with the most responsible of these positions, to £850 and £790 respectively. Head teachers of the larger schools receive salaries ranging from £820 to £1,120. Head teachers of district high schools (primary schools with secondary departments) receive additions to salary of £60, £90, or £120, according to the size of the secondary department.

For post-primary teachers there is a basic scale (Grade I), with five different starting-points, extending from £430 per annum for men and £390 per annum for women to £630 for men and £560 for women in the thirteenth year of service. The starting-point is determined by the teacher's initial qualifications: for example, if he has a Master's degree with Honours he begins on the fifth 'step'. Teachers receive in addition increments according to their personal grading, which is mainly dependent on their efficiency as judged by the inspectors, but takes some account also of academic or technical qualifications and length of service. The increments range from £15, for teachers in the lowest of the five sub-divisions of Grade II, to a maximum of £220 for men and £180 for women for those in the highest group. A number of posts of special responsibility carry salaries of £930 for men and £820 for women. In addition, there are allowances ranging from £40 to £120 (men) and £40 to £100 (women), for such positions as first assistant and head of department. The salaries of principals of schools range from £1,060 to £1,400 (men) and £960 to £1,300 (women). As with the primary school service, married teachers receive an additional £57 10*s*. It will be noted that in both the primary and the post-primary scales there is differentiation according to sex, in the former with assistantships only, in the latter throughout. The tendency has been to reduce the differentiation, and, as will be seen, it is now relatively small.

For purposes of comparison, some of the salaries for positions in the Education Department, the teachers' colleges, and the university colleges may be cited. In all cases the maximum salaries are given. The Director of Education (the permanent head of the Education Department) receives a salary of £2,160; a senior inspector of primary schools (upper grade), £1,360; and a staff inspector, £1,240. The principal of a teachers' college has a salary of £1,400; a senior lecturer one of £1,000, and a lecturer one of £940. The married allowance of £57 10*s*. applies to these teachers' college salaries. The salary of the principal of a university college is £2,160, a professor £1,700, and a senior lecturer £1,200.

In the past, salary promotion for teachers depended very much on their success in securing the positions for which the higher salaries were paid; but during the last fifteen years or so salary scales have given more and more weight to the principle of 'paying the teacher and not the position'. In the primary school service particularly, some such change was essential if opportunities for salary promotion, particularly for men, were not to be drastically restricted. A quarter of a century ago, for example, the ordinarily successful primary school teacher had a good prospect of eventually becoming the head of at least a moderately large school. Since that time the number of such posts in relation to all positions in the service has diminished, whereas the proportion of men to women has increased rapidly from 5 to 10 to nearly 9 to 10. All in all, prospects of salary promotion can at the moment be described as reasonably good. The main lines of promotion will be evident from the salary scales.

Hitherto there has been a salary differential in favour of post-primary teachers as such, and this has perhaps been one of the reasons for their somewhat higher status. Under the 1952 salary revisions the differential has practically disappeared except for the most senior positions, and if an intending teacher were to ask which branch of the service offered him the better economic prospects, one would be hard put to it to give a confident reply. It is true that a considerable number of teachers transfer from the primary to the post-primary service and relatively few the other way; but even in the past this would seem to have been due in large part to non-economic reasons. Movement of teachers to the university, sometimes *via* a teachers' college, is not uncommon; and movement from the university to a teachers' college also occurs, though very rarely.

Teachers are free to seek promotion anywhere in the Dominion. The primary school service in particular has been exceedingly mobile, so much so, in fact, that the constant changes of staff have constituted a serious educational evil. Under the old salary and staffing arrangements, teachers were forced to move frequently to gain promotion. Further, there is a Dominion scheme of appointments, now under review, whereby teachers are graded on a numerical scale of some 240 points, and nearly all vacancies are filled by appointing the most highly graded applicants from anywhere in the country. One of the objects of the 1952 salary scale is to reduce excessive staff changes, and it is already having this effect. In the post-primary service, where the grading of teachers is in broad groups and appointments are made by the local post-primary boards on the advice of principals, there is the opposite danger of an undue amount of internal promotion. However, the post-primary service also is fairly mobile.

Some idea has now been given of how, in fact, teachers stand

economically in relation to other sections of the community. Their calling offers no glittering financial prizes. Successful doctors, dentists, lawyers, and accountants, not to mention business men and farmers, commonly receive much larger incomes than the most highly paid men anywhere in the education service. But although the beginning teacher earns little more, and often less, than he could get in many unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, he moves fairly soon to a salary level that if still modest gives him rather higher earnings than those of a large majority of his fellow citizens. Before he retires—indeed by the time he has served fifteen or twenty years if he is particularly successful—he earns perhaps twice as much as most of the rank and file of workers. Women teachers are undoubtedly better off in relation to women workers generally than male teachers in relation to men generally. Few women in New Zealand enter such professions as medicine or law, and the number of highly paid executive positions for women in business or in the public service is small. The salaries of the better paid of the senior women teachers therefore compare very favourably with those of women workers as a whole. This is probably one of the reasons why teaching is often regarded as a more desirable occupation for women than for men.

Though inflation is less marked in New Zealand than in many other countries, it is none the less considerable. The consumers' retail-price index is 68 per cent. higher than in 1939, and continues to rise. Wages and salaries have at best barely kept pace with this steady increase, and teachers, in common with other sections of the community, feel its effects. This is particularly true of the younger men with families. To help to make ends meet, some of them work during their vacations or find other ways of supplementing the family income. The by-laws of the education boards often state that teachers are not to engage in private employment for emolument without the consent of the board, but action is rarely taken under these provisions. But if some teachers find it hard to balance their budgets, it is also a fact, shown by a recent survey, that very few leave the profession to earn higher salaries elsewhere.

The teachers' organisations claim that the existing salary rates fall well below a professional level, and they have been pressing for a 'revaluation' of the services teachers give. There is little sign that the authorities are disposed to grant the large general increases the claim implies. This does not necessarily mean that a low value is placed on teaching. The reply is rather that, especially when account is taken of the security teaching offers, the granting of the claim would put the salaries of teachers out of relation to those of very many other people who also render important and highly skilled services.

Recruitment, Selection, and Training

The great majority of intending primary-school teachers are recruited from among high school leavers at the age of 17 or 18. They then pursue a three-year course of training, the first two years being spent at a teachers' college and the final year as probationary assistants in the schools. Applications for entry to the teachers' colleges are called each year by the local education boards, the immediate controlling authorities. It is officially required of a candidate that he be at least 17 years of age, 'of good character and reputation', free from any physical or other defect incompatible with efficiency as a teacher, and suitable for the work of teaching; and that he has qualified for entrance to the university or secured a pass in the School Certificate Examination. His suitability for teaching is assessed by a selection committee which ranks him on a 20-point scale. The education board then selects sufficient of the better candidates to fill the places available in the college or colleges under its control.

Recruiting enough teachers to keep the schools staffed has become a very large task. Indeed, in recent years, a period in which it has been necessary to recruit from exceptionally small age-groups for a rapidly expanding school population, up to 25 per cent. of the young people leaving high school with the School Certificate or some higher qualification have entered teaching. Even then, an emergency training scheme has had to be instituted for people drawn from other walks of life. In these circumstances, it is impossible to be rigidly selective, and the status of teaching relative to some other professions certainly suffers from that fact. The most that can be hoped is that teaching will attract a fair share of the young people with superior qualities of mind and character. How far it is succeeding in doing so is a matter on which opinions differ. The Consultative Committee that very recently reported on the training of teachers summed up its impressions by saying: "On the evidence before us, we are inclined to think that, in view of the competition from other callings, teaching is at the moment faring moderately well: if the poorest of the recruits are much less well equipped than we would wish them to be, there are at the other end of the scale no small number of very fine quality. At all events, teaching appears to be holding its own considerably better in New Zealand than in many other countries." Socially, the recruits tend to be drawn from the middle ranks of New Zealand society. Many come from families that already include teachers or have some less direct association with teaching.

In the two years of the college course those preparing for work in the primary schools receive further education in English language and literature, history, geography, general science or biology, art and craft, music, and physical culture and health, and concurrently

pursue professional studies in educational theory and the principles and practice of teaching. From a third to two-fifths of the student's time is spent in practical training in schools. The basic qualification for a primary school teacher is the so-called Teachers' 'C' Certificate, which is secured by passing in the subjects of the training college curriculum and by giving evidence of practical competence as a teacher during the probationary year. (A few students spend a third year in the teachers' college, specialising in physical education, art and craft, or nature study.)

Though the Education Department possesses wide powers over the teachers' colleges, they enjoy in practice a large measure of autonomy. For example, they are not, in the ordinary sense of the term, inspected by departmental officers; and the examination of students is wholly internal. Moreover, in the words of the Consultative Committee, "the colleges have grown beyond the rather narrow traditions that for so long dominated the training of intending primary school teachers. Though their work is still specifically directed towards teaching in the primary schools, they interpret their task broadly in terms of the balanced development of the student as a person." For these and other reasons the colleges have a reasonably good status, and this tends to reflect itself in the status of those they train. On the other hand, the attempt to cover so much in a brief two-year course inevitably results, to quote the Consultative Committee again, in "congestion of the curriculum; fragmentation of the student's time; acceptance of minimum standards for certification that are known to be too low; and a general feeling on the part of staff and students alike that too little is being done really thoroughly". These weaknesses in the training system undoubtedly affect the status of primary teachers; but although educationists are agreed on the desirability of a lengthening of the training course by a year, the demand for teachers is such as to render the reform impracticable at the present time.

For certificates above the basic level, university qualifications are demanded. A number of students—about half the men and one-sixth of the women—do university work in preparation for the higher certificates while attending a teachers' college. Having made a beginning in this way, many continue their studies as part-time or extra-mural students after entering teaching.

Each of the four university colleges has a department of education. Broadly, the teachers' colleges are responsible for the basic training required of all teachers, whereas the university departments of education provide for a proportion of students, and for some teachers in service, advanced courses in the theory of education, the history of education, educational psychology, and the like. Education is a university subject for the B.A. degree and also for M.A. and Honours; and there is provision also for a university Diploma in Education. It is difficult to generalise about the standing of the

departments of education within the university colleges: at the least, they are accepted, though still with misgivings; at the most, they are fairly widely respected.

The links between the teachers' colleges and the university colleges, the presence of a considerable proportion of graduates among primary school teachers, and the work of the university departments of education are all factors that have helped to maintain or improve the status of the primary service. Some believe that the teachers' colleges should be brought right inside the university system, but there are difficulties in the way, and, in any case, it is doubtful whether the change would in fact have much effect on the status of teacher training in the Dominion.

The normal requirement for entry to post-primary teaching is a university degree, or some more or less equivalent qualification such as a technological diploma. The arrangements for post-primary teachers' bursaries have already been briefly described. The bursars are under bond to teach for a period in post-primary schools on the completion of their training. Professional training is not yet obligatory for all post-primary teachers, though the trend is strongly in that direction. As might be expected, the one-year professional course includes a large amount of practical training and emphasises the pedagogy of the student's special subject and ancillary related subjects. Perhaps the chief reason for the higher status of post-primary teachers is that in general they have a longer and more exacting period of preparation and are as a group much stronger academically. Incidentally, the policy of having the professional training of post-primary teachers carried on in a teachers' college, in association with primary training, arises in part from a desire to foster unity in the teaching service.

The institution of refresher courses on a large scale, and some other schemes of in-service training, is a recent development of great promise. The refresher courses, which are usually residential and are entirely voluntary, are held in the summer vacation, and teachers themselves play a large part in planning and running them. In addition to fulfilling their immediate purpose, they have given a fillip to professional morale; and by thronging to them in unexpectedly large numbers teachers have shown the public how widespread is their desire for improved professional standards.

Appointment, Conditions of Service, Professional Relationships

The system of appointments in primary schools has already been described. Though appointments are technically in the hands of the local lay boards, in practice they depend almost wholly on the inspectors' judgment of teachers as expressed in the marks assigned to them on the graded list. The chief advantages of the system are that it places a very high premium on proved merit and practically eliminates irrelevant considerations, such as membership of a par-

ticular church or political party, and that it allows teachers to move freely anywhere within the Dominion. To this extent it has helped to raise the status of teachers. On the other hand, it has tended to over-stimulate competitiveness among teachers, to emphasise the judicial functions of inspectors at the expense of their advisory ones, and to reduce the art of fitting the teacher to the job to a mechanical routine. Teachers themselves are now coming to believe that in its present form it stands in the way of the movement towards true professional status, and there is a possibility that it will soon be replaced.

In the post-primary service also teachers are graded by the inspectors, but the grading is into much broader groups, and its only real connection with appointments is that no teacher may be appointed to the highest level of assistant's position, or, in some cases, to a principalship, unless he is in the highest grading group. The appointments are made by the local post-primary boards. In filling assistantships the boards almost invariably act on the recommendations of their principals. A check on possible abuses is provided by regulations requiring consultation with the department, or the approval of the department, before certain positions are filled. The system is more open than the primary one to the influence of personal or local prejudices, but on the whole the relevant professional considerations appear to be given full weight.

Teachers must keep certain hours of work, and no one regards this as unreasonable. Sometimes the requirement is specifically stated, as in an education board by-law which reads: "To prepare for the prompt commencement of the day's work every teacher shall attend at least 15 minutes before the time of the assembly and shall not leave after school till all duties are completed". Teachers have the same vacations as the children—a total of twelve or thirteen weeks each year. In special circumstances teachers may be given study-leave on full or part salary, but partly because of the shortage of teachers practically none are being granted such leave at the present time.

As a result of modifications in the examination system, changes in the attitude of the administration, and their own efforts, teachers in New Zealand have achieved a large measure of professional freedom. The day of detailed official syllabuses rigidly imposed on all teachers has long passed, and in such matters very much is now left to the discretion of the individual school and the individual teacher. So far as professional direction from the Education Department and its inspectors still exists, its nature and degree are more and more determined on the basis of consultation and agreement with the teachers themselves. Relations between heads and assistants likewise tend to emphasise functional teamwork rather than distinctions of status, though there are naturally exceptions.

There are two major teachers' organisations, both of them strong

bodies, capable of taking vigorous action on behalf of their members—the New Zealand Educational Institute, the organisation of the primary teachers, and the Post-primary Teachers' Association. Though membership is voluntary, the great majority of teachers belong to their appropriate organisation. Both bodies concern themselves with education generally as well as with 'trade union' affairs. Both, too, are fully recognised by the state and the Education Department, and are regularly consulted on a large variety of matters of concern to teachers. If teachers' conditions of employment in New Zealand are in many respects very good, they owe their advantages in large measure to the persistent efforts of their professional organisations.

Teachers and the Community

The schools are on the whole remarkably free from anything savouring of lay interference with professional matters, whether from the local education authorities or any other bodies. This was not always so, and the effects of the struggle for professional independence sometimes survive in a tendency to keep parents at arm's length. In recent years, however, teachers and parents have been drawing closer together, and there has been a remarkable development of parent-teacher associations. Parents, moreover, are better educated than they used to be, while the schools themselves have become happier and more civilised places. One general result of these and other changes is that teachers can count on a greater measure of enlightened public support than they could a generation ago, and a fuller understanding of their aims and problems. At the same time teachers are, as it were, put on their mettle, for if the public is more discerningly appreciative of good teachers it is also more critical of poor ones.

Teachers enjoy all the rights of citizens generally and have little or no hesitation about using them. For example, many join political parties, and some stand for election to municipal councils or the national parliament. Among the 80 members of the national parliament there are usually three or four who were teachers prior to their election or at some earlier stage of their lives. Teachers are equally free socially. Though the community will be critical of conduct in teachers that it would accept in others (and not unreasonably), there is little or no attempt at overt control of their personal lives. In their leisure time they participate in all the social, recreational, and cultural activities available to New Zealanders generally. The extent of their participation, and the degree to which it is limited by economic or other circumstances has never been closely studied. No doubt the tendency is for them to move a good deal among others of their own profession, or among people at about the same level of income and education. But no one knows precisely how strong this tendency is, and it is

not hard to think of many examples of teachers whose friends and associates range very widely over the social scale, or who, especially in the smaller centres of population, are among the acknowledged leaders of community life.

The general public attitude towards teaching can perhaps be fairly described as one of moderate respect. The average New Zealander, one imagines, sees teaching as a necessary and honourable calling that attracts men and women who are on the whole of more than ordinary ability and integrity and that offers them fairly wide scope for their powers and, on the material side, a very secure if somewhat modest competence and good conditions of employment. He accordingly rates teaching above many other occupations, including some that provide greater economic rewards, but below such professions as medicine. In declining to place teaching farther up the scale, he is probably influenced in the main by the fact that the minimum standards for entry to the service have never been really exacting, by the fact that its material rewards are not great, and perhaps also by the lingering survival of the old attitude of mild contempt towards those who work among children.

A. E. CAMPBELL.

CHAPTER FIVE

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

[*The opinions expressed in this article are personal and are in no way an expression of views held by the department to which the writer is attached.*]

IN South Africa much attention has recently been given to the problems arising from the difficulty of attracting adequate numbers of recruits to the teaching profession. The following reports have been published dealing with the matter:

(i) the *Report of the Transvaal Education Commission,* 1939;
(ii) the *Report of the Natal Education Commission,* 1946;
(iii) the *Report of the Commission on Technical Education* (the de Villiers Report), 1948;
(iv) the *Vermooten Report* (*Transvaal*), 1949;
(v) the *Smuts Report* (*Transvaal*), 1951; and
(vi) the *Report of the O.F.S. Education Commission,* 1951.

In 1951 the Inter-provincial Consultative Committee recommended to the Minister of the Interior that a committee of inquiry should be appointed with the following terms of reference:

(1) Having due regard, *inter alia,* to the data collected by the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research in connection with—
(*a*) the cause of the serious shortage of recruits for the teaching profession;
(*b*) the quality of such recruits; and
(*c*) those factors which beneficially or detrimentally influence the teaching profession,
to inquire into, and to make recommendations in regard to, the steps necessary to make adequate provision for the present, and as far as possible for the future requirements of the teaching profession, with special reference to:
(i) possible improvements in salary scales and pension rights, methods of salary adjustments and other conditions of service, e.g.
(*a*) the inclusion of a portion or the total relative cost of living allowance in the substantive pensionable salaries;
(*b*) the employment of married female teachers on a permanent basis;
(*c*) the civic rights of teachers; and
(*d*) raising the pensionable age;
(ii) any other relevant matters which the Committee considers of importance;
(2) to make an estimate of the cost that would be entailed by the recommendations of the Committee for each of the four provinces and for the Department of Education, Arts and Science; and

(3) to submit, if possible before the 31st of December, 1951, an interim report on the proposed improvements in the salaries, salary scales and adjustments.

This Committee issued a special report on salaries in December 1951, and in June 1952 presented a report covering the rest of its terms of reference. Unfortunately this latter report has not yet been made public.

It is thus evident that a very great deal of study has been given to the status and remuneration of the teaching profession. Nevertheless, because of its multi-cultural character, South Africa offers in addition an interesting field of study of these problems. Schools are divided according to four racial groups: European, Coloured, Asiatic, and Bantu. Each group attends its own schools and, with the exception of small numbers of European teachers in non-European schools, is taught by teachers of its own race. To treat fully the problems of teacher status in South Africa would therefore require a separate consideration of each of the four groups. In the space available this will not be possible, and attention will be limited to European and Bantu teachers, numerically the largest groups and those offering the sharpest contrasts.

However, before entering upon a discussion of the position of European and Bantu teachers it will be as well to consider generally what is understood by status. Bogardus defines status as follows:

> Status is the rating that one person gives another. It is standing, recognition; it is being 'somebody'. It is a person's priceless treasure; it is something a person will fight for. Without it life hardly seems worth living. It is the goal of a basic urge for recognition.
>
> A person has as many levels of status as he has types of acquaintances. He has a different status in each of several different groups. His status is determined in part by the nature of the values held by each group. Without changing in any way, a person may have high status in one group and low in another, simply because his conduct coincides with the positive values of the first group but contradicts the values of the second.[1]

The Status of Bantu Teachers

Bantu education has undergone rapid expansion in the last three decades and there has been no lack of recruits to the teaching profession. This may be seen from Table I.

Considerable progress has been made in increasing the percentage of qualified teachers available in schools.

Two certificates are granted to Bantu teachers at training colleges—the Native Primary Lower Certificate and the Native Primary Higher Certificate. The admission requirement for the former certificate is Standard VI (i.e. eight years of primary education). For the latter certificate the entrance requirement is either

[1] E. S. Bogardus, *Contemporary Sociology* (University of S. California Press, Los Angeles, 1932, p. 192).

TABLE I

THE NUMBER OF BANTU PUPILS, TEACHERS IN TRAINING, AND TEACHERS IN UNION SCHOOLS, 1920–50

Year	*No. of Pupils*	*No. of Teachers*	*No. of Teachers in Training*
1920 .	183,000	6,145	*
1925 .	209,000	6,995	*
1930 .	284,000	6,931	2,722
1935 .	352,000	7,709	3,513
1940 .	464,000	10,249	4,682
1945 .	588,000	13,747	5,578
1950 .	746,000	17,678	5,935

* *Not available.*

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF FULLY-QUALIFIED TEACHERS IN UNION SCHOOLS, 1931–49

Year	*Cape Province*	*Natal*	*Transvaal*	*Orange Free State*	*Union*
1931 .	90·58	21·86	51·57	32·42	65·89
1935 .	94·91	31·22	54·71	21·33	65·70
1940 .	93·83	42·11	76·97	45·81	73·24
1945 .	97·28	60·65	75·20	59·02	77·62
1949 .	97·8	67·5	79·7	65·6	82·0

the Primary Lower Certificate or the Junior Certificate, which is nominally written after two years of secondary education. In actual practice, however, most Bantu candidates require three years of secondary education before they are able to obtain the Junior Certificate (i.e. eleven years of schooling). Secondary teachers are trained at Fort Hare and at two other centres. The entrance qualification is university matriculation. Specialist teachers' courses in physical education, domestic science, housecraft, woodwork, nursery teaching, and agriculture are also given.

The qualifications of Bantu teachers in 1950 were as shown in Table III.

It should be noted that among those classified as 'unqualified' there is a considerable number of teachers who are partially qualified, i.e. they have completed either one or two years of the N.P.L. course.

In attempting to assess the status of the Bantu teacher a number

TABLE III

QUALIFICATIONS OF BANTU TEACHERS, 1950[2]

Certificate	*Cape*	*Natal*	*O.F.S.*	*Transvaal*
Native Primary Lower .	4,009	1,932	808	3,042
Native Primary Higher .	1,810	415	183	502
Proficiency Certificate plus Senior Certificate. .	—	52	70	276
Proficiency Certificate plus 4 degree courses . .	833	12	7	75
Proficiency Certificate plus 8 degree courses . .	—	15	—	30
Proficiency Certificate plus degree . . .	—	3	4	102
Unqualified . . .	152	1,608	662	1,103
TOTAL . .	6,804	4,037	1,734	5,103

of factors, some favourable and some unfavourable, have to be considered. These will be considered *seriatim* below.

(1) *The Percentage of the Population which receives Education*

Bantu education is not compulsory, and the percentage of each age-group at school was, in 1946, not above 40 per cent. In addition to this it must be remembered that of all the children at school about half are in the sub-standards, i.e. they have completed less than two years of schooling. For every 100 children beginning school in Sub-standard A, only 10·5 reach Standard VI and 0·4 reach Standard IX.[3]

Thus the percentage of the population which reaches a standard of education comparable with that of the lowest qualified teacher is very slight indeed.

(2) *The High Rate of Elimination at School and at Training College*

Not only is there a high rate of elimination from the school, for all sorts of economic and social reasons, but in the examinations at the end of the primary school and during the period of teacher training, the rate of failure is very high, as the following data will show. (See Table IV.)

The extreme importance of the examinations at the end of the primary school course is that they serve to regulate entrance to the

[2] *Report of the Commission on Native Education*, U.G. 53/1951 (Government Printer, 1951, Pretoria, p. 78).

[3] Data for 1949.

TABLE IV

PERCENTAGE OF PASSES IN EXAMINATION AT THE END OF THE PRIMARY SCHOOL COURSE [4]

	Percentage Passes	
	Male	*Female*
1947		
Cape, Standard VI . . .	62·7 *	
Natal, Standard VII . . .	66·5	55·1
O.F.S., Standard VI . .	44·1	34·6
Transvaal, Standard VI . .	42·0	40·0
1948		
Cape, Standard VI . . .	57·4 *	
Natal, Standard VII . . .	71·6	71·4
O.F.S., Standard VI . .	49·3	40·5
Transvaal, Standard VI . .	46·0	39·0

* *Percentage of male candidates estimated at 33 per cent.*

secondary schools, to training colleges, and to industrial courses. That a large proportion of successful Standard VI (or VII in Natal) pupils are absorbed by these institutions may be seen from the following table:

TABLE V

THE NUMBER OF PUPILS WHO PASSED THE FINAL EXAMINATION OF THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN 1948, COMPARED WITH THE ESTIMATED NUMBER OF PUPILS IN THE FIRST-YEAR CLASSES OF SECONDARY, INDUSTRIAL, AND TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTIONS, 1949 [5]

	Number Passing in 1948	*Number in First-year Classes,* 1949
Cape . . .	4,636	3,000
Natal . . .	2,196	2,000
Orange Free State .	814	600
Transvaal . .	3,301	2,450

When the large preponderance of female candidates in the Cape Province and the high percentage of female candidates in the other provinces are considered, the figures are remarkable, for a number

[4] Report of the Commission on Native Education, p. 91. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

of girls marry soon after completing their schooling. The median age of Standard VI pupils at the end of the year is above 16 years.

The rate of failure in the secondary schools is also severe. In the Junior Certificate Examinations, on the average about one-third fail, and in the Matriculation Examination about half. In the teachers' examinations the rate of elimination is also severe. In the Transvaal, for example, of a total of 1,270 candidates for the Native Primary Lower Certificate in the years 1947 and 1948, only 389 passed, 688 failed, and 193 obtained the required aggregate but failed in certain subjects. In the Natal Native Teachers' Fourth Class Certificate Examination, 178 passed out of 265 candidates in 1948. In the N.P.L. Examination of the Cape Province in 1949, the percentage of successful candidates was 66.

It is thus abundantly clear that the Bantu teacher who completes his course has survived a very rigorous process of elimination, and must enjoy considerable prestige on that score alone.

(3) *The Social Origin of Teachers*

In a study made in 1935 of the social origin of Standard VI pupils and student teachers, it was found that the group of fathers which contributed most to the Standard VI student teacher population in proportion to its size was that comprised of teachers, ministers, agricultural demonstrators, etc., i.e. the professional class. Thus, although teachers, ministers, etc., constituted only 0·32 per cent. of the total male population, their children formed 17·2 per cent. of the Standard VI and about 30 per cent. of the student-teacher population. Peasants constituted 53·58 per cent. of the male population but contributed 34·6 per cent. of Standard VI pupils and 37 per cent. of student teachers only.[6]

Part of the status of teachers is based on their ability to educate their children for their own profession. Many enjoy advantages in gaining admission to schools and training colleges for their own or their friends' children.

(4) *The Limited Choice of Occupations*

Out of a total Bantu population of 7,831,915 at the time of the 1946 Census, the latest Census for which occupational data are available, there were 2,765,911 persons gainfully employed, peasant farmers being excluded. Of persons gainfully employed 1·6 per cent. of males and 1·4 per cent. of females were enumerated under the category, 'Professions, sport and entertainment'.[7]

Teachers, who numbered 14,535 in 1946, formed by far the largest and most important group among the professions. The groups next in size were: Police (11,038), soldiers ready for dis-

[6] P. A. W. Cook, *The Native Standard VI Pupil* (Van Schaik, Pretoria).
[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 24. See reference [2].

TABLE VI

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF BANTU MALES AND FEMALES OF 10 YEARS AND OVER, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION, CENSUS, 1946

Occupation	*Males*	*Percentage*	*Females*	*Percentage*
Agriculture	824,585	40·9	239,023	31·9
Mining	426,724	21·2	—	—
Industry	368,289	18·3	14,324	1·9
Transport and communications	116,371	5·8	384	0·05
Commerce and finance	12,117	0·6	667	0·09
Professions, sport, and entertainment	33,128	1·6	10,241	1·4
Personal service	164,257	8·1	439,066	58·6
Other workers	70,856	3·5	45,878	6·1
Total gainfully occupied (excluding peasants)	2,016,327	100·0	749,584	100·0
Peasants	644,725	—	428,595	—
Independent	5,791	—	7,574	—
Household duties	11,616	—	1,262,172	—
Inmates of institutions, etc.	11,387	—	7,138	—
Dependants, parents, etc.	13,744	—	41,833	—
Scholars	258,901	—	282,804	—
Persons under 10 years	1,034,646	—	1,055,058	—
GRAND TOTAL	3,997,157	—	3,834,757	—

charge (4,255), nurses (3,125), clergy (2,697), clergy not ordained (1,626), Bantu doctors (herbs—1,178), and prison wardens (1,030). All other categories were fewer than 1,000 strong and amounted all told to 3,855.

It is thus obvious that teaching is by far the most preferred profession because it offers the greatest scope for both men and women.

(5) *The Salaries of Teachers*

Teachers salaries were greatly improved as from January 1947. In 1928, uniform salary scales were introduced by the Native Affairs Commission for primary teachers as follows:

	Men	*Women*
Uncertificated . .	£36 per annum	£30 per annum
Lower Primary Certificate	£66 × £3–£108	£54 × £3–£90
High Primary Certificate	£78 × £3–£120	£66 × £3–£102

A head teacher's allowance was also paid. In the Cape only, Good Service Allowances were available.

These scales never really became effective, as from 1928 to 1943 only three increments of £3 each were paid on the original scales.

In 1943 certain improvements were introduced, and then in 1947, after the financing of education had been transferred to the Union Education Department, the latest scales were introduced. Briefly these were:

	Men	*Women*
Lower Primary Certificate	£120 × £9–£201	£90 × £6–£150
High Primary Certificate	£138 × £9–£246	£102 × £6–£186
Degree plus Professional Certificate . .	£210 × £12–£390	£150 × £8–£286

In addition, head teachers' allowances, which vary from £12 per annum for small primary schools to £150 per annum for large secondary schools, are paid. Cost-of-living allowances, which were introduced during the war and have become a seemingly fixed institution, are also paid. In 1947 they were applied on the following scale:

Salary per Year	*Cost-of-living Allowance*	
	Married	*Unmarried*
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Under £50 . . .	25 10 0	25 10 0
From £50 to £75 . .	38 5 0	25 10 0
From £75 to £100 . .	51 0 0	25 10 0
From £100 to £150 .	68 0 0	34 0 0
From £150 to £200 .	85 0 0	34 0 0
From £200 to £300 . .	102 0 0	34 0 0
Etc.		

With subsequent rises in the cost of living these allowances have been adjusted. Allowances have become so costly that in 1948, on a basic salary bill for primary school teachers of £1,984,746, no less than £985,017 was paid in addition as cost-of-living allowances.

Among the Bantu, particularly in the rural areas, the teacher is among the best-paid persons. In the large industrial areas there

are, especially among the skilled or semi-skilled workers, a considerable number who earn high wages, but as a class the teacher is better paid than any other type of salaried worker.

(6) *Conditions of Service*

Conditions of service vary from province to province, but in general teachers enjoy reasonable security of tenure, leave, and other privileges. Teachers in the Transvaal and O.F.S. have no pension benefits, and in Natal only teachers in government schools qualify for pensions. The Eiselen Commission remarked:

> One of the factors in respect of which there is great difficulty, concerns the employer to whom responsibility is due. In the Free State it is, for example, specifically stated that the teacher is the employee of the local body in whose school he teaches. In the other Provinces his position in this regard is not clearly defined. In mission schools in the Cape, Transvaal, and Natal the mission manager may recommend for appointment but he may not discharge a teacher, while teachers in Government schools in Natal, in tribal, community, and Government schools in the Transvaal and in schools under the school boards in the Cape, fall directly under the Department of Education concerned or its officials as far as appointment and discharge are concerned. The powers to suspend and transfer also vary greatly under different circumstances in the various Provinces.[8]

To summarise the position of the Bantu teacher: he is an exceptional individual among his fellows in achieving a high standard of education. He enjoys very considerable economic advantages and is the backbone of the professional class. His prestige among his people is high, particularly where contacts with Western culture are strongly felt.

The Status of European Teachers

The teaching profession in South Africa has been unable to recruit and retain sufficient numbers to ensure that the number of teachers kept pace with the growth of the school-going population.

In 1951, out of approximately 20,000 authorised posts in public schools (i.e. in state and state-aided schools) only 72 per cent. were permanently filled, i.e. there was a shortage of nearly 5,000 teachers. Of this number, over 4,000 were required in primary schools and some 500 in secondary schools. To enable the schools to carry on it was necessary to employ 5,549 temporary teachers. These were made up of 4,102 married women (qualified but debarred from permanent appointment because of marriage), 823 unmarried women, and 624 men. The greatest shortage of teachers was felt by the primary schools in all four provinces. For the Union as a whole 83·5 per cent. of the teachers needed were required for primary posts. The comparable percentages in the four provinces were: Cape, 82·3 per cent.; Natal, 88·6 per cent.;

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 78. See reference [2].

O.F.S., 89·4 per cent., and Transvaal, 84 per cent. These figures show a significant similarity.

Difficulty in recruiting for the teaching profession is no new phenomenon and has been experienced for a number of years. This may be inferred from the following data:

TABLE VII

THE NUMBER OF PUPILS AND TEACHERS IN SOUTH AFRICAN STATE AND STATE-AIDED SCHOOLS FOR EUROPEANS, 1919–49

Year	*No. of Pupils*	*No. of Teachers*	*Average No. of Pupils per Teacher*
1919 .	280,775	13,086	21·5
1924 .	324,150	14,230	22·8
1929 .	343,284	15,457	22·2
1934 .	359,530	15,684	22·9
1939 .	385,631	16,559	23·3
1944 .	398,943	16,736	23·8
1949 .	448,934	18,061	24·9

While the above table shows the steady development of a less favourable teacher-pupil ratio, it does not reveal the real seriousness of the position because the number of teachers as indicated includes the growing percentage of temporary appointees. Temporary teachers, although most of them are qualified women who have married, do not make for efficiency or for contentment in the profession. The problem of the employment of married teachers will be discussed later, but it should be noted that if the ratio between pupils and permanent qualified staff were calculated the above table would tell a far more alarming story. If it were assumed that 25 per cent. of the teachers in 1949 were temporary appointees, then the teacher-pupil ratio in that year would be 34 instead of 25.

TABLE VIII

THE NUMBER OF EUROPEAN MALES OF 15 YEARS AND OVER IN THE POPULATION, THE NUMBER OF EUROPEAN MALES IN EMPLOYMENT, AND THE NUMBER OF EUROPEAN TEACHERS, ACCORDING TO THE OCCUPATIONAL CENSUS, UNION, 1926–46

Year	*No. of European Males 15 Years and over*	*No. of European Males 15 Years and over in Employment*	*No. of European Male Teachers*
1926 . .	559,754	497,674	7,305
1936 . .	699,965	609,983	8,805
1946 . .	827,127	701,693	10,458

In respect to the employment of male teachers two interesting tendencies have revealed themselves during the last three decades, namely, the increasing percentage of male teachers in the profession and the virtually unchanging percentage which male teachers form of the total working male population.

From 1926 to 1946 the total number of males in the population of 15 years and over increased by 48 per cent., the number of males in employment increased by 41 per cent., and the number of European male teachers increased by 43 per cent. In 1926, male teachers comprised 1·47 per cent. of all employed males; by 1946 this percentage had hardly changed, amounting to 1·49 per cent.

TABLE IX

MASCULINITY OF THE TEACHERS EMPLOYED IN EUROPEAN STATE AND STATE-AIDED PROVINCIAL SCHOOLS, 1920–50

Year	*Percentage Male*
1920	35
1930	41
1940	46
1950	45

Women teachers have decreased not only relatively, i.e. as a percentage of the total teaching force as shown in Table IX above, but they have also decreased as a percentage of the total number of women 15 years and over in employment.

TABLE X

THE NUMBER OF EUROPEAN FEMALES OF 15 YEARS AND OVER IN THE POPULATION, THE NUMBER OF EUROPEAN FEMALES IN EMPLOYMENT, AND THE NUMBER OF EUROPEAN FEMALE TEACHERS, NURSES, AND TYPISTS, ACCORDING TO THE OCCUPATIONAL CENSUS, UNION, 1926–46

Year	*No. of European Females 15 Years and over*	*No. of European Females 15 Years and over in Employment*	*No. of European Females*		
			Teachers	*Nurses*	*Typists*
1926	532,810	90,882	11,777	4,458	17,063
1936	679,487	131,593	13,144	7,223	25,737
1946	822,631	187,149	12,438	11,493	53,121

An inspection of the above table shows that:

(*a*) the population (15 years and over) grew by 54 per cent. between 1926 and 1946;

(*b*) the number of females in employment grew much faster, i.e. by 105 per cent. during the same period;

(*c*) women teachers in employment declined in number between 1936 and 1946, and increased in number by only 6 per cent. between 1926 and 1946;

(*d*) nurses increased in twenty years by 158 per cent.;
(*e*) typists increased by 211 per cent.

In 1926, women teachers comprised 13 per cent. of all employed females of 15 years and over; by 1946 this percentage had shrunk to 6·6 per cent. During a corresponding period nurses had increased from 5 per cent. to 6 per cent. of the total available working population, while typists had grown from 18 per cent. to 28 per cent.

It is unfortunate that the results of the 1951 occupational Census are not yet available, but it seems reasonable to suppose that the tendencies observed between 1926 and 1946 have continued in the period between 1946 and 1951.

Reasons why Recruitment has been Unsatisfactory

The report of the Inter-departmental Committee on the Teaching Profession, appointed by the Minister of the Interior, not yet having been made public, the *Report of the Provincial Education Commission of Inquiry, O.F.S.*, 1951, is the latest official document to express an opinion on the reasons why the recruitment of teachers has been unsatisfactory. It states:

> At the present time there is a considerable shortage of primary teachers in our Province as well as in other Provinces of the Union. This disturbing phenomenon has revealed itself in most Western countries and the problem as to the reasons for this large shortage enforces attention. A study of educational periodicals and of recent reports of commissions of inquiry in our own country and elsewhere confirms the evidence tendered to the Education Commission. The causes of the shortage, as indicated by witnesses, can be summarised as follows:
>
> (1) *Unprecedented Economic Development*
>
> 790. Until a few years ago trade and industry in our country were almost exclusively in the hands of the non-Afrikaans-speaking section of the population. Education was, therefore, in a position to draw from other learned professions numbers of young men and women, amongst whom was to be found the required number of people endowed with exceptional personal attributes and capable of acting as leaders in the profession. As the Afrikaans-speaking section of the population was progressively taking up its rightful place in trade and the general economic development of the country, growing numbers of boys and girls were absorbed by trade and industry, which required shorter periods of study and paid better wages. As was the case before with English-speaking young men and women, Afrikaans-speaking youth found employment in fields which hitherto were closed to them. This fact certainly had a restraining influence on the number of recruits for the teaching profession. Inflationary conditions which prevailed during the war aggravated the position, with the result that the number of students seeking admission to training institutions dwindled as time went on and the recruitment area for teachers became more and more restricted. To this must be added the fact that the war-time prosperity which was experienced by primary producers, as well as by large numbers of young men who performed military duties in some capacity or other, caused such an increase in the number of marriages, that the

supply of teachers assumed increasingly more unfavourable proportions in comparison with wages.

(2) *Inadequate Remuneration*

791. The remuneration of the teacher is closely related to the previous cause. It is generally acknowledged that the improved salary scales throughout the Union, which were put into operation in 1947, have contributed much towards dispelling the dissatisfaction of teachers resulting from inadequate salaries. If education is to attract to its service men and women of lofty character and intellectual ability . . . it is imperative that the teacher be remunerated on a scale which will enable him to uphold a standard of living which compares favourably with that of similar professions.

(3) *Dissatisfaction as a Result of Insufficient Opportunity for Promotion*

792. Teachers who in large numbers gave evidence individually, as well as the organised profession, expressed in evidence, as well as in memoranda submitted to the Commission, their dissatisfaction with the procedure connected with the appointment of teachers. It is common knowledge that teachers are appointed in the Free State, the Transvaal and Cape Province on the recommendation of School Committees and School Boards, the direct representatives of the parents, whereas in Natal all appointments are made directly by the Education Department. . . .

796. Other grounds mentioned for dissatisfaction in the service are the loss of civic rights, lack of status of the profession, unpleasant working conditions, unsatisfactory accommodation, especially in rural areas, large classes and the exacting demands of the service.[9]

It is a little difficult to accept some of the arguments presented by the Commission in the first paragraph (790), for all the evidence seems to show that the percentage of teachers whose home language is Afrikaans has steadily *increased* and has not decreased as would be expected. In 1930, for example, of all student teachers in training in normal colleges, 35·4 per cent. were classified as English-speaking. In 1951, of all first-year students at normal colleges, 75 per cent. were classified as Afrikaans-speaking, and not all the remainder were English-speaking. In 1951 the shortage of teachers was most acute in Natal—a predominantly English-speaking province.

Nevertheless, one must agree that the increasing urbanisation of South Africa has had an important effect on recruitment. In 1930 no fewer than 49·3 per cent. of all South African-born teachers had parents who were farmers. In 1951, of all first-year students at training colleges 49·6 per cent. of the men and 40 per cent. of the women were drawn from the families of farmers. In the meanwhile, however, the percentage which the rural population forms of the total population has steadily decreased, as may be seen from the following data:

[9] *Report of the Provincial Education Commission of Enquiry* (1951, Bloemfontein, p. 274).

TABLE XI

PERCENTAGE OF EUROPEAN POPULATION RESIDENT IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, UNION, 1904–46

Year	*Urban*	*Rural*
1904	52·9	47·1
1918	53·9	46·1
1926	58·2	41·8
1936	65·2	34·8
1946	72·5	27·5

The following data, which were collected in 1930, show that the rural and non-industrialised areas, provided training facilities were available, produced far more teachers per 1,000 of population than the more industrialised areas. The most productive areas were:

Area	*No. of Teachers Born in Area and Teaching in S.A.*	*Teachers per 1,000 of Population*
Most Productive Areas:		
Oudtshoorn, etc.	609	21·8
Central Karroo	814	21·4
Prince Albert, etc.	328	16·4
Cape Coastal	918	15·3
Eastern (Inland) Province	1,295	14·1
N.W. Karroo	476	12·9
Western Province	2,582	11·0
Western O.F.S.	219	10·9
Least Productive Areas:		
Rand	516	1·9
Natal Coast	184	2·1
Northern Transvaal	516	3·7
N.W. Natal	127	4·4
N.E. Transvaal	209	4·5
High Veld	363	4·7

If these areas are arranged in rank order according to the number of teachers per thousand of population, and if this ranking is correlated with the rank of the same areas arranged according to *per capita* income, the correlation is $-0{\cdot}568$, P.E. $\pm 0{\cdot}102$. This may be interpreted to mean that there is a relatively high significant correlation between a low *per capita* income and the proportion of its population which takes up teaching. A complicating factor is, of course, the accessibility of facilities for teacher training, which

TABLE XII

THE NUMBER OF TEACHERS AND THE NUMBER OF TEACHERS PER 1,000 OF POPULATION, THE FOUR PROVINCES, 1930

Province	*No. of Teachers*	*No. of Teachers per 1,000 of Population*
Cape . . .	8,216	11·9
Natal . . .	523	3·4
Transvaal . .	2,088	3·4
O.F.S. . .	1,619	8·0
Four Provinces .	12,446	7·5

were early and strongly developed in the Cape Province. It must also be borne in mind that a very considerable proportion of teachers in training receive bursaries and loans to enable them to pay for their training, since they would otherwise not be able to afford the costs of their training.

The conclusion that social and economic changes in South Africa have had a profound effect on the recruitment of teachers, especially of women, is inescapable.

Other factors which must be considered in an attempt to assess the social status of teachers are:

(1) *Compulsory State Education*

Education has been free and compulsory for European children for many years in South Africa. The fact that teachers now form a part of a system of compulsory education must have had important effects on their status. When education was a rare privilege enjoyed by a few, it was inevitable that the teacher should be regarded as a man of some distinction even if his earnings were not very large. The parents who made financial and other sacrifices to secure an education for their children were naturally keenly interested in the teacher and anxious to secure his support. He was a man of social significance. The teacher, too, wanted the interest and support of the parent in order to build up his school. With the coming of free compulsory education in a state system (less than 4 per cent. of South African European children attend private schools), the teacher has come to occupy a position similar to that of the civil servant. In many cases he educates children whose parents place little value on his work, and who feel that since the teacher is paid by the state to do his job they have no obligation to or interest in him. With the increase in the size and complexity of schools the teacher makes fewer lasting contacts with the individual

child. He may teach him a subject for a few hours a week for a year or so. Both the child and the teacher tend to become minor parts of a complex machine. In a small town or village the teacher can still achieve status through his personal contacts. In a city he may have little or no contact with the parents of the children he teaches. Such a development has serious effects on the enjoyment or satisfaction which a teacher derives from his work and his own conception of his status.

Another effect of the evolution of a state system of compulsory education on the teaching profession is that there are relatively few high posts to attract the ambitious entrant. Professions which are not exercised under the direct and sole control of the state offer financial and other rewards which, although attained by few, beckon on the many. The importance of such opportunities in attracting recruits of high calibre to a profession is very great.

(2) *Salaries*

The O.F.S. Commission on Education, 1951, reported: "Although salaries were raised considerably in 1947 and teachers in service were greatly benefited thereby, this step did not have the result, as had been hoped, of attracting a larger number of recruits to teaching. It was contended that the low commencing salaries of primary teachers was mainly responsible for this state of affairs. . . ." [10]

The position has become so serious that in December 1951, the Interdepartmental Committee of Enquiry into the Teaching Profession (the de Villiers Committee) issued a special report on salaries, and its recommendations were accepted by the four provincial education departments and the Department of Education, Arts, and Science. The new scales embodied the following principles:

(*a*) salary scales for assistants were to be uniform in all the provinces;

(*b*) the scales were based on the number of years of post-matriculation training a teacher had received, and both commencing salaries and maxima were fixed on this principle;

(*c*) both primary and secondary assistants were paid on the same scales according to qualifications;

(*d*) the commencing salaries of both men and women were considerably improved, and were made comparable with salaries paid to professional officers in the civil service;

(*e*) common maxima were fixed for the salaries of principals of schools, but each education department was left to decide how these were to be applied;

(*f*) women's scales had been previously fixed at four-fifths of men's scales. This difference was reduced in favour of women teachers.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

TABLE XIII

SALARY SCALES FOR TEACHERS

Assistants	*Old*	*New*
Male		
(*a*) (Matriculation plus 1 year's training) . . .	£275 × £25–£550	£325 × £25–£750
(*b*) (Matriculation plus 2 years' training) . . .	£325 × £25–£650	£375 × £25–£850
(*c*) (Matriculation plus 3 years' training) . . .	£350 × £25–£700	£425 × £25–£875
(*d*) (Matriculation plus 4 years' training) . . .	£375 × £25–£750	£475 × £25–£900
(*e*) (Matriculation plus 5 years' training) . . .	£400 × £25–£800	£525 × £25–£925
(*f*) (Matriculation plus 6 years' training) . . .	£425 × £25–£850	£575 × £25–£950
Female		
(*a*) (Matriculation plus 1 year's training) . . .	£220 × £20–£440	£280 × £20–£600*
(*b*) (Matriculation plus 2 years' training) . . .	£260 × £20–£520	£320 × £20–£680*
(*c*) (Matriculation plus 3 years' training) . . .	£280 × £20–£560	£360 × £20–£700*
(*d*) (Matriculation plus 4 years' training) . . .	£300 × £20–£600	£400 × £20–£720*
(*e*) (Matriculation plus 5 years' training) . . .	£320 × £20–£640	£440 × £20–£740*
(*f*) (Matriculation plus 6 years' training) . . .	£340 × £20–£680	£480 × £20–£760*

* *A further four increments of £20 per annum each will be granted to female teachers after five years' service at the maximum notch of the appropriate salary scale.*

In general it may be stated that teachers' salaries now compare not unfavourably with salaries paid to professional officers in the civil service who have received university or post-matriculation training of equal duration. In this period of economic flux it is difficult to say how long this state of affairs will continue. Salaries in private enterprise are, of course, subject to much more rapid alteration than in the civil service or in the teaching profession.

(3) *The Employment of Married Women Teachers*

It has long been a rule that when a woman marries she must resign her permanent appointment, with consequent loss of rights to a pension, security of tenure, and most leave privileges. Since so large a percentage of all teaching posts are occupied by married women as temporary appointees, very serious attention will have to

be given to this problem. Some people argue that married women teachers, once they have raised their own families, make the best teachers and should at all costs be induced to remain in the service. Others argue that to make no differentiation in favour of the unmarried teacher is to discourage recruits and is a form of ingratitude to those who have made teaching their life-work. They also maintain that married women are more independent, less inclined to place their work first, and often do not play their part in extra-curricular activities. In view, however, of the increasing, indeed the very rapidly increasing, tendency for women to work after marriage, it is reasonable to expect that women will prefer other avenues of employment where their status as workers will be less drastically affected by marriage. With the slow rate of growth of men teachers and the rapidly increasing choice of occupation open to men and women in South Africa, the teaching profession will have to choose between a high percentage of men teachers paid high salaries, or an increased proportion of married women teachers enjoying attractive conditions of service. It is significant that the most acute shortage of teachers is among primary teachers, and that women teachers have increased far more slowly than the total number of employed women or those in occupations like nursing or clerical service.

(4) *Conditions of Service*

The conditions of service governing the employment of European teachers may be said to compare very favourably with conditions anywhere in the world. In a short article such as this it will not be feasible to discuss conditions of service in detail, but it may be said that teachers enjoy security of tenure, generous leave privileges, and pensions comparable with those paid in the civil service. On the question of participation in politics, the O.F.S. Education Commission of 1951 reported:

> The Commission feels convinced that teachers can be educators in the true sense of the word without participating actively in party politics. In this respect it readily subscribes to the findings of the Transvaal Education Commission: "It would be a regrettable day if teachers were to become indifferent to the course of current events. . . . On the other hand, bitter experience has taught us that the reaction of political parties to the teacher's participation in politics is such that his school suffers. The interests of the school should, after all, be his primary consideration." [11]

Teachers may vote, but they may not play an active role in party politics.

The fact that the shortage of teachers, despite the variation in conditions of service in the different departments, is most acutely

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

felt in the primary schools, and to a significantly similar degree in each department, leads one to believe that conditions of service have not been a major factor in creating the shortage of teachers.

(5) *Students in Training*

Despite the growth in the number of children at school as a result of the natural increase of the population (which is high for European people) and the progressive raising of the requirements of compulsory education, there has been no corresponding increase in the number of students in training.

TABLE XIV

THE NUMBER OF STUDENT TEACHERS IN TRAINING AT TRAINING COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, 1920–50

Year	*Student Teachers*	
	Training Colleges	*Universities*
1920 .	2,671	—
1925 .	2,215	—
1930 .	1,845	569
1935 .	1,891	551
1940 .	2,833	988
1945 .	2,370	751
1950 .	2,850	748

There seems to have been a deterioration in the quality of recruits to the profession since 1930. The examinations for teachers at training colleges are not severe, and reference to the annual reports of the department shows that for most examinations 100 per cent. passes may be expected. It is evident that standards cannot be made too stringent when recruiting is below the needs of the departments.

(6) *Social Origin of Teachers*

In 1931 the following data were collected for all teachers in South Africa. (See Table XV.) Unfortunately, no comparable figures are available in recent years except for student teachers.

It will be seen that, proportionately, the children of preachers and teachers were those most attracted to teaching. Farmers contributed the greatest percentage of teachers. The children of industrial, clerical, transport, and communication workers were least attracted by teaching.

It is noteworthy that teachers are drawn from a wide variety of occupational groups.

TABLE XV

THE PERCENTAGE OF ALL TEACHERS WHOSE FATHERS FOLLOWED CERTAIN OCCUPATIONS COMPARED WITH THE PERCENTAGE OF ALL MALES IN THOSE OCCUPATIONS, UNION, 1931

Occupational Group	*Percentage of Teachers, 1931*	*Percentage of Male Population, 1926*
Farmer	49·3	30·8
Industrial worker	10·0	21·0
Commercial worker	10·5	9·4
Clerical	3·4	5·6
Public service	5·0	2·7
Transport and communications	1·3	8·4
Defence, police	1·1	1·6
Teaching	4·8	1·3
Medical	0·7	0·4
Preaching	3·5	0·5
Legal	1·1	0·4
Other professions	2·9	1·0
Retired	1·7	2·9
Miscellaneous	4·7	14·0
TOTAL	100·0	100·0

A recent survey conducted by the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research supplied the data given in Table XVI.

TABLE XVI

FIRST-YEAR STUDENT TEACHERS, MALE AND FEMALE, DIVIDED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION OF FATHER, 1951, AS PERCENTAGES

Occupation of Father	*Percentage*
Medicine	1·4
Teaching	9·0
Ministry	2·7
Law	0·5
Farming	41·2
Commerce and industry	18·7
Police	2·1
Railways	3·7
Public service	4·2
Artisans	7·7
Miscellaneous	3·9
Retired	4·9
TOTAL	100·0

Conclusion

It has been remarked that the status of an individual is determined by three sets of factors: firstly, by his proficiency in his chosen activity relative to others who practise it; secondly, by his having a skill or capacity which is not common to the other members of society to which he belongs; and thirdly, by the value of the contribution which he makes to society which itself ultimately determines his status.

There is, nevertheless, a further factor to consider in connection with status, and that is the nature of the society which confers the status. In stratified societies, where rank and privilege are part of the essential structure, status must have a meaning very different from that which is typical of more democratic societies. In South Africa, although race and colour distinctions are sharply drawn, the European community is distinguished by the social mobility of individuals and the lack of hereditary, class, and social distinctions. Typical of this is the teaching profession, which draws its recruits from the families of all types of occupational groups. In such a society it is difficult to speak of 'the' status of 'the' teacher. Status varies with the individual to a surprising extent.

In Bantu societies, which are relatively undeveloped economically and culturally (in the sociological sense), the teacher occupies a position of considerable importance. He possesses skills and knowledge highly regarded by his compatriots, and there are few of his fellows who are comparable in wealth or achievement.

Among Europeans in South Africa the position is different. Recent economic and industrial developments have reinforced the traditions of a virtually classless society which grew up in a pioneer country. The spread of educational opportunity has enabled the youth of the land to move freely into those professions and occupations which have had the most advantages to offer. An expanding industrial economy has multiplied the possible avenues of employment to such an extent that a competition for entrants has taken place. This has led to an equalising of the status of professions and occupations to a marked degree. It has also led to a considerable equalisation of the financial rewards of the different professions. The earnings of women have risen so that they are almost equal to those of men. The professional division of the civil service now pays equal salaries for equal qualifications and equal work.

With the rise in the earning power of women there has taken place a great expansion both of the proportion of the female population in gainful employment and of the avenues of employment open to women. It is likely that in the near future the teaching profession will have to acknowledge the married woman teacher as equal in status to other teachers in permanent employment.

The position of the South African teacher is not one of special prominence among his fellows. He is respected, has considerable economic security, and is relatively well paid, but has no special status. The value of the contribution he has to make to the welfare and progress of the country is widely appreciated, but his status as an individual depends to a marked extent upon the impression his skill and personality make upon the people he serves and meets.

P. A. W. Cook.

SECTION IV

EUROPE

PART ONE: WESTERN EUROPE

CHAPTER ONE

FRANCE

IT is not a teacher's qualifications, nor the point he has reached in the salary scale, nor yet his conditions of employment which decide either his position or the part he has to play in the life of the nation. At the end of the nineteenth century, when education in France was first made compulsory, free, and secular, the teacher found that his social standing was by no means in keeping with his contribution to society. Nevertheless he was destined to win for himself throughout the country the consideration of everyone, and it can be said that those who taught between 1875 and 1900 were the true founders of the Third Republic.

It is thanks to them that the French educational system is justifiably proud of its typical teacher. He is the adviser of all, the builder of an enlightened patriotism and a democracy in its finest sense. This is especially true of country districts, in which teachers occupy a most important position and have profound influence on the development of our country. They know everybody and teach successive generations of children. The most intelligent pupils they prepare for various examinations such as the *certificat d'études primaires* or the *brevets*; whilst some go on to the *école normale*. Some of them, spurred on by means of competitive scholarships, enter the *écoles primaires supérieures* or the *lycées*. To these duties they often add those of town clerk. It may well be said that it is they who first discover those who will become the *élite* of the nation and therefore truly educate our people.

It must be admitted that in recent years teachers have sometimes tended to lead a life apart, to leave the country for the town, to change their posts more frequently. As education becomes more widespread, less importance is attached to their intellectual worth. In spite of this they have continued to play an increasingly large part in the life of the community. Since the Second World War, under the influence of the movement which is trying to give a new

impetus to much of our life, their sphere of action has become yet wider. The school is the home of culture and a centre of knowledge. Primary school teachers have undertaken the spread of culture among adults; they have been keen workers at centres of popular culture. Better educated than formerly, since they themselves have received secondary education in their youth and may even be graduates, they raised their own intellectual status even before the law compelled them to do so. It is certain that their influence, thus constantly increasing, cannot fail to produce good results both in and out of school.

The insufficiency of their salaries has for many years prevented secondary school teachers from taking up the social position which their work reasonably entitles them to expect.

Without ulterior motives they spread culture, handing on a strong humanistic tradition. Trained by the most enlightened methods of advanced education, chosen by means of competitive examinations of a very high standard such as the *agrégation*, it is these teachers who have maintained the excellent level of culture freely acknowledged to be found in French secondary education. In the recent claims which they have put forward, the influence they wield in the training of those who lead the nation has been one of the most powerful arguments.

Economic and technical developments which while improving living conditions have also levelled them, the spread of education, the increasing number of *bacheliers* (those who have passed *baccalauréat*) and graduates, have all doubtless been instrumental in making less important the role of the teacher. On the other hand, the greater number of children receiving secondary education means that they have a far wider influence. In earlier days they taught only middle-class children, now they educate the best minds from every class and environment. In addition, attention is now being given to training students for teaching at the same time as they receive their purely intellectual training at the university. Three years ago intending teachers first began to spend a period in training, and it is reasonable to suppose that the results of educational and psychological investigators will help teachers better to adapt their methods to the needs of the young.

Technical teachers of all grades, and those concerned in general education, find their role becoming yearly more important. The growth of specialisation and the multiplicity of branches of industry and economics make necessary a corresponding increase in the subjects provided for in different schools. Moreover, the numbers of pupils in these schools continue to increase as it becomes more and more difficult to enter upon any career without certain vocational qualifications. In about twelve years the school population has become five times as great. This makes clear the great importance of technical schools and the mighty task which devolves upon those

who teach in them. For they must not only satisfy the demands of to-day, but they must prepare for the future. As the industrial and economic life of France develops, it becomes an obvious necessity to train skilled workmen, to prepare those who will seek promotion, and to train future leading technicians. Our teachers of to-day ponder how this may best be done.

It is perhaps typical of modern times both that the educator has become part of the social pattern of a country and that his interests have become broader. He becomes increasingly concerned with what is happening in countries other than his own, and enriches his experience by contact with foreign practices. Obviously this is not taking place without discussion and debate. As always, there are some who regret the past and who are afraid of losing worthwhile reality for the sake of hypothetical improvement. Criticism and self-criticism have always been most powerful in France. Recently an exhibition at the Pedagogical Museum in Paris showed by means of caricatures what the French themselves thought of their teachers and their methods. Such criticism has not always been gentle, but the very success of this exhibition, the spread of modern methods of education: films, gramophone records, television, etc., and the setting up of centres for national and international conferences of educationists such as the centre at Sèvres, prove that great changes are taking place. Doubtless this must give rise to rejoicing if it be true that something changing is also something that is truly alive.

Principles Governing Organisation

Education in France is a public service; that is to say, it is provided by the state, the *départements,* or the *communes.* However, among the liberties guaranteed by the law and by the constitution appears the freedom of education. Accordingly, side by side with state schools there exist schools known as *libre* or *denominational,* maintained by individuals, various organisations, religious bodies, professional unions, etc.

State schools come, for the most part, under the authority of the Minister of Education. A certain number, however, are controlled by other Ministries (the Ministry of War, the Ministry of Agriculture, etc.).

The institutions controlled by the Ministry of Education are divided into a certain number of categories or types of education. They are:

(1) Advanced education (universities).
(2) Secondary education (grammar school type).
(3) Elementary education (including schools similar to the English secondary modern schools).
(4) Technical education.

In addition, there exist schools in which students are trained in

art and the study of agriculture. As in the state schools, the education given in *écoles libres* is divided into four grades.

Conditions of Employment and Salaries

During the last few years attempts have been made to achieve some parity between the salaries earned in the different branches of state employment. Formerly this was a matter settled by various ministries. An hierarchical classification of the different parts of the Civil Service has been set up by a law, passed in 1946, which regulates the general principles concerned with recruitment, salaries, promotion, and discipline among civil servants. By the application of this law all types of government posts have been classified and given a number or, to be more exact, a series of numbers ranging from 100 to 800. This number enables the salary of the individual to be calculated. A man whose employment is graded as 100 earns 120 per cent. of the amount considered the minimum living wage. This minimum is fixed by a decree of the Council of Ministers.

The points taken into account in fixing an individual's index number are the professional qualifications normally required (here length of time spent in studies is considered), the duties and responsibilities of the past career, and the chances of promotion.

The teaching profession has a greater prestige and is more highly thought of than before the First World War. However, if an examination is made of the increases in salaries since 1939 it will be noticed that in some respects the teaching profession is less favoured than other branches of government employment. It is because of this that claims have been put forward by the professional unions and associations.

The salary scale of teachers varies according to the grade of school in which they teach. Details of this will now be given.

Salary Scales for First Grade 'Instituteurs'. The salary scale for teachers in this grade varies from index number 185 to 360, and within it there are eight different stages. The first applies to a young teacher during his training period; the next six are called classes, and are numbered from 6 to 1; finally, the top rank is known as an *hors classe.*

Promotion according to length of service takes place in the following way; one moves up to the 6th class after three months' probation, then to the 5th class after four years have been spent in the 6th class. Promotions are made to the 4th, 3rd, 2nd, and 1st classes after five years have been spent in the class immediately below.

In addition, for 30 per cent. of practising teachers after at least three years an advancement is possible when the teacher wishes it.

The promotion to the *hors classe* is entirely at the teacher's own desire. The number of teachers promoted every year is equal to the number of those who have belonged to the 1st class for five

years at least, plus 30 per cent. of those who have been in this class for from three to five years.

Without having to pass any further examinations, teachers can be appointed heads of a school, or in certain cases become the teachers of supplementary classes; thus they would be teaching subject-matter equal to that of the first years of secondary education. In this case their index numbers can be increased to 400 or 410. Promotion to the *hors classe* comes on an average after twenty-five years of service.

Salary Scale for Second Grade 'Instituteurs'. In the *lycées* and the *collèges*, general education is given by two distinct types of teachers: the *licencié* (graduates) teachers and those who have passed the *agrégation*.[1] The salary scale applicable to each of these categories comprises nine stages. The index numbers from the 1st to the 9th stage are respectively 250 and 510, 275 and 550, 315 and 630.

The teachers who have passed the *agrégation* are appointed to the 9th stage after, on an average, twenty-six to twenty-seven years. For *licencié* teachers, this takes about twenty-nine to thirty years. For some teachers it is, in addition, possible to obtain an even greater promotion by becoming a head master or an inspector. These possibilities will be examined under the heading 'Systems of Promotion'.

Teachers in Technical Schools. The index numbers governing the salaries of technical school teachers and directors of studies vary from 250 to 510 and include nine stages, through which one passes in a period which lasts from twenty-three to thirty-three years.

For assistants in these schools the salary scale contains only eight ranks (index numbers from 225 to 430), and these cover a period of time varying between twenty-one and thirty-one years.

Supplementary Salaries. The salaries indicated by these numbers, and the family allowances which are described in a later paragraph, are in principle the only payments which members of the teaching profession may accept.

Moreover, a teacher employed by the state, as every other civil servant, is forbidden to undertake any other form of paid work. However, this rule may be disregarded in the case of activities which are closely connected with his teaching duties: private lessons, publication of school books or scientific works, lessons and lectures. In rural districts it is customary for the teachers to undertake, and be paid for, the duties of town clerk.

Finally, it should be noted that teachers who work for more than a certain number of hours per week are paid extra.

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[1] It must be noted that candidates who have twice sat for the written part of the *agrégation* form a separate category.

Number of Hours of Work per Week. In fixing the amount of work to be done by different members of the teaching profession, an attempt has been made to give them sufficient leisure to enable them to continue their cultural pursuits and to keep them up to date with intellectual and scientific advances. The number of hours of work done varies with the position and qualifications of the teacher.

The maximum amount per week (this means hours of teaching) is, for teachers in arts or science, fifteen hours for those who have the *agrégation* and eighteen hours for *licencié* teachers.

Equality of the Sexes. By law, women enjoy equal rights with men in every sphere. The principle, laid down in the constitution, is obviously realised in practice by the equality of salaries between men and women.

Moreover, in accordance with the general policy of family allowances, mothers of families have certain advantages where their pension rights are concerned.

In the realm of education the principle of equality between the sexes is not shown by the widespread practice of co-education. Thus, as a general rule, the task of teaching boys is entrusted to men, and women teach girls.

Family Allowances. In the constitution the state accepts the duty of assuring the material security of families. This principle is shown in practice by the payment of a family allowance to all who earn salaries and who have at least two dependent children. The amount paid varies according to the number of dependent children and the cost-of-living index in the region where the individual lives. In certain cases he is also granted a 'lodging' allowance.

Before a child is born a pre-natal allowance is paid. In addition, a fixed sum known as a maternity allowance is paid on the birth of each child.

Finally, in the case of professional households into which only one earned income comes and in which there is at least one dependent child, an allowance (known as a 'one salary' allowance) is granted.

As do all wage-earners, the members of the teaching profession qualify for all these advantages and in common with all civil servants they receive an addition to their salary if they are the heads of families. The total amount of this varies with the size of family and the actual salary earned.

System of Promotion. The teaching profession is certainly that which offers the least opportunity for promotion. Indeed, the only possibilities are head masterships and the inspectorate.

In schools in which elementary education is given the post of head master is held by a teacher, who generally continues to be in charge of a form (this is not the case in Paris). His index number

is then increased according to the number of forms in the school, the unit total varying from 5 to 40.

In secondary education the work of a head master is very different from that of a teacher, the administrative work being relatively very heavy. As a general rule the heads do no teaching whatsoever. Even if, from the administrative point of view, the head of a secondary school is the superior of his teachers, this is not necessarily true where his salary is concerned. Indeed the salary scale of a head master who is an *agrégé* is just the same as those of his staff with similar qualifications. Where *licencié* teachers are concerned, a head mastership means a slight increase in salary, which means that he can reach a maximum salary with an index number of 550 instead of 510. Appointment to the post of inspector is, on the other hand, a considerable advancement. There are:

(1) General inspectors (subject specialists).[2]
(2) Inspectors of the *académies*.[2]
(3) Inspectors of primary education.

The initial index number for salary purposes of inspectors varies with the salary reached in their previous post. The final numbers reached are as follows:

(1) Inspectors of primary education, 525 (550 in the Paris area).
(2) Inspectors of the *académies*, 600.
(3) Inspectors of the *académies* who hold the *agrégation* and the general inspectors (women) of nursery schools, 630.
(4) General inspectors, 750 (subject specialists).

In technical schools the possibilities of advancement are comparable with those in secondary education.

Pensions and Superannuation Schemes. Members of the teaching profession, like members of all other branches of the Civil Service, take part in a superannuation scheme organised and administered by the state. This long-established system (together with guaranteed stability of employment) has been one of the factors which have played a decisive part in making people choose to enter the Civil Service.

In order to qualify for a pension the following two conditions must be satisfied. The teacher must be 60 years of age and must have taught for thirty years.

The pension consists of 60 per cent. of the last salary earned, or the last but one if a promotion has taken place less than six months before the date of retirement.

This pension is increased by 10 per cent. for each dependent child. Provision is further made for proportionate breakdown pensions.

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[2] *Inspecteurs généraux*—national—for *one* subject only. *Inspecteurs d'académie*—regional—for *all* subjects.—EDITORS.

The widow and orphans of a civil servant (and in certain cases the divorced wife) also qualify for a pension. On the other hand, the pension rights of a woman civil servant cannot normally be transferred to her husband.

Mobility of the Teaching Profession. The problem of mobility can be considered under two aspects:

(1) Possibility of changing from one type of school to another.

(2) Possibility of changing from one district to another.

If a teacher wishes to change from one type of school to another, it is best for him temporarily to take another post in the government service, for he must, above all, satisfy the conditions for admission into the new type of post. We shall see later, when we discuss training of teachers, how strict are conditions of entry.

A member of the government education service can obviously resign and his resignation must be accepted. If he does this before he has satisfied the terms of a contract signed by intending teachers when in the training colleges (*écoles normales*), he may be called upon to reimburse in part the money which the state has spent on his professional training.

The administrative authorities concerned with this matter periodically move their personnel.

These transfers take place among all inspectors and teachers in secondary and technical education on a national scale, and for teachers in secondary and head masters in elementary schools within the *département.*

The administrative authority on whose decision people are moved must give a hearing to the representatives of the interested parties, whose wishes are thus taken into consideration.

Within the last few years advisory commissions, composed partly of representatives of the administration and partly of practising teachers, have been set up to deal with this problem.

Selection and Training of Teachers

Social Origin of Members of the Teaching Profession. Teachers are not recruited from any special social class. It is possible, however, to pick out certain environments from which very few or even no teachers are drawn. Recent investigations seem in effect to show that boys whose fathers are members of the liberal professions (doctors, lawyers, solicitors, etc.) very rarely wish to enter the teaching profession. In addition, since it usually takes two generations to change from unskilled manual work to the teaching profession, it can be stated that very few men whose fathers are unskilled workers ever become teachers in either elementary or secondary schools. When questioned, teachers find it difficult to explain why they chose to enter the profession and, when urged, they often give vocation as their reason. School holidays and the stability of employment are other reasons given.

In any case, the decision to enter the teaching profession must be made fairly early: at about 15 for elementary education and at the beginning of university studies for secondary education (usually before students are 20).

The Training of Teachers for Elementary Education. Since 1833 the training of both men and women teachers for elementary education has been carried out by the training colleges (*écoles normales*) of the *département* in which they are going to teach.

This training consists of a general education with an emphasis laid on teaching itself, a certain amount of child psychology, and theory of education. In addition, one month per term is spent in teaching practice under the guidance of the best teachers of the *département.*

Training colleges are residential establishments in which residence and studies are free. Students receive, even during their first year, an annual grant for clothes and equipment, and during their last year at college they receive the salary of a teacher in training.

Admission to training colleges is in general by means of competitive examinations. To apply, one must be more than 15 and less than 17 and have passed the *Brevet d'études* at the elementary standard, which shows that candidates have successfully studied in the supplementary classes or in the first four classes of the secondary stages. At the end of three years the students sit for the *Baccalauréat* in general subjects, and at the end of the fourth year gain a certificate.

Every year a competitive examination is held for pupils who have passed the G.C.E. (*Baccalauréat*) and wish to enter a training college. These candidates must be at least 17 years old and not more than 19. Successful candidates then receive a further two years' training. After this their career is identical with that of a candidate admitted in the first year.

The examination for entrance as a first-year student in a training college consists of two series of tests. The first series includes:

(1) A spelling and writing test.
(2) A written commentary on a French text.
(3) Mathematics.
(4) Modern languages.

The second series comprises:

(1) The reading and appreciation of a French text followed by an oral comprehension test on it.
(2) An oral mathematics test.
(3) The candidates listen to a literary or scientific lecture which lasts half an hour. They are then given an hour in which to write an account of it. They give in, with their essays, the notes they took during the lecture.
(4) Object drawing.
(5) A music test of a simple kind.

(6) For boys a handicraft test, for girls a needlework test.

(7) A test in physical education.

The training for teaching given in the training colleges consists of the following:

(*a*) A course in education. Classes are given in the history of education, the doctrines of great educationists, methods with practical illustrations, and experiments in education carried out in certain types of school.

(*b*) A course in psychology. Students attend classes in general psychology, and make their own personal studies of children and adolescents, completing their course with a certain amount of experimental psychology.

(*c*) A practical course. The students observe model lessons, and their practical lessons are criticised.

(*d*) Practical and theoretical social studies of the region. They consider out-of-school activities: societies of all sorts, holiday camps for children, infant homes, various associations which help children, libraries, holidays, excursions, sources of financial help, and canteens.

Further consideration is given to work carried on among young people who have left school. This work includes training for a trade, domestic service, agriculture, vocational guidance, and the Youth Employment Service, lectures, reading groups, hostels in town and country, wireless programmes, the cinema, choral societies, old students' associations, and physical education. The students also have to learn about various social activities of a general interest. They prepare themselves for their possible future work as town clerks, studying administration, law, the keeping of archives, the running of co-operative societies and unions, production, machinery, supply and demand, social work, public assistance, and folk-lore.

All candidates whose work is satisfactory in all branches of this training receive an appropriate leaving certificate at the end of their time in the training college.

Before they can qualify for appointment as teachers it is essential that they pass their practical tests. For this they take charge of a class for three hours. Part of this time must be spent in physical education and in singing. Further, there are three oral tests in school administration, marking of exercise books, and practical pedagogy.

It is also possible for individuals who have not passed through training college but who have done the work of primary teachers for at least five years to receive official recognition if they pass an examination in professional proficiency and in addition spend a certain period in special study.

Moreover, if an individual has attended a training college his career is not necessarily limited to work in primary education. He

may specialise in various branches and thus be entitled to an increased salary.

Some training college students, on passing the *Baccalauréat* or the college leaving certificate, decide to continue their studies and become teachers in secondary, technical, or adult education. Indeed, each year the Ministry of Education offers scholarships which permit holders to continue their studies either in special classes in some *lycées* or in training colleges. Here they prepare for the competitive examinations for entrance to the training colleges for secondary education at St. Cloud and at Fontenay-aux-Roses, or the training college for technical or physical education.

The candidates admitted to the schools at St. Cloud or Fontenay-aux-Roses read for a degree in education and work for the *certificat d'aptitude* (certificate of proficiency) for teaching in secondary schools. Some sit for the *agrégation* or the *certificat d'aptitude* for the primary inspectorate. There are about eighty of these students every year, and they thus receive a university vocational training.

Training of Teachers for Secondary Education. In schools in which secondary education is given there are two main types of teachers—those who have passed the *agrégation* and those who are known as *licencié.*

Both these groups have received a good university education, but the *agrégés* represent the best minds of the nation and play a major role in the cultural development. A quarter of the staffs of secondary schools are *agrégés*, a number which makes it possible both to keep this standard at a high level and also to make their influence considerable.

Although the different universities prepare students for the *agrégation,* two higher training colleges for secondary education, one for men and the other for women, have been specially set up to train excellent teachers for secondary education. These training colleges have succeeded in doing so, and furthermore have given to secondary education first-class minds well fitted to the advancement and spread of research. In addition, they have provided brilliant personalities in every domain of French thought: literature, drama, journalism, finance, politics, etc.

We shall now examine the principal stages in the scientific and professional training of teachers in secondary education.

Both certificated and *agrégé* teachers must obtain a degree for intending teachers. There are degrees in the different subjects. For future science teachers there are three degrees (mathematical sciences, physical sciences, and natural sciences) and on the arts side six degrees (philosophy, classical literature, modern literature, history, and geography, with optional history and geography, modern languages). There is as yet no degree course for intending teachers of the social and economic sciences.

These degree courses cover at least three years of university work.

During the first year, which can be spent in certain classes in *lycées*, the students divide their time between general education, in either the arts or the sciences, and in mastering the techniques they need in order to profit by their advanced studies. At the end of this year they obtain a *certificat d'études supérieures préparatoires*, or else gain admission to the training college for higher education. The second and third years must be spent either at the university or at the training college. Here the science students will take three *certificats d'études supérieures*: two on the subject in which they are specialising and the third in another subject. Those on the arts side have to take four certificates.

Once they have passed their final examination the students of the two training colleges which specialise in training teachers for secondary education, and all those who intend to sit for the *agrégation*, study for a *diplôme d'études supérieures*. For this they have to prepare a thesis on a subject chosen in consultation with a university teacher and delivered before a jury. Where mathematics is concerned, certain *certificats d'etudes supérieures* which complete the degree course are accepted in the place of this diploma.

A year is needed to study for this diploma, and during this time candidates may in addition do their compulsory course in education. This course lasts a few weeks and is organised by the university. It consists of lectures in education and some school teaching practice.

Finally, candidates start to work either at the training college or at the university for the competitive *agrégation*. In the table on the next page a list will be found of the different *agrégations*, the numbers of candidates who entered, and the numbers who passed during 1949, 1950, and 1951.

Those who have passed their degree (*licence*), and who intend to become certificated teachers, study for the theoretical part of the *concours* (competitive examination), for the *certificat d'aptitude* to take up posts in secondary education. They choose from the following subjects: philosophy, classical literature, history and geography, modern literature, modern languages, mathematics, natural sciences, physical sciences.

The tests are both written and oral and are concerned with the same subjects as those studied for the degree. If they pass the theoretical part of the examination they continue the studies at an institute of education. Here future teachers, under the guidance of expert educationists, are given instruction in the aims and methods of teaching. The students give lessons in *lycées* and in *colléges*, they attend classes and lectures on education, they spend days in study and other activities which help in their training and give them some ideas of the ways in which schools are run and how the educational system is administered. At the end of their year's training the candidates have a practical examination, which consists in giving a lesson in their chosen subject.

	1949		1950		1951	
	Men	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*
Agrégations *in mathematics, physical sciences and natural sciences*						
Candidates who sat for examination . .	312	148	329	157	333	154
Candidates who passed examination . .	57	30	65	31	64	32
Agrégations *in philosophy, literature and grammar*						
Candidates sat . .	852	481	811	510	762	526
Candidates passed .	66	40	65	41	60	35
Agrégations *in history, geography, or combined history-geography*						
Candidates sat . .	397	206	445	214	463	229
Candidates passed .	29	16	32	17	29	15
Agrégations *in modern languages—German, English, Spanish, Italian, Arabic, Russian*						
Candidates sat . .	377	230	390	243	431	294
Candidates passed .	48	25	45	27	48	36

It is most unusual for a teacher to have carried on any other full-time occupation before being appointed.

Teachers in Technical Schools. In the state vocational schools and technical colleges we have seen that there are several categories of teachers.

The members of one group are trained on university lines; those of the other consisting of the technical teachers who direct the practical work of the students (*chefs de travaux*), and the assistant technical teachers receive a training which lays great emphasis on practical work.

The teachers in technical schools and colleges are trained at the Training College for Technical Education (E.N.S.E.T.). Two competitive examinations give admittance to this college. For the first, one of the following groups of subjects must be chosen: (1) industrial sciences, (2) industrial sciences and arts, (3) industrial construction and mechanics, (4) economic science and techniques, (5) drawing and applied art, (6) literature and modern languages.

In order to sit for this examination candidates must have passed the *Baccalauréat*, or in the case of some groups of subjects they must be holders of a diploma given by certain schools of engineering and drawing.

Students work for the entrance examinations to the higher training colleges for secondary education.

The course of studies at the E.N.S.E.T. for students who enter in this way lasts three years. There are examinations at the end of the second year and the third year. The examination at the end of the second year marks the beginning of the really specialised work, for during the third year students divide their time between practical training in industry and commerce, in training for teaching, and also in gaining some idea of research.

For the examination at the end of the third year the candidates must give in a report on both parts of their training and also deliver a thesis. They must, as well, answer detailed questions of a theoretical nature, and they are given practical and pedagogical tests.

The second competitive entrance examination allows students to go straight into the third year of the E.N.S.E.T. This examination consists of eight groups of subjects, and the examinations are those given to the students of the E.N.S.E.T. at the end of their second year.

In order to enter for this second examination, candidates must be holders of several of the *certificats d'études supérieures* needed for the degree required for secondary teaching, or of certain diplomas considered as equivalent.

The technical teachers are recruited by means of competitive examinations from among the holders of certain diplomas for practical engineering, and they must have had at least three years' practical experience in industry. They must be also less than 35 years old.

Certain employees engaged in industry, although they are not holders of an engineering diploma but have spent at least five years in industry, are also eligible for this examination. The assistant technical teachers may also enter.

The assistant technical teachers are recruited by means of competitive examinations from among qualified workmen who have had at least five years' practical experience in industry and who are between the ages of 25 and 35.

For assistant teachers in commerce, a time spent in training in commerce is not demanded for those who hold certain diplomas, and they may sit for the examination at the age of 21.

Successful candidates spend two years in training, after which they may take up appointments at a point in the salary scale which recognises the period spent in private industry.

We have already shown how these technical teachers can be promoted, either at their own request or according to their years of service. Those teachers whose training has been of a university standard may also be promoted by passing, for example, the examination for the Inspectorate of Technical Education. They

may decide to teach in an engineering school or in a training college for intending teachers of apprentices.

Further Training of Teachers. In order to help teachers to improve their training, periods of further training and lectures in education are organised. During these the following aspects are studied: the relationship between child psychology and the different forms of teaching; the relationship between the different subjects. All these courses organised on a national or on a regional scale are very popular.

In the realm of science it must be noticed that each year a larger number of teachers in elementary education obtain degrees. In secondary education teachers frequently study for a *diplôme d'études supérieures* or for a doctorate.[3]

Apart from attendance at official refresher courses and from their study for further university examinations, members of the teaching profession play a very active role in numerous educational and cultural associations, regionally, nationally, and internationally.

Appointment and Dismissal of Teachers. All the conditions of appointment and dismissal of teachers engaged in the state educational system result from the fact that they form part of the Civil Service.

Like all civil servants, they must have been French nationals for at least five years. Stability of employment is guaranteed.

If a teacher's work is unsatisfactory, or if he has committed any serious misdemeanour, various forms of punishment can be imposed. He can be reprimanded, his promotion can be delayed, he can be demoted, or finally he can be dismissed and forbidden to teach even privately.

It is unusual for such measures to be taken, and in any case various precautions guarantee fair treatment. For this purpose, bodies set up to consider the question of promotions or discipline are representative of the various sections concerned. They are composed of an equal number of practising teachers and of administrators. In this way decisions taken concerning a member of the teaching profession must first be debated by elected members of the same rank as the person in question.

Conditions of Work

Holidays. All schools are shut on official holidays and for the following additional periods:

All Saints: November 1st and 2nd.

Christmas and the New Year: From the evening of December 23rd to January 2nd.

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[3] The doctor's degree is required for university teaching, either to be in charge of courses or to be a *professeur d'université.*

Shrove Tuesday: Monday, Shrove Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, if Palm Sunday falls in April; if not, only the Tuesday is given.

Easter: The week before and the week after Easter.

Whitsun: From Whit-Sunday till the following Thursday inclusive, if no holiday was granted after Shrove Tuesday.

Summer Holidays: From July 1st to September 18th inclusive.[4]

Accidents and Illnesses. Like all French citizens, the members of the teaching profession take part in the general scheme for social security. The risks covered are illness, long illnesses, maternity, disablement, and death. Moreover, in the case of illness, each year members of the teaching profession, in common with all civil servants, have the right to three months' leave on full pay and three months on half-pay.

When they are afflicted with a mental illness recognised as dangerous to children, or if they have active tuberculosis or cancer, they may obtain three years' leave on full pay and two years' on half-pay. These leaves are granted six months at a time.

Women teachers who have babies have the right to fourteen weeks' leave on full pay.

These different advantages, applicable to civil servants, are more generous than those granted by the general social security scheme. When a teacher has no claim to a long leave either for illness or for another reason—if, for example, he is suffering from an illness of long duration but which does not give him the right to claim a long leave, or if he has already had the full amount granted for illness—then the general scheme comes to his aid. He can then put in a claim on the grounds of long illness for an allowance equal to a half or a third of his salary, according to his dependants, as long as a certain maximum is not passed.

Teachers who are not well enough to take up their work at the end of their sick leave with pay, and who do not qualify for a breakdown pension, and also those who have some disablement which reduces their capacity for work by at least two-thirds, can claim a disablement allowance, which varies according to their salary, dependants, and degree of disablement.

In the case of the death of a practising teacher, whether a man or a woman, the next of kin of the deceased (wife or husband, children, or, if he were unmarried, certain relations) can claim the payment of a lump sum equal to one year's salary.

Leave of Absence. No provision is made for long leave of absence with salary for personal convenience; however, teachers in all types of schools may ask, if they wish to do further studies, for

[4] The summer holidays used to last from July 14th to September 30th. The dates have been changed. These new dates—July 1st to September 18th—will be applied for the first time in 1953.

example, for leave of absence with a grant or a research scholarship for maintenance during that period.

As a result of certain agreements they can accept posts abroad under temporary exchange schemes.

Degree of Initiative Allowed. Where their professional work is concerned, teachers must conform to the official syllabus. As far as teaching methods are concerned a great degree of liberty is allowed, but pedagogical directives are given for each subject at every level of education. Education at the elementary stage has as its aim, on the one hand, the preparation of children for life by giving them knowledge which is immediately necessary to them, and, on the other hand, a broader education both intellectually and morally. In secondary education, teachers must try to gain individual knowledge of each pupil, to direct his efforts along those lines for which he appears most suited. They must also develop those interests which are most likely to help the pupils to gain for themselves the future career they desire. One of the greatest aims of secondary education is the training of pupils to be high-principled moral citizens. As for technical education, it tries to blend disinterested aims (general culture) and its utilitarian ends (vocational training) into a harmonious whole in which are found all its theoretical and practical activities.

Teachers in elementary education may choose whether or not to use a textbook. If they use one they must choose it from among the lists of books approved in the *département* in which they teach. Complete freedom of choice is allowed to teachers in secondary education.

Responsibilities Undertaken by Teachers in National Life. The responsibilities undertaken by members of the teaching profession may be divided as follows:

(1) The role of professional associations and unions.

(2) The role of individual members of the teaching profession.

The Role of Professional Associations and Unions. In accordance with the constitution, professional bodies are called upon to collaborate by means of their representatives in the running of enterprises, both public and private. Accordingly, these associations have assumed a particular importance.

The teachers' unions have always been very conscious of their responsibilities to the nation. They are making every effort to obtain the highest status for their members, but their claims rest mainly on the fact that the responsibilities undertaken by the members of the teaching profession become ever heavier.

The very multiplicity of the unions of teachers, whether they are bodies attached to one of the great central workers' unions or whether they form an autonomous federation whose especial aim it is to co-ordinate the action of various tendencies, shows how much interest members of the teaching profession take in their co-opera-

tive life. They are not forgetful of the importance of the part they have to play in the development and evolution of the nation, and they are prepared to subordinate their actions to the major interests of the country.

The Role of Individual Members of the Teaching Profession. The part played by teachers in the intellectual life of the nation can be seen in the great number of periodicals produced by associations in which teachers are in the majority.

However, this is not the only thing which makes one realise how great is the influence of teachers. These latter have indeed long been advisers held in great esteem because of their greater knowledge. The ideal which inspired them and the influence of their training have made them play an important part in the development of democratic ideas.

If the rise in the general level of culture has made the teachers of to-day, on the whole, lose much of their prestige, this is more than compensated for by the influence which many of them exert in adult study-circles and cultural groups. In addition, they take a larger part than in the past in the out-of-school activities of their pupils by organising choirs, artistic groups, excursions, and holiday camps.

Finally, may we point out that the French electorate has shown the confidence the nation feels in its teachers by returning eighty-nine of them to Parliament at the last legislative elections.

LOUIS CROS.

CHAPTER TWO

WESTERN GERMANY

Teachers and their Payment

SINCE the eighteenth century, education has been the responsibility of the state. Boroughs, if they found and maintain schools, are bound by the regulations of the state: they require the same qualifications in teachers; they give them the status of civil servants, pensions, and salaries according to the state system; and the state retains the right of supervision. The various groups of teachers in elementary, intermediate, technical, and secondary grammar schools are first and foremost 'civil servants', a term which also includes those local government officers whose status differs only slightly from that of civil servants. It is perhaps necessary also to point out that 'teachers' in the German sense are those who carry out their duties in institutions that have the task of instructing and educating *young people,* and not in universities. And we might add that teachers in kindergartens and charity day-nurseries are not included in the scope of this article, which refers only to those employed in state and municipal schools.

(*a*) *The Classes of Teachers*

During the last two centuries the following types of school have come into being, each with its special kinds of teacher:

(1) Elementary schools (*Volksschulen*) provide eight or nine years' education. They take all children for at least four years, from 6 to 10. These four years are called *Grundschule.* The gifted children then enter the intermediate and secondary grammar schools respectively. The rest (nearly 90 per cent.) go through a further stage of elementary schooling for four or, more frequently, five years: *Volksschuloberstufe.* The *Grundschule* in Hamburg and Bremen takes six years. The teachers in elementary schools are called *Lehrer,* as contrasted with *Studienrat* in secondary grammar schools and *Professor* in universities.

(2) Special schools (*Sonderschulen*). These take the place of elementary schools for those children who cannot benefit from a normal elementary school education because of some deficiency. There are special schools for subnormal, blind and partially blind, deaf and dumb and partially deaf, for crippled children and for epileptics. The teachers in these schools are usually elementary school teachers (*Lehrer*) with additional specialised training in the education of the handicapped.

(3) Since 1894 intermediate schools (*Mittelschulen*), lasting six years, have been defined as schools "giving general education, the aims and objectives of which go beyond those of the elementary schools". They include all children who want to become skilled craftsmen and employees in trade, industry, commerce, and administration. The teachers in these schools, called *Mittelschullehrer*, are in general selected from among qualified elementary school teachers (*Lehrer*) who have further prepared themselves by at least two years of private studies leading to the qualifying examination for intermediate school teachers.

(4) Trade, vocational, and technical schools (*Berufschulen* and *Fachschulen*) enrol young people after they have finished their general education and have decided on a trade. Trade schools (*Berufschulen*), formerly called further-education schools (*Fortbildungsschulen*), giving instruction to apprentices one day a week,

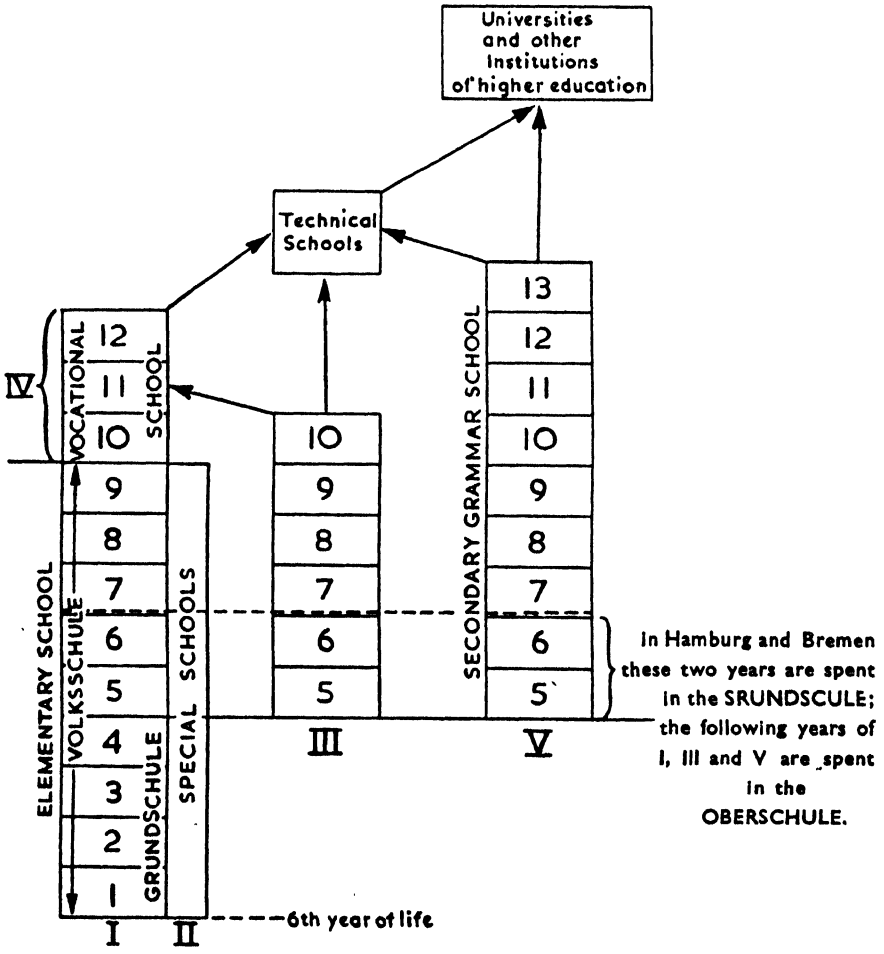


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE GERMAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

supplementing the practical apprenticeship training with theory and practice of draughtsmanship and arithmetic. Technical schools (*Fachschulen*) are comprehensive schools offering two- to three-year courses in the elements of their prospective jobs, for example, commercial schools and engineering schools. There are as many kinds of technical school as there are professions. Teachers in trade and technical schools must combine full professional training with teaching ability. The requirements are, however, varied, so that one cannot refer to them as a single class of teachers.

(5) Secondary grammar schools (*Gymnasien* and *Oberschulen*) offer to the most gifted pupils a nine-year university preparatory course. Teachers in these schools have received university training and have passed both an academic examination and one in education. They are specialists in some subject-matter area, and are known as assistant masters (*Studienrat*).

(*b*) *Remuneration*

(i) *Salaries and Living Allowances*

The salaries and pensions paid to German teachers in the various classes or groups are determined by regulation and a relatively complicated salary schedule. These regulations determine the starting salary, increments paid for each two years of service, final or maximum salary, and living-accommodation allowance. Thus, elementary school teachers start at 2,800 DM, receive biannual increments of 200 to 250 DM, and reach a maximum salary of 5,000 DM. Such teachers are paid a Class IV living accommodation, which ranges from 474 DM to 1,536 DM, depending upon the number of children and the class of town in which the teacher resides. Similarly, a teacher in an intermediate school starts at 3,300 DM, receives biannual increments of from 200 to 300 DM, and attains a maximum of 5,000 DM with a Class IV living accommodation. Assistant masters start at 4,800 DM and reach 8,400 DM, with Class III living accommodation.

The highest of the thirteen salary groups is that of senior school inspectors, headmasters, and heads of schools of special importance (*Regierungsdirektoren* and *Oberstudiendirektoren*). Members of this group receive a starting salary of 6,200 DM, biannual increments of 700 to 800 DM, and attain a maximum salary of 10,600 DM, together with a Class III living-accommodation allowance ranging from 648 to 2,112 DM, depending upon the number of dependants and the class of town in which they reside. Appendices I and II present salary and living-allowance tables in detail.

Since 1927, women have received 10 per cent. less salary than their male counterparts, except in Baden, Bavaria, Hessen, and Württemberg-Hohenzollern. Since April 1951 a 20 per cent. cost-of-living allowance has been added to all salary groups. Trade and

technical school teachers in Prussia have had a separate salary schedule since April 1928.

(ii) *Pensions and Retirement*

Teachers are subject to the same pension regulations as other civil servants. They may be pensioned either in case of disability or upon reaching the age prescribed for retirement—that is, the age of 65. Pensions vary with both the age of the teacher and the *Land* in which he is employed, but in any case are based upon the salary he was receiving at the time of retirement. Thus, an established civil servant upon retirement after ten years of service may receive from 35 per cent. of his prior salary in Bremen, to 53 per cent. of it in Baden, Hamburg, Hessen, Rheinland-Pfalz, and Württemberg. Similarly, after twenty years of service the teacher will receive from a minimum of 55 per cent. up to a maximum of 70 per cent. in the same *Laender*. The maximum pension which a retired teacher may receive is 75 per cent. of his prior salary, and this is paid for thirty years of service in all the *Laender* except Bremen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, and Schleswig-Holstein. In the first two it is attained after thirty-five years, and in the last of these the legal maximum is set at 72 per cent.

A widow receives 60 per cent. of the retirement pension of her husband, provided it does not exceed 45 per cent. of his normal salary. Orphans receive 20 per cent. of the widow's pension, and in the event of the loss of both parents 33 per cent.

(*c*) *Effects of the Military Occupation and Recent Policy*

The various *Laender* of the German Federal Republic by 1952 were beginning to achieve a certain degree of uniformity. During the seven years following the Occupation in 1945 the *Laender* had gone their separate ways. Within each of the 'Zones' the suggestions of the American, British, and French Occupation authorities had influenced education. Yet the status of teachers was not fundamentally affected by these changes, but only by the Occupation policy of 'denazification'. In the American and French zones all teachers who had been members of the Party were dismissed in 1945 and reinstated only after lengthy proceedings. In the British zone the process was more slowly and perhaps more carefully carried out. Since all teachers had been under great pressure in the 'Third Reich', and therefore had nearly all become Party members, teachers were specially hard hit by the measures of 'denazification'. This very much detracted from the prestige and attractiveness of the teaching profession.

The *Laender* of the German Federal Republic, with the exception of Bavaria, Hamburg, and Bremen, were constituted in 1945. The *Laender* of Nordrhein-Westfalen, Niedersachsen, and Schleswig-Holstein are parts of the former state of Prussia; Rheinland-Pfalz

comprises former Prussian and Bavarian provinces; and the south-west state has resulted from the unification of Württemberg and Baden. The nine *Laender* have uniform regulations as to teachers' salaries and appointments and, on the whole, for teachers' training. The present situation evolved in the period after 1918 during the 'Weimar Republic', and underwent only slight changes in the period between 1933 and 1945.

The conditions of payment for teachers were established in 1927 by the *Reinhard Reform of Civil Servant Salaries*. This law is still in force. In 1931, reductions of 6 per cent. in salary were imposed by the so-called *Brüning Emergency Act*. These reductions, however, were repealed in 1949, and a 20 per cent. cost-of-living allowance was granted in April 1951 to compensate for a severe rise in prices. The conditions of employment and retirement, however, have not substantially changed, and are very nearly the same as before 1933. Neither are there major changes as to teachers' training. The training of elementary school teachers (*Lehrer*), it is true, has still not taken on a uniform pattern.

Teachers are allowed to belong to a political party. They may vote and stand for election. But like all civil servants they are not permitted to strike. A teacher can be dismissed only for serious offences, and then only as a result of 'disciplinary action.'

In his teaching the teacher is bound to the curriculum. To-day, however, curricula are no longer strictly enforced, but serve merely as guides, which leave some degree of freedom for the initiative of teachers and individual schools. Teachers have a certain freedom in the choice of methods and textbooks.

Religious and political parties can influence the schools only indirectly through Parliament. At schools there are parents' advisory committees, in which the teachers co-operate with the parents. In this way, and also through pupils' parliaments, schools are intended to take on a democratic form. But the relations between teachers and their heads are mostly those of subordination. Only in the Hanseatic towns, Hamburg and Bremen, have there been democratic traditions dating from the period before 1933. There the heads of schools are elected by their colleagues, and a form of partnership exists between them and the teachers.

The Status of Teachers in each of the Five Teacher Groups

Elementary School Teachers

(*a*) *Origin and Training*

Elementary school teachers come from the middle class. They are sons of officials, civil servants of the executive and clerical classes, skilled workmen, and only rarely the sons of farmers. Before the turn of the century nearly the whole new generation of teachers came from the countryside. Then it was common for the

younger sons of farmers to become teachers. But to-day farmers have become so well-to-do that they can aspire to university training for their sons. Upon graduation these youths may expect more lucrative careers in the medical and legal professions. Women teachers in general come from a somewhat higher social level than their male colleagues: sometimes from the administrative civil-servant class or from the families of private business men.

The professional training of elementary school teachers is to-day carried out at teacher training colleges and academies (see Appendix IV). As a rule such institutions offer a four-semester training. In Hessen and Niedersachsen it is now extended to six semesters or three years. In Bavaria and Rheinland-Pfalz definitive solutions have not yet been found. In Hamburg the training of elementary school teachers takes place at the university teacher-training institute, and lasts for six semesters. The leaving examination of a grammar school (*Abitur*) is prerequisite for admission to a teacher training college. Young people, however, with natural educational ability can be admitted without the *Abitur* on the basis of a special test.

The training colleges prepare the young teachers in general education, psychology, and one optional subject. Practical training takes place in both lectures and classes, but principally in practice teaching carried out in part during the semesters and in part during the holidays. There are no fees. Those in need can receive scholarships. In return, however, young teachers are bound to carry on elementary school teaching for at least five years. Examinations are usually conducted by the staff of the training college under the chairmanship of a representative of the state.

These training colleges have no connection with the universities. Some of the best young teachers endeavour to pass on to the university. In order to do this, some enter the course that leads to a post at a secondary grammar school. Many of them, however, study only general education and psychology in order to qualify for an administrative post in elementary education (*Rektor, Schulrat*) or for a lectureship at a teacher training college.

The lecturers at a teacher training college have in general received academic training leading to a doctorate. Those teaching either theory or practice of education have almost certainly had experience in the elementary school service and have made something of a name for themselves through their publications. As a rule, lecturers for optional subjects have been assistant masters of outstanding ability in their respective subjects. The salaries of professors and lecturers are equal to those of university professors and lecturers, but they receive no part of the students' lecture fees. After retirement they are not rated as emeriti, but are pensioned. Lecturers receive the same payment as assistant masters. To-day nearly all universities have Chairs of Education and conduct an

educational seminar. The students of education may sit for the degree of Ph.D., while psychologists may take either the degree of Ph.D. or a diploma in psychology. The introduction of a diploma in education is being planned, and in Munich it has already been introduced.

Nearly all teachers strive to continue their education while teaching. Their private efforts can only be mentioned here. But nearly all teachers' associations and teachers' trade unions conduct further education courses of varying duration in connection with the teacher training colleges or with the universities. These courses usually take place during the vacations. Sometimes teachers' extension courses are conducted by the government, or at least are financially supported.

During the 'Third Reich' (1941) the teacher training colleges were replaced by 'teacher training establishments' (*Lehrerbildungsanstalten*) which, like the old seminaries, were intended to train elementary school graduates for an additional five years. Since there was a great shortage of teachers as a consequence of the war, courses were instituted in which 'school helpers' were trained—as a rule for a single year. In order to give assistance to ex-soldiers after the end of the Second World War, new shorter courses were again set up. They have now all been terminated.

(b) Professional Career and Opportunities for Promotion

The four- or six-semester course of study of the teacher training colleges ends with the first teachers' examination. Without any further preparation the beginner or 'junior teacher' then enters school service, and has at once to carry out the full duties of a teacher. During the following five years he is considered a 'probationary teacher', and is required to take certain teachers' extension courses. After a minimum of three years' experience he may take the second teachers' examination. If he passes the examination he will normally be in his 27th year and then becomes a 'regular teacher'—a permanent civil servant.

Since the Second World War the situation with respect to the age of teachers has changed. Many ex-soldiers took up elementary school teaching at the age of 25 years or more, so that there are to-day many 'junior teachers' over 30 years of age. Most of these are married. In normal times their payment is that of a man of 21. These older 'junior teachers' are struggling to improve their economic situation. They demand that their years of war service should count towards their period of employment as teachers. In North Rhine-Westphalia this has already become law. Under decrees of the Minister of Education, December 28th, 1951, and February 19th, 1952, years of war service are counted, provided the teacher applied for preparation for the teaching profession at the earliest possible date after the end of the war (May 8th, 1945).

It is a characteristic of the teaching profession that as a rule its activities throughout the life of the teacher continue the same: day in and day out he enters his classroom and teaches. He may, it is true, instruct at times younger and at other times older children. In large schools he may, according to his ability, become a special-subject teacher for music, physical training, drawing, or biology. It is felt that the all-round teacher is not adequate, however, for the upper classes of the municipal elementary schools. Better-trained teachers are needed—those who are able to instruct senior pupils in the above-mentioned special subjects.

In other professions of the same social standing, such as for example the executive class of civil servants, advancement is possible in that the established civil servant may be given more responsibility and more difficult duties. There is, however, no corresponding advancement in the teaching profession. An experienced teacher may, however, become a 'senior teacher'. He will receive that title as head of a school of more than one class. The head of a school of at least seven classes is granted the title *Rektor*. As a rule very large schools of more than fourteen classes have a *Konrektor* in addition to the *Rektor*. These titles were used in the former Prussian provinces. In Hamburg the head of a school is called *Schulleiter*. There are few chances of promotion. Only about 16 per cent. of the teachers can be promoted, while corresponding figures in the Ministry of Justice are 36 per cent. and in the Ministry of Finance 33 per cent. Only a very few ever attain the position of a school inspector.

(*c*) *Payment and Social Status*

Elementary school teachers constitute the largest group of civil servants in the modern German state. The problem of the payment of teachers is therefore a particularly urgent one. It is widely recognised that teachers are underpaid—and their claims for increases in salary have in part been recognised. But even a slight rise in salary would cost the state many millions. A system of allowances has therefore been introduced. After it had become obvious that it would be increasingly difficult to recruit teachers for schools in small villages, allowances were introduced for such schools. The principal teacher in a one- or two-class school receives an annual increment of 200 DM as bonus after five years of service. It is raised to 300 DM after five more years of service. After five more years of service this increment is included in the assessment of the retirement pension. As has been stated earlier in this article, women teachers in most *Laender* receive salaries amounting to 10 per cent. less than those of their male colleagues.

Since 1927, teachers have been paid the same scale as the senior executive civil servants. Since these civil servants are required, as a rule, to have passed only an examination equivalent to the English

General Certificate of Education (ordinary level) (*Mittlere Reife*), teachers feel that they are more highly qualified and may rightly demand higher payment. They themselves have as a preparatory educational training an examination equivalent to the English General Certificate of Education (advanced level) (*Abitur*), plus a two-year course of study, which justify their claims. Recently, the teachers' associations have been attempting to obtain the removal of teachers from the civil servants' salary scale on the grounds that elementary school teachers cannot readily be grouped for salary purposes with the civil servants attached to the Ministries of the Interior and of Justice.

The social standing of the elementary school teacher is in process of transition. The public has hardly noticed the new college teacher training. Yet this has been in force for twenty-five years—not counting the interruption caused during the Nazi era—and all the younger teachers have received such training. An able rural teacher is a respected and influential man. In the city he is classed merely as a civil servant.

Teacher Associations

The class of the elementary school teacher is a rising class. It has to struggle hard for a payment corresponding to its education. The payment of to-day was assessed on the basis of the original seminary training of the teacher. It is understandable, therefore, that in the teachers' associations questions of class politics have more and more come to the fore. In addition to the Trade Union for Education and Research (*Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft*), which has replaced the German Teachers' Association, there are also Catholic teachers' associations. But all teachers' associations are also concerned with the further education of their members and with the solution of educational problems.

To-day the elementary school teachers' associations are still led by seminary-trained senior teachers. The middle-aged teachers—who were hardest hit by denazification—stay in the background, some from embitterment, some out of prudence. The number of teachers trained at teacher training academies and teacher training colleges is not yet great enough to permit one to speak of a new type of teacher. Whereas the elementary school teachers of the nineteen-twenties were largely those who put through the movement of educational reform and thus got a great impetus, to-day they have little will for reform. The tide of reform has ebbed, and faith in education is generally reduced. If we consider that the teachers are particularly hard hit by the increased cost of living in consequence of their low salaries, we must admire their interest in educational problems which they nevertheless constantly display. We may trust that in more peaceful times to come the teachers as

a whole will again feel security, and with inspiration and industry —two virtues that always have been theirs—again serve the education of the young and find their happiness in it.

Teachers in Special Schools

Teachers in special schools have almost exclusively come from the ranks of elementary school teachers. Through special training they have prepared themselves for their special tasks. Sometimes their payment is that of the elementary school teacher supplemented by allowances; sometimes a category of special school teachers, as, for example, the senior teachers for the deaf and dumb and the senior teachers for the blind, is transferred to Class A.3*a* (see Appendix I). The group of the teachers in schools for the educationally backward children is the most common (A.4*b*2). After his second examination the elementary school teacher may sit for the examination for teachers for educationally backward children. He may prepare himself privately or in courses which are held in teacher training colleges or in universities by practising teachers and doctors. Teachers for the blind and teachers for the deaf and dumb must undergo an even longer training.

Teachers in Intermediate Schools

In intermediate schools—mostly six-class comprehensive schools —there are intermediate school teachers (*Mittelschullehrer*). Attempts are being made to secure for the intermediate school the name *Realschule,* and for the teacher the title *Reallehrer.* In North Rhine-Westphalia these designations have already been introduced.

In the past there were two ways of becoming an intermediate school teacher:

(1) Experienced elementary school teachers could acquire a more comprehensive academic training by privately studying the subjects they wanted to teach, and could then prove their teaching ability by passing the examination for intermediate school teachers.

(2) Students of a university who had completed at least six semesters could also be admitted to that examination.

In either case the examination consisted of a part testing knowledge of his subject and a part testing his knowledge of education. Recently some *Laender* have begun to select their intermediate school teachers only from the ranks of the elementary school teachers, because these have proved to be more experienced in educational technique. In nearly all *Laender* which have intermediate schools (Bavaria and Hamburg do not have them), courses are being gradually instituted to give support and direction to the private study of elementary school teachers.

In Hamburg, children with practical ability who have completed the six-year course of the *Grundschule* are transferred to the

Technischen Zweigder Oberschule, which in a four-year course covers the curriculum of the intermediate school. The teachers are elementary school teachers who are specially suited for the work. These teachers have undergone the normal six-semester university training in educational science and in one optional subject.

The intermediate school is a school for further general education that appears pre-eminently suited to smaller towns which have no secondary grammar school. In such small country towns intermediate schools and their teachers are frequently highly respected.

Teachers in Trade Schools, Industrial Technical Schools, and Technical Schools

The trade schools, industrial technical schools, and technical schools are as varied as are the conditions of their respective teachers. At the present time all such schools have teachers specially trained for their profession. It is only infrequently that elementary school teachers give instruction in trade schools.

Senior Trade School Teachers in Artisan and Industrial Technical Schools

For senior trade school teachers there have been special training establishments (institutes or academies) for only about thirty years. They have, in general, not yet evolved a tradition and are little known to the public. The training of the senior trade school teachers is particularly difficult, because they must be efficient in two professions: in the trade and in the teaching profession. To-day, teachers in trade schools are required to have passed the General Certificate of Education (advanced level) (*Abitur*), or to have finished a course at a higher technical school and to have had a period of apprenticeship and passed the journeyman's examination. Only then are they allowed to present themselves for a four- to six-semester training course at a technical teaching establishment. After a year of teaching practice they are entitled to be employed as senior trade school teachers. Payment in the ex-Prussian states is established by the *Gewerbe- und Handelslehrer-Besoldungsgesetz,* dated April 16th, 1928. Most of the senior trade school teachers are paid a beginning salary of 3,300 DM, and may reach a maximum of 5,500 DM basic salary. In addition there is a living-accommodation allowance.

The trade schools are organised according to trades in industry. At the head of each department is a superintendent, who is paid a starting salary of 3,300 DM and may reach a maximum of 6,400 DM basic salary. The head of a trade school receives from 4,000 DM to 8,400 DM. In the *Laender* of Southern Germany and in the Hanseatic towns of Hamburg and Bremen, payment is somewhat higher.

Senior Women Trade School Teachers

These women teach in girls' trade schools and women's technical schools. The conditions for admission to study at a six-semester technical training establishment are usually the *Abitur* and sufficient practical experience in the chosen branch. As an alternative, women candidates may attend the three-year women's technical school. Conditions of employment of senior women trade school teachers are similar to those of the male trade school teachers. Women teachers in agricultural trade schools must fulfil the following conditions before beginning to study at the academy for training in technical education: *Abitur*; at least two years' agricultural practice, or the General Certificate of Education (ordinary level) (*Mittlere Reife*); and attendance at a two-year agricultural workers' school for women.

Commercial School Teachers with a Diploma

Education in commerce is provided in the following types of school:

(1) *The Commercial Trade School* (*Kaufmännische Berufschule*): this is a school attended by commercial apprentices for eight hours per week during their three years of apprenticeship.

(2) *The Industrial Technical School* (*Berufsfachschule*): this is a preparatory trade school attended full time each day. It is organised in two forms:

The two-year commercial school, admitting students with a good elementary school education who have taken a state examination corresponding to the General Certificate of Education (ordinary level) (*Mittlere Reife*). Those who have finished a two-year course at a commercial school need go through only a two-and-a-half-year apprenticeship, and are also entitled to take up the career of a senior executive civil servant for which the General Certificate of Education (advanced level) (*Abitur*) is not required.

The one-year higher commercial school, admitting students by transfer from the upper fifth form of a secondary grammar school, or by a leaving certificate from a normal intermediate school. The school confers the privileges of the two-year commercial school.

In addition to these two types of school there still exist in some towns of the Federal Republic, especially in North Rhine-Westphalia, a few two-year higher commercial schools.

(3) *Commercial Technical School* (*Kaufmännische Fachschule*): this is a relatively rare, departmentally organised school designed to offer a thorough training in certain branches of business in order to train appropriate men for leading positions. Among this class of school there are, for example, the Food-Retailers' School at Neuwied and the Hotel-Management School at Heidelberg. Candidates for admission must prove they have completed apprenticeship and have passed the journeyman's examination.

(4) *General Commercial School* (*Wirtschaftsoberschule*): this is an advanced school of the commercial type which prepares for no special profession or trade but offers commercial training and in addition continues general education. After a three-year course it leads to the *Abitur*. Candidates for admission may transfer from the upper fifth form of a secondary grammar school or demonstrate a good leaving certificate of a normal intermediate school. Graduation from the general commercial school with the *Abitur* entitles the student to proceed to the study of general commercial subjects at the commercial high schools or in the social-science faculties at the universities. Those who have passed the examination and want to take up business or to become senior executive officers require only two years' apprenticeship. These general commercial schools, which have been established for decades in Austria and South Germany, have been introduced since the Second World War in the ex-Prussian states with the exception of North Rhine-Westphalia.

All the above-mentioned commercial schools, including the general commercial schools, to-day have teachers who have at least one year's commercial practice behind them after passing the *Abitur,* and have completed their university study in economics by gaining a commercial teachers' diploma. Their official designations and pay vary enormously in the Federal Republic, but are lowest in the ex-Prussian provinces. There these teachers are usually called senior commercial teachers. Those employed at a commercial trade school are paid as the senior trade teachers. Those working at the commercial schools, senior commercial schools, and general commercial schools do not receive payment appropriate to their training, but a 400-DM allowance in addition to their salary ranging from a minimum of 3,600 DM to a maximum of 6,600 DM. In ex-Prussian districts they can be employed after a year of educational practice without having passed an examination for the title *Assessor*. In the states of Southern Germany the period of candidature is finished by this examination. In these *Laender* commercial teachers holding a diploma have the official designation *Studienrat* and a corresponding salary. In Hamburg, Bremen, and Oldenburg the designation *Studienrat* is granted, it is true, but the payment is similar to that just stated for commercial school teachers. As a result of this insufficient payment, most *Laender* of the Federal Republic find recruitment for this group of teachers increasingly difficult.

Teachers in Technical Schools (Engineering Schools, Building-construction Schools, Music Schools, Schools for Master Artisans, etc.)

The teachers for such schools are almost invariably specialists: engineers with university diplomas, architects, musicians. They are paid the same scale as *Studienraete*. The heads of these schools are

paid the same as headmasters of secondary grammar schools—with a minimum basic salary of 7,000 DM and a maximum of 9,700 DM plus allowances. Teachers with special experience and qualifications receive the title of *Professor.*

Teachers in Secondary Grammar Schools

Teachers in secondary grammar schools (*Oberschulen*), sometimes called senior schools, form a closed group of teachers. They are successors to the teachers in the grammar schools, who up to 1812 were mostly clerics. It is only since 1812 that there has been an examination *pro facultate docendi* in Prussia, and the academically trained *Oberlehrer* also dates from that time. Since 1920 he has had the official designation *Studienrat* and is equal in rank to the *Regierungsrat.* There is no connection between this group of teachers and that of the elementary school teachers. If an elementary school teacher, however good he may be, wants to become a *Studienrat,* he must pass through the training from the very beginning. On the other hand, a *Studienrat* is not entitled to give instruction in an elementary school.

Origin and Training: New recruits for this group of teachers come mainly from the middle classes and are often sons of elementary school teachers. The sons of *Studienraete,* conversely, usually study law or medicine.

The course of study is very exactly prescribed: *Abitur*; at least four years' university study; the academic state examination; a two-year period of candidature; and finally an examination in education. The university study includes two or three subjects they expect to teach, or physical training and *one* academic subject. Music teachers or art teachers in secondary grammar schools, for example, receive their training at Music or Art Academies (*Musikhochschulen, Kunsthochschulen*). They must, however, still study an academic subject (as *Nebenfach,* subsidiary subject) at a university. All students who want to become teachers in a secondary school are also required to attend lectures in philosophy and education. After a six-semester course they are permitted to sit for the preliminary examinations in philosophy and education: the *philosophicum* and *paedagogicum.* In order to ascertain whether the candidates have teaching abilities, certain *Laender* require the student to have two periods of school practice teaching during the university vacations.

After the state-controlled academic examination the candidate enters a seminar for probationer teachers. This is an institute independent of the university, in which the candidates are prepared for their teaching profession by practical instruction and by work groups studying education and psychology. During this time the candidate is called *Studienreferendar* and, as a rule, receives a small subsistence allowance. After the time of probation

there comes the second examination in education (also called *Assessorprüfung*). After passing this examination the young teacher is a *Studienassessor*. It should be noted that the designations . . . *-referendar* and *-assessor* come from the realm of the university-trained administrative officials, and do not match the various stages of the teachers' careers. These titles do, however, express equality of rank with the administrative officials.

Professional Advancement. There are only very slight chances of promotion. Up to 1900, young teachers in secondary grammar schools did upon occasion qualify as university lecturers and gave up their teaching post only after being called to a chair. As a result of the heavy increase in weekly teaching hours (24–26) and the large amount of out-of-class work, such as grading papers, this has become almost impossible and now occurs only very exceptionally.

The secondary grammar schools are usually located only in the larger towns, and always have many classes. An *Oberstudiendirektor* is the head of such an establishment, with the rank of *Regierungsdirektor*. An *Oberstudienrat* works with him as administrator of the school, and there may be two to three such *Oberstudienraete* in large schools. Since few small and medium-sized school systems exist, unlike the situation with elementary and intermediate schools, the number of the established senior posts for this teacher group is even smaller than in the other groups. Only 11·4 per cent. of all *Studienraete* can be promoted further than this post, as contrasted with 16 per cent. for elementary school teachers and 36 per cent. for civil servants in the Ministry of Justice.

New Trends and the Attitude of the German Trade Unions Association

The conditions described in this article have obtained for a generation. During the Third Reich the training of the elementary school teachers seriously deteriorated, and the authority of all teachers and of the schools was undermined.

After 1945 the Ministries of Education, the school authorities, and the teachers' associations, therefore, directed their efforts towards re-establishing as much as possible the conditions prevalent before 1933. But mere restoration could not meet the needs of changing times. Now that conditions in the Federal Republic are more settled, efforts are being made to set up a new order, particularly with regard to salaries. A report published by the Trade Unions' Institute of Economic Theory gives a survey of these efforts. It is true that it is mainly concerned with the group of elementary school teachers, but its information as to the devaluation of salaries applies to all the other groups of teachers as well.

The Trade Unions' Institute of Economic Theory bases these details on the budgets of ten *Laender* (only Bremen is omitted). Inquiries were made into the conditions of about 122,200 teachers,

about 85 per cent. of whom are elementary school teachers, about 8·3 per cent. *Studienraete* (assistant masters), 4 per cent. intermediate school teachers, 2 per cent. trade and technical school teachers. Teachers in special schools, who come under the heading 'Other Teachers', amount to 0·14 per cent.

The cost-of-living allowance of 20 per cent., the report states, is almost entirely swallowed up by the rise in prices and the progressive scale of income-tax. The average income of an elementary school teacher (basic salary, without living accommodation and children's allowances) is 364·73 DM a month. If accommodation and children's allowances are included, the average income is 440 DM a month. When comparing the average income of a workman with that of an elementary school teacher, we arrive at a ratio of 100 : 177 for the year 1928. For the end of 1951 the ratio is 100:124·3, the junior teachers not included. The ratio of the respective salaries of the public and private officials has remained nearly the same as in 1928. This, the report believes, results from the fact that the salaries of this group " have developed as unfavourably as those of the teachers ".

A comparison with the salaries of French teachers shows that the French would seem to be somewhat better off. According to the official rate of the French currency, French teachers have an average income equivalent to 520 DM. The real buying power of the German teacher, however, amounts to about 260 DM. The statements of the report concerning the working conditions of the teachers is as follows:

> To-day the working conditions are substantially worse than in pre-war times. There is a greater number of pupils to the individual teacher. The classrooms are often in an appalling state. Many teachers have to give far more lessons than before the war. As a result of unfavourable working conditions and insufficient payment of the teachers new recruits for the teaching profession have not been forthcoming. Many [young] teachers give up their calling in order to take a better-paid job in industry. . . .
>
> The members of the teaching profession, therefore, hope that when a salary reform takes place the demands of the trade union *Education and Research* should be satisfied. They demand a special salary group 'teachers' based on the special nature of the work, the exacting demands of the work, and the consistent responsibility of the teachers.

FRITZ BLÄTTNER.

ADDENDUM:

This article was finished in September 1952. Meanwhile some changes have occurred. Hamburg has increased the salaries of elementary school teachers—seminary-trained teachers—from 2,800 to 5,900 DM, and those of university-trained teachers from 3,600 to 7,000 DM. A large-scale salary reform is being prepared for all civil servants, and the *Bundestag*, all the *Laender* and the political parties have stressed the urgency of salary reform for teachers, especially junior teachers in elementary schools.

APPENDIX I

SALARY SCHEDULES FOR VARIOUS CLASSES OF TEACHERS [1]

Salary Group	*Starting Salary*	*Increments (every 2 years)*	*Maximum Salary*	*Living-accommodation Allowance—Class*
A.1*b*: (*Regierungsdirektoren*), Senior school inspectors, headmasters as heads of schools of special importance	6,200 DM	2 × 800 DM 4 × 700 DM	10,600 DM	III
A.2*b*: (Senior administrative civil servants), Head masters	7,000 DM	3 × 500 DM 3 × 400 DM	9,700 DM	III
A.2*c* 1: (Administrative civil servants in the elementary school branch), Senior masters	4,800 DM	2 × 500 DM 6 × 400 DM 2 × 300 DM	8,800 DM	IV up to the sixth year of employment, then III
A.2*c* 2: Assistant masters; school inspectors in the elementary school branch	4,800 DM	6 × 400 DM 4 × 300 DM	8,400 DM	IV up to the twelfth year of employment, then III
A.3*a*: Senior teachers for the blind; senior teachers for the deaf and dumb	3,600 DM	6 × 400 DM 4 × 300 DM	7,000 DM	IV up to the twelfth year of employment, then III
A.3*b*: *Mittelschulrektoren*, as heads of intermediate schools of at least 8 classes	4,800 DM	4 × 400 DM 2 × 300 DM	7,000 DM	IV up to the sixth year of employment, then III
A.3*c*: *Mittelschulrektoren*, as heads of intermediate schools of 5 to 7 classes	3,600 DM	10 × 300 DM	6,600 DM	IV up to the sixteenth year of employment, then III
A.3*d*: Vice-principals of intermediate schools	3,500 DM	6 × 250 DM 4 × 300 DM	6,200 DM	IV up to the twentieth year, of employment, then III
A.4*a* 2: Intermediate school teachers	3,300 DM	4 × 250 DM 2 × 200 DM 2 × 250 DM 2 × 300 DM	5,800 DM	IV
A.4*b* 1: Senior teachers (heads of schools for the educationally subnormal with 3 and 4 classes; of elementary schools with 3 to 6 classes), *Rektoren* (heads of schools for the educationally subnormal with more than 4 classes; of elementary schools with more than 6 classes)	4,100 DM	2 × 300 DM 2 × 250 DM 2 × 300 DM	5,800 DM	IV
A.4*b* 2: Teachers in schools for the educationally subnormal	3,000 DM	10 × 250 DM	5,500 DM	IV
A.4*c* 1: Vice-principals in elementary schools with at least 14 classes	2,800 DM	2 × 300 DM 1 × 200 DM 1 × 300 DM 4 × 250 DM 2 × 200 DM	5,300 DM	IV
A.4*c* 2: Elementary school teachers	2,800 DM	4 × 250 DM 6 × 200 DM	5,000 DM	IV

Note. Women teachers receive 10 per cent. less than the above schedule since 1927. A cost-of-living allowance of 20 per cent. must be added to all salaries since 1951.

[1] £1 = app. 12 DM; $1 = app. 4·2 DM.

APPENDIX II

TABLE OF LIVING-ACCOMMODATION ALLOWANCES

Class of Town	Class of Allowance					
	III			IV		
	Number of Children			Number of Children		
	0–2	3–4	5 or more	0–2	3–4	5 or more
S—Special class, big cities	1,584 DM	1,848 DM	2,112 DM	1,152 DM	1,344 DM	1,536 DM
A—Big towns	1,368 DM	1,596 DM	1,824 DM	1,008 DM	1,176 DM	1,344 DM
B—Medium-sized towns	1,080 DM	1,260 DM	1,440 DM	792 DM	924 DM	1,056 DM
C—Small towns	864 DM	1,008 DM	1,152 DM	648 DM	756 DM	864 DM
D—Villages	648 DM	756 DM	864 DM	474 DM	558 DM	636 DM

APPENDIX III

IMPORTANT TEACHERS' ORGANISATIONS

(1) GEWERKSCHAFT ERZIEHUNG UND WISSENSCHAFT (Allgemeiner Deutscher Lehrer- und Lehrerinnen-Verband) im Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB). Journal: *Allgemeine Deutsche Lehrerzeitung* (Celle, Hannoversche Str. 41).

(2) VERBAND DER KATHOLISCHEN LEHRERSCHAFT DEUTSCHLANDS E.V. (Sitz Köln). Journal: *Der Katholische Erzieher* (Köln, Kettelerhaus).

(3) VEREIN KATHOLISCHER DEUTSCHER LEHRERINNEN (Essen-West, Hedwig-Dransfeldplatz 2). Journal: *Katholische Frauenbildung.*

(4) BUND EVANGELISCHER LEHRER UND LEHRERINNEN (Bethel bei Bielefeld, Ramaweg 4).

(5) GEMEINSCHAFT EVANGELISCHER ERZIEHER (Duisburg-Hamborn, Gottliebstrasse 71). Journal: *Der evangelische Erzieher.*

(6) VERBAND DEUTSCHER HILFSSCHULEN (Hannover, Brehmhof 12). Journal: *Heilpaedagogische Blaetter.*

(7) VERBAND DEUTSCHER MITTELSCHULLEHRER- UND LEHRERINNEN (Realschulrektor Oehnig, Köln-Marienburg). Journal: *Die Mittlere Schule.*

(8) DEUTSCHER VERBAND DER LEHRERSCHAFT AN BERUFSBILDENDEN SCHULEN (Neuss-Rhein, Jostenallee 49). Journal: *Die berufsbildende Schule.*

(9) VERBAND DEUTSCHER DIPLOM-HANDELSLEHRER (Düsseldorf, Oberbilker Allee 54a). Journal: *Wirtschaft und Erziehung.*

(10) DEUTSCHER PHILOLOGEN-VERBAND (Bad Godesberg, Viktoriastrasse 12). Journal: *Die Höhere Schule.*

(11) DEUTSCHER ALTPHILOLOGEN-VERBAND (Duisburg, Landfermanngymnasium).

(12) ALLGEMEINER DEUTSCHER NEUPHILOLOGENVERBAND (Detmold, Sedanstrasse 9).

(13) BUND DEUTSCHER LEIBESERZIEHER (Köln-Lindenthal, Rückertstrasse 26).

(14) VERBAND DER GESCHICHTSLEHRER DEUTSCHLANDS (Detmold, Wall 5). Journal: *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht.*

(15) VERBAND DEUTSCHER SCHULGEOGRAPHEN (Frankfurt/Main, Gartenstrasse 66). Journal: *Geographische Rundschau.*

(16) VEREINIGUNG DER AUS DER SOWJETZONE VERDRÄNGTEN LEHRER UND BEAMTEN (Düsseldorf, Jahnstrasse 13).

(17) WELTBUND FÜR DIE ERNEUERUNG DER ERZIEHUNG (The New Education Fellowship), (Jugenheim/Bergstrasse, Hotel Krone).

APPENDIX IV

TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTIONS FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS [1]

BADEN (SÜD) [2]: *Paedagogische Akademien* in Gengenbach (Kreis Offenburg) for women teachers, and in Lörrach, for teachers. (Preparatory schools [3]: six-class schools called *Paedagogium.*)

BAVARIA: In the course of reformation. For the time being there are still six-class *Lehrerbildungsanstalten* (teacher training establishments). *Paedagogische Institute,* with a four- or six-semester course of training, are planned.

BERLIN (WEST): *Paedagogische Hochschule,* Gross-Berlin, Berlin-Lankwitz (six semesters).

BREMEN: *Paedagogische Hochschule* (six semesters).

HAMBURG: *Paedagogisches Institut der Universitaet* (six semesters).

HESSEN: *Paedagogische Institute* (six semesters), in Jugenheim and in Weilburg/Lahn.

LOWER SAXONY: *Paedagogische Hochschulen* in Alfeld/Leine, Braunschweig, Celle, Göttingen, Hannover, Lüneberg, Oldenburg, Vechta (six-semesters).

NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA: *Paedagogische Akademien* in Aachen, Bielefeld, Bonn, Emsdetten, Essen-Kupferdreh, Kettwig, Köln-Bickendorf, Lüdenscheid, Lünen, Oberhausen, Paderborn, and Wuppertal-Barmen (four semesters).

RHEINLAND-PFALZ: *Paedagogische Akademien* in Koblenz, Kusel, Landau, Trier, and Worms (four semesters). (Preparatory schools [3]: six-class schools called *Paedagogium.*)

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN: *Paedagogische Hochschulen* in Flensburg-Mürwik and Kiel (four semesters).

WÜRTTEMBERG-BADEN [2] (*a*) in Nordbaden: *Lehrerbildungsanstalten,* in Heidelberg and Karlsruhe (four semesters; condition: *Abitur*).
(*b*) in Nordwürttemberg: *Paedagogische Institute,* in Esslingen, Künzelsau, Schwaebisch-Gmünd, and Stuttgart (four semesters; condition: *Abitur*).

WÜRTTEMBERG-HOHENZOLLERN [2]: *Paedagogische Institute* (four semesters). (Preparatory schools [3]: '*Lehreroberschulen*' (teacher training schools).)

[1] *The designations* Paedagogische Akademie, Paedagogische Hochschule, Padagogisches Institut *are approximately equivalent to the English* '*Teachers' Training College*'. *The* Paedagogische Institut der Universitaet in *Hamburg corresponds to an English* '*University Department of Education*'. *It provides special training in education for elementary school teachers, teachers in special schools, teachers in trade schools, and teachers in secondary grammar schools.*

[2] *The Laender Baden, Württemberg-Baden, Württemberg-Hohenzollern now form the south-west State.*

[3] *The preparatory schools in Rheinland-Pfalz, Baden, and Württemberg-Hohenzollern (from the time of the French Occupation) are being turned into secondary grammar schools or dissolved.*

*

CHAPTER THREE

ITALY

In order to understand the problem we propose to study, one must distinguish between state schools and non-state schools. The unification and centralisation of the administration of the school system in Italy—which have only in part been mitigated by the recent regional organisation—were the outcome of the cultural and political unification and of the on-going process of secularisation of Italian culture. In Italy, as everywhere else, the clerical mentality interfered with the development of a free and, at least potentially, democratic national life. The teacher's social and economic position was greatly improved by the centralisation of school administration; it freed him, to a large extent, from the humiliating pressures and the inhumane conditions created by the rule of local cliques which were particularly powerful in the smaller communities and throughout entire regions, as, for example, in the south. Here the teacher was exploited by the priest, the local squire, or the mayor, who often succeeded in making his life unbearable.

The local autonomy of primary schools, which began at about the same time as the establishment of the kingdom of Italy, was ended by Royal Decree in 1931. The primary schools, which had become an excessive financial burden for the districts (*comuni*), were taken over by the state. Thus, with the exception of the nursery schools (all of which are maintained by local organs such as the *comuni,* or are private institutions), the schools of all types and levels were put under state administration. However, in accordance with the principle of the freedom of teaching, stated by the Casati Law of 1859 and confirmed in Article 34 of the Constitution of the Italian Republic, non-state schools continue to exist side by side with state schools. They are subjected to a measure of control by the Ministry of Public Education, which is, however, somewhat ineffectual in the case of secondary education. Non-state establishments are classified as either 'private' or 'recognised'. Teachers in schools of the second type enjoy some legal protection, which, however, is not easily mobilised. The selection of personnel in non-state schools is based not on regular competitive examinations but on peculiar criteria, among which acquiescence to the desires of the authorities takes first place. The number of class periods and pupils assigned to each teacher is determined by commercial motives regardless of educational considerations. Only in very few

cases do teachers' salaries reach the legal minima; frequently they are well below those drawn by the lowest employee in a private firm. Thus one hears of average salaries of L.18,000 [1] per month for secondary teachers, while a girl typist in private employment may earn as much as L.34,800. The teacher caught in the wheels of the non-state school machinery has to submit to all this because the school itself is generally either a business enterprise based on the exploitation of the worker and respect for the customer, or else a clerical institution committed to a definite type of education, which may recruit its staff among the clergy, many of whom are always ready to obey their superiors' orders, even in economic matters. Recent legislation, which grants teachers in recognised schools the right to transfer to state schools—a goal to which many aspire—has only aggravated this situation. Teachers have no possibility of appeal against dismissal by school managers: and as dismissal not only means immediate unemployment but also jeopardises their chances for employment in state schools, the new legislation provides private employers with an effective instrument for enforcing unlimited conformity. Moreover, non-state school boards consider it advisable to defend the rights of their teachers by seeking legal recognition for the school rather than by supporting the individual teacher *vis-à-vis* the managers.

Educationists as well as the general public know that the number of good non-state schools is very small. The poor ones are kept alive and flourishing thanks to the business spirit or the politico-religious fanaticism of their managers, as well as to the demands made by the less able for some kind of educational qualification. However, the public recognise that such schools are establishing a 'competition for lower standards', and that they are instrumental in lowering the level of Italian education.

The number of private schools under church management is very high. The following figures are taken from the *Italian Yearbook of Educational Statistics,* published by the Istituto Generale di Statistica in 1950 and, whatever changes have since taken place have nearly all been in favour of the church schools. Of 17,484 non-state primary and secondary schools with 55,890 teachers, 6,976 were run by religious institutions—nearly all Catholic—employing 27,694 teachers. Nursery schools do not as yet form part of the state system; their number was 11,273 (with 21,149 teachers), of which 4,356 (with 8,739 teachers) were run by religious institutions. The larger *comuni* run the greater part of the remaining 6,917; their 12,410 women teachers enjoy at least a minimum of protection in matters of salary, continued employment, and pensions, and their position with regard to these issues is better than that of private

[1] $1 equals about 600 lire; £1 equals about 1,700 lire.

school personnel in general. (A few hundred non-state schools are run by various educational agencies and associations.)

In view of the economic condition and the lack of independence of non-state school teachers, very little can be expected of them by way of participation in public life. Nor does the public respect them as educators; economically speaking it considers them almost its direct dependants (teachers in private schools often supplement their meagre salaries by giving private lessons to the students in their own school), and it senses their undignified hierarchical dependence on the managers of their establishment.

The position of teachers in state schools is different. Although the centralisation of administration has certain disadvantages, which may be defined, in a general way, as a rigid juridico-bureaucratic formalism harmful to a living organism, such as the school, and to the individuals living in and by it, it also has the advantage of offering the teacher a minimum of security, i.e. a judicial status. It establishes very rigid principles—from which practice departs only in very special cases or in emergencies—for the appointment, advancement, remuneration, social security, retirement, and superannuation of teaching staff.

With certain exceptions, the following statements apply to the whole system:

(i) In order to obtain a post, even a temporary one, a specific educational qualification is required.

(ii) For appointment to a permanent post, the passing of a publicly advertised competitive examination is required in addition to the qualifications mentioned above. The candidate's publications (if any), his records of previous employment, military service, etc., are also taken into consideration.

(iii) If appointed, he serves a probationary period usually lasting three years. In special cases, as e.g. previous service in certain other educational posts, or if the candidate has suffered political or racial persecution under the Fascist regime, this period may be reduced to two years or even one year.

(iv) After successful completion of the probationary period, the teacher is permanently appointed.

(v) A permanently appointed teacher cannot be transferred, except at his own request or for a number of very serious reasons stipulated by the regulations.

(vi) He is entitled to an annual salary (payable in twelve monthly instalments) to assistance in case of sickness, to leave of absence for health or family reasons, and to a pension. He is required by law to pay a monthly quota proportionate to his salary towards his health insurance and pension fund.

Primary Education

This includes the nursery schools already mentioned (*scuola preparatoria*). The educational qualification required for teachers in these schools is the diploma awarded on completion of a three-year course in the theory and practice of teaching at the *scuola magistrale per educatrici d'infanzia,* a special institution for the training of nursery school teachers, which admits graduates from the middle school, aged 13 to 14, who have passed an entrance examination.

Teachers in primary schools must hold a diploma awarded on passing a state examination at the end of a four-year course at the *instituto magistrale*, which admits holders of the Middle School Certificate (aged 13 to 14). While, in the training of nursery school teachers, professional training plays an important part, in the case of primary teachers the intellectualistic tradition of the Italian school puts undue stress on theoretical study and confines the professional training to a certain amount of bookish knowledge and a few hours' visits to primary schools. Thus, although he acquires a rudimentary humanistic culture, the young teacher lacks practical experience.

Teaching posts in primary schools are filled, as has already been described, by means of competitive examinations advertised by the *Provveditori agli Studi.*[2]

All Italian citizens between 18 and 45 years of age, with a good moral and legal record and with the required educational qualifications, may take the examination; however, the Minister may bar certain candidates who, not being natives of the district, are not sufficiently familiar with local customs and dialects.

Once the teacher has been appointed to a post, any requests he might submit for transfer are judged on the basis of a number of criteria established by the Ministry, such as seniority of service, health and family reasons, possibilities for further study, etc. He cannot be transferred against his wish except if his post ceases to exist or else for disciplinary reasons. In this latter case he may appeal to the Minister through the *provveditori.*

Primary school teachers usually teach 25 hours a week. The school year lasts ten months, generally from September 1st to June 30th. A school or a group of schools with seventy to one hundred and twenty teachers is called a school circuit (*circolo didattico*). All primary schools, both state and private, in a given *circolo* are

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[2] The provincial authority which is responsible to the Ministry for primary, middle, secondary, technical, and art education, and for teacher training; which watches over the application of laws and regulations in educational establishments; encourages and co-ordinates educational efforts, etc. Half of the members of this body are appointed directly by the Minister, and the other half are selected on a competitive basis by a board composed of university professors and high administrative officials.

supervised by a director (*direttore didattico*) who has been appointed by means of a competitive examination. A group of five to ten such educational districts constitute a *circoscrizione scolastica,* which is headed by a school inspector. Inspectors are appointed, and their areas assigned to them, directly by the Ministry, which selects them from among the active circuit directors without, however, consulting them. Neither the appointment itself nor the area to which he has been assigned may be refused by the new inspector. The supervisory services of the inspectors are co-ordinated by nineteen central inspectors, some of whom are directly appointed by the Ministry and the remainder chosen by means of competitive examinations.

Secondary Education

With very few exceptions (as, e.g., in the case of domestic science teachers), teachers in all of the seventeen types and sub-types of secondary schools must have a university education or its equivalent. However, the training given by the universities is purely academic and not professional, although a few university courses prepare for nothing but a teaching career. Graduates may, by means of competitive examinations, apply for teaching posts in the subjects in which they have specialised, or in allied subjects. However, a university degree in itself does not entail the right to teach; this is contingent on the passing of a state examination. (Physical training teachers constitute an exception: they are not required to pass either competitive or state examinations.) In posting a successful candidate, his own wishes are taken into account whenever possible. The regulations concerning transfer are the same as in the case of the primary school teacher.

The position of the teacher of religion in secondary schools is a peculiar one. Almost certainly a priest, he is appointed by the church authorities, who also fix the number of teaching hours and the type, or types, of institution in which he may serve.

The number of class periods for each teacher depends on the nature of his post: it varies from a maximum of 22 hours to a minimum of 12 hours per week. The distribution of these periods throughout the week is determined by the head of the institution. The duration of the school year is the same as for primary schools.

Principals of secondary schools are appointed on the basis of publicly advertised competitive examinations and an evaluation of their qualifications. Applicants must have had at least eight years of active service as secondary school teachers. Regulations for posting and transfer are the same as for secondary teachers.

Secondary schools have only central inspectors (*ispettori centrali*), who are employed by the Ministry.

The University

No diploma is required for state university teachers; however, they must have proved their competence in their particular fields by means of publications, discoveries, or previous teaching. In exceptional cases the faculty may propose to the Ministry of Public Education the appointment of a professor independent of any competitive procedure. Such a proposal is then forwarded to the Higher Council (*Consiglio Superiore*)[3] for a final decision. The usual procedure, however, is to appoint university professors on the basis of competitive evaluation of qualifications. If successful, candidates serve a probationary period lasting three years, after which their appointment is confirmed. They remain in their posts till the age of 75, although they may give up teaching at 70.

In addition to the regular chairs, there are those filled 'by commission'. Applicants for these posts are proposed to the academic senate by the faculty, and if the former approves, the administrative council makes the final decision. No competitive procedure is required for such appointments.

Assistants and lecturers (who must all be graduates) are appointed by the rector of the university following nomination by the professor in charge of the chair. Faculty presidents and rectors are elected for three-year periods by the full professors.

The following notes will complete the picture of the conditions under which educational work is carried out:

Every year, the school authorities prepare a report on every teacher, except university professors. The person concerned is not shown the confidential part of this document, but he has access to the general assessment and to possible unfavourable statements. If dissatisfied with the assessment he may appeal to the Minister.

This assessment plays an important role in the teacher's career. If favourable, it helps to facilitate, e.g., a transfer the teacher may have applied for; if, on the other hand, it contains a criticism of the teaching ability, professional competence, or the character of the individual concerned, it may lead to measures as serious as a transfer for disciplinary reasons, non-confirmation at the end of the probationary period, or even dismissal. Appeals against such measures are examined by a board of appeal (*commissione dei ricorsi*), which includes a professor of administrative law in the university, and officers of the central administration of the type of school to which the appellant is attached, under the chairmanship of a councillor of state. The Higher Council for Public Education also functions as a court of appeal. Finally, like all civil servants, teachers too may appeal to the *Corte dei Conti* or to the Council of State, as well as move an action against the administration.

[3] A body partly appointed by the Minister and partly elected by the teachers.

However, the persons responsible for the assessment tend to take into account the possible effects of their statement, so that it often loses its character of an objective evaluation of the teacher's work. It must be added that, overburdened as they are with administrative and organisational duties, circuit directors and heads of institutions often get to know their teachers only through the pupils' examination results or, possibly, parents' complaints. At the secondary level, principals are generally capable of assessing a teacher's performance only in the subjects in which they themselves have specialised. Classroom inspections are of little use: the intervals between such visits are usually large and nearly always prompted by serious motives. Thus teachers tend to look upon them as an inquisition conducted by a higher-ranking official rather than the visit of a person with superior competence. The situation is somewhat better in the primary schools, which are more frequently visited by school inspectors.

The universities enjoy ample freedom in the preparation of their syllabuses. Primary schools, too, are granted a certain amount of autonomy within the framework of the standards of achievement set up for each class by the Ministry. The syllabuses prescribed by the Ministry for the secondary schools, on the other hand, are very detailed. The freedom of secondary teachers is practically limited to the choice of textbooks: these are decided upon by all the teachers of an institution in yearly staff meetings. Elementary teachers work out a study plan for their classes at the beginning of the year, to be submitted to the director for approval. They also propose textbooks for selection in a staff meeting attended by all the elementary teachers in a given circuit.

Teaching methods are left entirely to the discretion of the teachers in all types of school. Regulations allow for, and up to a certain point encourage, trials and experiments. The primary school makes use of this opportunity to a much larger extent than any other. The secondary school is much more conservative, much more faithful to the intellectualistic tendencies characteristic of Italian culture from the counter-reformation onwards. However, the difficulties that stand in the way of any innovation are very real: the rigid syllabuses issued by the Ministry advise against any experiments that might handicap the students in the case of transfer to another school. The few secondary teachers who are not discouraged by these difficulties do all they can within the limited number of class periods at their disposal, and very often their efforts are misunderstood not only by colleagues and superiors but also by their pupils' families.

These latter may consider the school as an agency for the administration of culture—never for the formation of character. But, above all, they see in it the dispenser of the certificate which will enable their children to secure a better position in life. They

are thus ready to accept, albeit as a necessary evil, the most abstruse of study programmes—but not an education that does not produce immediate returns in terms of scholastic success. They look upon the teacher with the almost superstitious respect one has for the representative of 'culture', mixed with an attitude of deference towards the official who has the power to grant or withhold in the name and on behalf of the state, and irrevocably, the possibility of a career.

The teachers themselves are aware of this, and therefore tend to limit their contacts with the pupils' families to a few very short conversations with individual parents in order to inform them about their children's progress at school and to ask for their co-operation towards improving scholastic performance. But that is all. Here, too, the primary school is ahead of the secondary school: parents' meetings are called, though infrequently, to discuss the problems of the school. On the whole, however, it must be admitted that we are still a long way from the point of real co-operation between school and home. Nor must it be thought that a more effective co-operation has been achieved in the private schools. All the influence that the parents may exercise by virtue of the fact that these schools depend for their existence on the pupils' fees[4] is directed towards securing immediate scholastic success and final certificates.

Remuneration

The position of teachers employed in private schools has already been discussed. The national scales given opposite are effective in all schools under the direct responsibility of the state and, in principle, in the 'recognised' and state-aided establishments, some of which are granted state subsidies covering up to 100 per cent. of their expenditure. The 'initial salary' refers to the probationary period; the first increment, which varies according to the initial salary, is usually granted with the confirmation of the appointment.

In addition, all receive a 'thirteenth-month' salary, which is lower than the regular salary, and a 'premium of attendance' (a few thousand lire p.a.). Teachers with dependants are furthermore entitled to a family allowance, which varies according to the size of the population of the district (*comune*) where the teacher is posted (the maximum is paid for service in *comuni* with 800,000 or more inhabitants; the minimum, in *comuni* of less than 600,000), and to the number of dependants. For one person, a monthly allowance varying from L.6,807 to L.3,564 is granted; the maximum (payable in the case of ten or more dependants) varies from

[4] These fees are up to twenty times as high, or even higher, than those paid in state secondary schools—state primary education being absolutely free.

	Monthly Salary[1]		Number of years of service after which maximum salary is reached
	Initial	Maximum	
	L.	L.	
Primary teachers	31,000	53,000	39
Circuit directors	49,000	56,000	12
School inspectors	58,000	67,000[6]	12
Central inspectors, elementary	77,000	97,000[6]	4
Secondary teachers[2]	33,000	55,000	39
Secondary teachers[3]	36,000	63,000	33
Secondary teachers[4]	40,000	74,000	35
Principals[5] / Secondary school inspectors / *Provveditori*	77,000	97,000[6]	4
University teachers	63,000	123,000[6]	19

[1] *All salaries are given in round figures.*
[2] *Teachers of handwriting, singing, and shorthand.*
[3] *Teachers in comprehensive middle schools* (scuola media unica) *and pre-vocational schools.*
[4] *All other secondary teachers.*
[5] *Principals of comprehensive middle schools and pre-vocational schools receive lower salaries.*
[6] *This maximum is reached only by some, after varying length of service.*

L.39,100 to L.32,706. As has repeatedly been pointed out by the unions, the criterion adopted is absurd: the cost of living is not in proportion with the number of inhabitants of a *comune*. It is, e.g., much lower in Naples in the south (pop. 1,037,460 in 1948) than in Ferrara in the north (pop. 138,330 in the same year).

The true value of the above figures becomes more evident if compared with the salaries of other categories of employees. (A comparison with the liberal professions is impossible, because their earnings cannot be ascertained. It can, however, safely be asserted that their income is much higher than that of the highest-ranking teachers.)

A manager in a private firm (not a director-general) earns L.71,520 per month; a technician, L.52,800; a woman typist, L.34,800; a skilled worker, L.40,840. In addition, these employees receive, besides the 'thirteenth-month salary' and family allowances, certain premiums and bonuses, often of considerable value.

Thus the advantages inherent in the legal protection of tenure and the security of the teaching career are counteracted by the paucity of remuneration, which weighs all the more heavily on teachers because of their cultural needs. These are well above the average—and expensive. On the other hand, the possibilities for supplementing their salaries are very few. They are, in fact, for-

bidden to exercise any profession other than teaching (this does not hold for university professors who, on the contrary, usually practise some other profession). State school teachers are even forbidden to teach in non-state schools (except by special permission, and always within a very limited schedule). Circuit directors, inspectors, *provveditori*, and principals are absolutely forbidden to undertake any private teaching. Secondary school teachers are restricted to a maximum of six private classes per week, with not more than three pupils in each. Only elementary school teachers are free to give private tuition without any restrictions. No teacher, however, is allowed to accept as private students pupils in any class or section of the school where he is employed. Practically the only other possible sources of income accessible to teachers are writing for newspapers and magazines (which usually pay very little) and various jobs with publishing firms such as translations, editing of textbooks, etc.; which may bring in a very small and, in the case of textbooks, irregular revenue.

It must also be taken into account that salary increments and transfers (the only advantages inherent in the teaching profession as a career) depend almost entirely on seniority. This principle checks, instead of fostering, any desire for cultural and professional improvement, except in the case of individuals wishing to change over from teaching into administration, or those who have true enthusiasm for their work. Where these stimuli do not exist, there remains only the desire not to get into trouble with the authorities who—through their annual report—may create serious difficulties for the teacher. Conformism has become a real danger in Italy, a country of limited resources, where most people covet the security of a post, however poorly paid, in the bureaucratic machinery.

This is the naked, if unpleasant, truth: from the highest-ranking officials down to the humblest workers, school administration is permeated by bureaucracy. In order to avoid trouble, the superior insists on formal respect for the rules; and the subaltern does not see any advantage in refusing it. This is mitigated only by that ever-present sense of humanity, which sometimes borders on scepticism and which is a characteristic trait of the Italian people: it makes for a certain indulgence in dealing with trespassers against the law. And finally, for the more enterprising and less fearful, there remains always the loophole of the absolute freedom of method.

The twofold handicap of inadequate salaries and increments based solely on seniority has been opposed by the teachers' unions, which have succeeded in obtaining economic improvements for the profession. They have proposed a system of increments which to some degree takes into account achievements. But here serious difficulties are bound to arise: being civil servants, teachers are subject to a system of regulations which is common to the whole of

the bureaucratic machinery; and any changes, however small, can be effected only through the agency of the legislative authority. Thus considerations of an economic or political nature tend to supersede educational and didactic needs. It is true that magistrates have succeeded in securing for themselves separate scales with very considerable economic advantages; but, apart from the fact that the Constitution explicitly grants them a remuneration high enough to ensure their independence, they have shown a greater *esprit de corps* than the individualistic teachers. Moreover, if the magistrates went on strike, an essential public service would come to a standstill. The teachers' services, on the other hand, can up to a certain point be replaced by competing private institutions.

Although working conditions are far from ideal, the teaching profession exerts a strong attraction in Italy, a country suffering from an 'inflation of diploma-holders' (commonly called 'intellectuals'). Few primary teachers come from the middle classes; many from the poorest and educationally and socially lowest strata. Their ranks are swollen by 'failures' from the secondary courses. Secondary school teachers generally come from the *bourgeoisie* and from the class of small and medium landowners. Able individuals from all classes of society may become university teachers; but here, too, the family factor tends to favour certain groups by providing an educational tradition and economic conditions that make possible a greater devotion to study, and a 'freedom from want' that enables them to avoid heavy and absorbing occupations (among which secondary teaching must be included).

All these considerations weigh less heavily in the case of women, who are usually free from family responsibilities (unmarried girls generally live with their parents), and who consider the stability of the post a sufficient compensation for the paucity of their salaries—which are the same as for men. Their social origin tends to be somewhat above that of their male colleagues. They are unhampered by anti-feminist prejudices in the exercise of their profession, and they enjoy a freedom almost completely equal to that accorded to men in all aspects of social life. In spite of all this, their number is not excessively large proportionally. In the following, we reproduce the most recent statistical figures, which date from the school year 1947–8; since then, we believe, the proportions have remained unchanged or perhaps changed somewhat in favour of male teachers.

Type of School	*Total Number of Teachers*	*Number of Women Teachers*
Nursery schools . . .	21,149	21,149
Primary schools . . .	157,139	114,905
Secondary schools . . .	83,215	41,455
Universities (professors) . .	1,503	23

These figures also include the non-state schools. In the state schools the proportions are similar:

Type of School	*Total Number of Teachers*	*Number of Women Teachers*
Primary schools . . .	146,482	105,525
Secondary schools . . .	58,075	29,854

The following is a detailed account of the numbers of women teachers in the different types of state schools:

Comprehensive middle schools .	16,388	10,285
Pre-vocational schools . .	17,062	9,356
Primary school teacher training colleges	4,049	2,229
Nursery school teacher training colleges	177	134
Technical business schools . .	1,629	955
Vocational schools for women .	319	262

The following considerations should be taken into account: it is obvious that only women should teach in nursery schools. The employment of women teachers in primary schools is considered to be in keeping with their innate motherly inclinations: this is the feeling of both the man in the street and the legislator, who has barred men from teaching not only all classes in the girls' sections but also boys' and mixed classes in the first, second, and third grades. The law stipulates that all these must be taught by women; the remaining classes may also be taught by men.

In the secondary schools, the female element is predominant in the 'comprehensive middle' and pre-vocational schools, which come closest to the primary schools; at training colleges for primary and nursery school teachers, which are directly related to primary teaching; at vocational schools for women, for obvious reasons; and, finally, at technical business schools, for motives unknown to us.

The greater the intellectual demands inherent in a teaching post, the more energies it absorbs to the detriment of domestic activities, the smaller tends to be the number of women willing to take it up. This may account for the low percentage of women university professors.

As a rule, primary teachers retire at the age of 65, secondary teachers at 70, and university teachers at 75 (although after the age of 70 they are no longer obliged to teach). If on retirement they have completed forty years of service (forty-five years in the case of primary school teachers) they are entitled to the full pension, which amounts to about two-thirds of the last salary received. If the teacher has served for less than forty years, the amount of the pension decreases proportionally. Pensions are paid by the state,

which withholds 6 per cent. of the salaries paid over the whole period of service. After twenty years of service, the retiring teacher is entitled to the minimum pension: after completion of the first ten and before completing twenty years of service, teachers resigning for legitimate reasons are paid a lump sum by way of liquidation of their pension fund. This plan is not very advantageous for the employee in Italy; an individual resigning from his post before completing ten years of service forfeits his right to the liquidation payment; and even if he has completed the ten-year period, he qualifies for liquidation only if the administration accepts as adequate the reasons given for his resignation. Considerations of this type tend to discourage individuals of a certain age from entering the teaching profession, even if they have not yet reached the maximum age established by law.

Health-insurance arrangements, too, are decidedly inadequate. A teacher on sickness leave receives his full salary for the first two months, after which period his salary is drastically cut to one-third (if he has served for less than ten years) or to half (if he has served for more than ten years). After eight months' absence from work, and up to two years (which is the maximum allowed for sickness leave), he has no right to any remuneration, but under special conditions may be granted by the Ministry a small monthly allowance. In the case of pregnancy and childbirth, two and a half months' leave of absence with full salary is granted. This leave cancels out the two months granted for sickness.

The schemes for financial assistance towards medical treatment are quite as inadequate. The responsibility for such assistance lies with the ENPAS (*Ente Nazionale di Previdenza ed Assistenza per i Dipendenti Statali*—National Institute for the Protection of and Assistance to Civil Servants), which collects 1·5 per cent. of every teacher's salary. The ENPAS refunds expenses on medicines and doctors' fees; but its scales for the cost of medical treatment are quite unrealistic, and constitute not more than 20 to 25 per cent. of the actual cost. As for medicines, only those are refunded that the arbitrary judgment of ENPAS officials considers indispensable. What is worse, this limited aid does not go beyond 180 days a year.

In these cases, teachers may obtain help from mutual-aid associations. Registration with these organisations is compulsory for all teachers, but the help they can give is very small.

Teachers' Associations

For the protection of their economic and legal interests the teachers have formed unions. These may be consulted by the Ministry on specific questions; or the authorities may take into account their comments and suggestions. Thus it is only in a very broad sense that they can be said to 'co-operate' with the Ministry. They attempt to defend the interests of the profession by means of

resolutions, memoranda, or even strikes. They may also call upon a representative to bring up their problems in Parliament.

The various unions usually cater for the personnel connected with the schools of one level only (e.g. primary, secondary, etc.), regardless of type of function (inspectorial, directive, teaching, administrative, auxiliary, etc.). Questions of general interest are discussed in local chapters as well as at provincial, regional, and national congresses with the participation of all members (or their delegates). For self-evident reasons, all unions operate on a national scale. Nearly all of them are politically oriented and in competition with one another.

There are also a few associations which pursue certain activities neglected by the Ministry, as e.g., the organisation of refresher courses for teachers.

Within the limits of their possibilities, teachers take part in public life as active members of a variety of political parties and groups ranging from the extreme right to the extreme left, often—especially university teachers—in highly representative and responsible posts. The degree of conformity among teachers is not higher than that of the general run of the population.

As representatives of the various parties, a certain number of teachers have been elected into the local or regional administration or into Parliament; e.g. there are in Parliament:

	Lower House	*Senate*
Primary teachers .	—	3
Secondary teachers .	44	12
University teachers .	39	45

In our opinion, these figures suggest that in public life secondary school teachers, and, to an even greater extent, university teachers, are more widely known and valued than primary school teachers. This is certainly due to their wider circle of contacts—we repeat once more that university teachers often exercise some other profession as well—and to their more substantial education; but one may also suppose that the title of '*professore*' (secondary teacher, professor), which inspires more respect in the mass of the people than the title of '*maestro*' (primary teacher), plays an important part too.

It is in his social life that the teacher is most severely handicapped by his economic condition. He is kept from the gayer and more light-hearted social activities by a certain reserve deeply rooted in professional traditions; an active interest in sport is often considered undignified for him, the 'intellectual'; he has not been trained and feels no attraction for 'social service', which in Italy is still in its embryonic stage; and he is barred from the higher forms of cultural life by lack of means. To attend one of the good

symphony concerts that are so frequently given in Italy; to see a play; to travel for pleasure or study: all these are exceptional events, 'luxuries' for his modest teacher's budget. For the same reason his circle of friends tends to be more restricted than that of any other person in his class. The pupils' families are almost always excluded; so are those who have the means to lead worldly lives; so are inferiors in rank—an automatic process in Italy, a country still very conscious of class differences. There virtually remain only his colleagues; those among the members of his party that belong to the same social stratum; and casual acquaintances or old school friends.

His cultural contacts with foreign countries, too, are extremely limited. What has been said above about travel in general applies in an even higher degree to travel abroad. The following detail is almost humorously characteristic: unlike ordinary citizens, state teachers, caught in the whirlpool of the regulations imposed on all civil servants, must have the Minister's *nihil obstat* in order to obtain a passport; and permission from their immediate superior is required for each journey abroad. In actual fact, this is usually reduced to a mere formality; yet it always constitutes a bureaucratic impediment to what should, logically, be encouraged in the interests of education and culture.

There are Italian schools abroad as well as chairs of Italian in foreign secondary schools and universities. They are filled by appointed teachers who have submitted applications and who have been selected by the Cultural Relations Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Furthermore, there are agreements making possible the exchange of teachers, especially through Unesco. But on the whole, cultural contacts with foreign countries are due to personal efforts or, at most, to the agency of certain scientific associations.

ERNESTO CODIGNOLA.
RENATO COÈN.

CHAPTER FOUR

BELGIUM

IT is important in examining present trends in the status and outlook of the teaching profession as a whole in Belgium to bear in mind much of the past history of the Belgian people: to remember how tenaciously they have clung to their freedom in all matters educational; how, despite the remarkable educational system they enjoyed between 1815 and 1830 under Dutch rule, they resented most strongly Dutch interference and control and won their independence mainly over scholastic issues; how the uneasy alliance between Liberals and Catholics in the early days of the new kingdom fought shy of any state control, allowed the complete overthrow of the Dutch system, and evolved a conception of educational liberty that has since thrown education repeatedly into the political arena, causing bitter strife, life-long feuds, and deep-rooted political antagonisms.[1]

Thus, every intending teacher approaches his chosen career fully aware of the part educational issues have played and will continue to play in the political life of the country. The Catholic will be a champion of the *free school* system, and will argue that as more than half of the school population of the whole country is educated in the Catholic *free schools,* then it is only proper for such schools to receive appropriate state subsidies. Why, he will argue, should the Catholic be penalised by having to pay, not only directly for his *free school* education in which he believes, but also indirectly for that education provided in the official state schools in which he does not believe? The liberal or the non-Catholic socialist will argue the case for state control of education, and maintain that within the state system adequate safeguards are taken to ensure proper and unfettered observance of Catholic practice by the faithful. The action taken by the Christian-Socialist Party on the strength of their absolute majority in the 1950 General Election, whereby *all* teachers in *all* schools are now totally or partly paid by the state, provided these schools submit themselves to normal routine state inspection, is, in the opinion of the non-Catholic, a most dangerous step: the church is encouraged to become increasingly propagandist; most of the teachers in the Catholic *free schools* are mem-

[1] For a fuller informative account consult the article on Belgium written by S. F. De Coster for the YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION (1951), pp. 473–82.

bers of teaching orders, and as such give their services for nothing; such state subsidies as are received can, therefore, be applied in all kinds of subtle ways to attract more and more children to the Catholic schools, and correspondingly seriously weaken the position of state education, which is already a minority one.

This situation, of course, does not mean that there are no teachers of the Catholic faith to be found in the state schools—there are many. Nor does it mean that teachers, either individually or as a body, indulge in any active propagandist work among their pupils. There is generally a scrupulous regard for liberty of conscience. It *does* mean, however, that the teaching profession as a whole is kept politically and philosophically alert and alive; that there is a vigour and clarity in educational thought that is most healthy; and that there is an essential sanity and realism, combined with a real sincerity of purpose, in the daily discharge of normal routine duties.

Only future generations will be able to decide if the price that has to be paid will have been too high.

Recruitment

The Belgian is an individualist, and his patriotism springs not so much from a national ideal as from a definite insistence on his rights as an individual to protect his own liberty, his own property, his religious beliefs, customs, traditions, folklore—all, in fact, that his education has stood for. The slow but sure development in the economic prosperity of the country, due in the first place to Belgium's unique position at the cross-roads of western Europe, and secondly to the tireless energy of its people in wresting from the soil the wide variety of natural resources it possessed, has given rise to a distinct type of *bourgeoisie*, tireless and energetic, indulging itself on the one hand in the full use of all the material comforts and blessings modern civilisation can bestow, on the other hand caring seriously about the wide variety of cultural interests in which the Belgian excels. Caring, too, about the benefits that can accrue from the traditional type of education offered in the established *athénées, lycées*, and Catholic *collèges*.

The working classes from the coal-mining area of the *Borinage* or from the industrial Walloon provinces are equally independent and traditionalist, jealously proud of their privileges, of their property and small-holdings, and anxious to see their offspring either better placed in industry than themselves, or profiting from increased opportunities for education by swelling the ranks of the lower middle classes and increasing the army of 'black-coated workers'.

The Flemish provinces, mainly agricultural and predominantly Catholic in outlook, move at a slower tempo and are more conservative though equally independent in outlook. Large-scale farming makes little appeal. There are 'tight' family links, and

the honourable aim of most families is to see at least one son enter the priesthood.

Thus, recruitment to the teaching profession is most closely determined and conditioned by the variations in social strata. These Flemish provinces will supply many men and women as teachers at an elementary level through the various religious orders they can enter. The really bright boy with a vocation (as, of course, elsewhere in Belgium) will be pulled out and brought to aspire to enter the Jesuit or some parallel teaching order. Many other priests, too, both Flemish and Walloon, according to their academic qualifications, and before moving on to parish work, will pass a number of years in one of the many Catholic *collèges* throughout the country. Again—and this holds particularly for the Flemish provinces—the boy or girl of obvious ability who feels no vocation for the religious life will often feel strongly impelled by the climate of opinion around him to embrace teaching as an honourable career and often to return to his native province, the temper of whose inhabitants he understands and knows so well, and whose traditional, slowly forward-moving outlook he will faithfully serve and foster. He will be of the community he serves in a very special sense.

Outside the predominantly Catholic communities, it is primarily from among the ranks of the lower middle class and of the aspiring industrial worker that teachers at an elementary level are recruited. The reasons given for the choice of profession are many and varied, but generally it will be found that the choice has been made either because they are fond of learning and have thus shown definite aptitudes, or because they have been influenced by the strong personality of the teachers they themselves have had, being brought to realise in this way the importance of the task ahead, or because of the definite upward striving of the working class towards lower middle-class respectability. Usually, of course, motives are mixed and imply a combination, to a greater or lesser degree, of all these urges. There is no doubt that, in an atmosphere of increasing uncertainty over regular employment, working-class parents will urge their promising children to embrace teaching as a safe and sure profession. There is equally no doubt that a few teachers choose their profession under the illusion that they will draw good salaries for relatively little work and enjoy correspondingly long holidays.

Teachers for the higher or classical secondary schools—the *athénées*, the *lycées*, and the *collèges*—are in the main recruited from the wealthier families, if only because of the relatively higher cost of training and the longer time that is necessary to acquire the appropriate professional diplomas exacted. True, scholarships are granted to intending teachers at all levels, but there are too few of them. The amount paid varies considerably, according to the circumstances of the intending student, but it is hardly ever sufficient

to allow the student to live free of financial worries during his period of training. Again, many students are required to refund the sums paid out to them, usually within five years from obtaining a post, and in instalments. Thus, the teachers in the secondary schools tend to form an enlightened if solid *bourgeois* phalanx, cultured, proud of the traditions behind secondary education in the country, and determined that these traditions shall be maintained. Conservative, however, only to a point; they are receptive to new ideas and new developments, but chary in immediate application. They want first to be sure.

To sum up, one can say that on a rough estimate there are six times as many primary school teachers as secondary school teachers, and four times as many as in technical schools. It is not possible to state accurately what proportion hold university degrees, but the number cannot exceed 5 per cent.

Training

There can be no doubt that the kind of teacher training provided in the training colleges for those who will work in the primary schools proper, and in the higher training college (*école normale moyenne*) for those who will eventually teach in the lower secondary schools, is professionally superior to that offered in the university for aspirants to posts in the *athénées, lycées,* and *collèges.*

It is completely unthinkable, at any rate in state schools, for any person to be appointed to the teaching staff without some form of professional training and without being possessed of the necessary certificates and diplomas. Mature persons, even if they have been employed many years elsewhere in a not dissimilar capacity, may not teach without holding these certificates. Nor is it the custom to employ any but Belgians within the official school system. The Catholic *collèges* and schools generally are more accommodating in these latter respects.

Thus, intending teachers in the classical secondary schools (the *athénées, lycées,* and *collèges*) must be in possession, not only of a university degree in the subjects they wish to teach, but also of the title of *licencié-agrégé.* This *in theory* implies a further year's study beyond the normal four years necessary to acquire a first degree. In practice, the law allows any intending teacher to run this course of study concurrently with the last year of his degree course. It can be imagined that very few students indeed will be prepared, or even financially able, to afford the luxury of a five-year course when four years can be made to suffice. The drawbacks and disadvantages of these arrangements will be obvious, though it must be said in fairness to those students who have made teaching their vocation that their interest and desire to give of their best is often very real and praiseworthy.

The course for this teacher's qualification embraces experimental pedagogy, history of education, general methodology, and special subject methodology for the secondary school curriculum. Candidates are in addition expected to have secondary school teaching practice for at least a year under the direction of their lecturer in special methodology. For their practical examination they are expected to give two public lessons on subjects suggested by the examining board. A short dissertation is also required of them.

It is only to be expected that the university faculties, rightly holding to the view that the primary task of a university is to produce scholars, and that nothing can be allowed to prejudice this task, resolutely safeguard their own courses, often at the expense of the courses in education. Thus, whilst it is admitted by all that the present situation is unsatisfactory, and needs changing, lecturers in the schools of education have in the meantime to content themselves with evoking the inborn good sense of the students and directing it towards the most important problems, pointing out the essential elements of their profession, and giving them an elementary notion of how to work out for themselves a method, both rational and conscious, by which their pupils might be spared any waste of time and any fruitless effort.

On leaving his university, the newly-fledged teacher in his first appointment is under the supervision of a ' mentor ', chosen by the headmaster and by the school inspector, to counsel and advise him as best he can. This first year out is probationary, and the inspector, in state schools, finally recommends confirmation of the appointment to the Minister of Education. Here again, however, the difficulty of finding suitable ' mentors ' in every school is a real one, and also of putting him to full use when found. The young teacher gains only too often what might euphemistically be described as a ' negative advantage ' from listening to another man's lessons; and it is practically impossible to organise a rational and consistent training for a young teacher who himself has a full time-table which usually overlaps with that of his ' mentor '.

The training colleges are run either by the state, or by the provinces, or by large townships, or by religious congregations. All of them are inspected by state inspectors, and their final examinations proceed under state supervision. They fall into three types. First, there is the *école normale gardienne,* which admits girls only, from the age of 15, to follow a three-year course to fit them for nursery school teaching. Next, there is the *école normale primaire,* which boys and girls enter from the age of 15, following a four-year course to teach eventually at the primary level. Lastly, the *école normale moyenne* admits boys and girls who have satisfactorily completed a full course at the higher secondary school (*athénée, lycée, collège*) to the age of at least 18 years or have got a certificate from an *école normale primaire.* In this training college

the course is of only two years' duration, and is designed to prepare teachers for service in the lower secondary school. They can be termed 'non-graduate specialists'.

The first aim in all these training colleges is to provide a course which will round off the education of the student and make him a knowledgeable citizen and therefore a proficient teacher. There is also adequate controlled and criticised teaching practice, running concurrently with the study of the newer educational theories made implicit by the Bovesse Reform of 1936, which drew its inspiration largely from the writings and teaching of Ovide Decroly. Indeed, the fuller post-war implementation of the Bovesse reforms has led to the fusion of the general management of the state training colleges and the primary schools, so that a single line of policy is followed by the school at which the teacher has been trained and by that in which he will have to put what he has learned into practice. Further, a director-general of teacher training encourages the setting up of educational study-circles, open to practising teachers, and placed under the direction of the inspectorate and of the staffs of the training colleges.

The teaching staff in the training colleges must all be university graduates—though exceptionally a brilliant teacher who has followed only the two-year course at the *école normale moyenne* may be appointed—and they must all pass a further examination to prove their aptitude and right-mindedness for the job. University teachers must be in possession of a research degree—usually a doctorate—and must in addition present and maintain an academic dissertation, success in all of which will lead to the conferment of the higher degree, *agrégé de l'enseignement supérieur*.

There is no contact, other than accidental, between the training colleges and the universities. Indeed, it would be difficult to know on what basis, given the present arrangements which so closely reflect the general social pattern, such contacts, if made, could bear fruitful results. The training colleges have pedagogically much to offer from the point of view of providing a sound general background for the type of student they receive; they do their job well; but the study of education in such colleges, geared most closely, as it is, to the aptitudes of their students, falls short of what the universities themselves would be prepared to recognise as a serious academic discipline. Education departments in the universities are fighting hard to persuade their colleagues that they can and do offer such a discipline. Their weapon is the *agrégation*, and they will urge that the present system of allowing the *agrégation* to be taken concurrently with the final year's studies should be abolished. They will finally argue that their job is to train an *élite* of highly specialised teachers whose duties lie solely in the classical secondary school proper with pupils of relatively mature age—usually from 14+ onwards. On the efforts of these teachers depends the

maintenance of the high standards the *bourgeoisie* has constantly set itself.

Appointment and General Conditions of Service

Vacancies occurring in state schools have to be advertised either in the Press, or in the *Moniteur* (the official government gazette), or by circulars sent to all schools by the Ministry of Education.[2] The authority which runs the school appoints the teachers to its staff. Thus, when a vacancy occurs in a state school the Ministry of Education designates who shall be appointed. With intending teachers there can hardly be a question of selection or recommendation by inspectors. They interfere only in case of promotion, or of a teacher wishing to transfer to another locality, or, of course, in ratifying the full appointment of a teacher after his probationary year. In theory, therefore, the headmaster of a school must accept whatever teacher is sent to him by the Ministry to fill a vacancy. In practice, a word in the inspector's ear, indicating the type of man or woman who would be most suitable, will be given consideration.

Thus, an intending teacher is *not* appointed to a particular school that he might have in mind, but rather to a system of schools in which his diplomas entitle him to teach. It is a matter of pure luck whether or not he gets the school he dreamed of. The possibility of moving from one school to another is rather restricted by this system of appointment, but teachers do frequently move, generally from rural centres to larger towns, either on their own request, if they are fully appointed, or by decision of the Ministry —this latter transfer being operative in strictly determined circumstances, e.g. signs that a man is 'wasted' where he is, and that he needs a change of post or a more responsible post to bring him out; clash of personalities and temperament in the school where he is serving.

A promotion to headmaster or inspector is, of course, always considered an improvement. Such a promotion is subject to a commendation from one's superiors. A teacher might become a headmaster (still within the system of schools wherein his diplomas entitle him to teach) if commended by his present and previous headmasters, and by his inspectors. A teacher or headmaster can be promoted inspector if commended by the body of inspectors. However, in a small country like Belgium, the chances of promotion are rather restricted: only one in thirty teachers can ever hope to become a headmaster, and there are in all only two hundred inspectors for primary, secondary, and technical education throughout the whole country. A very few teachers in the classical secondary school (provided, again, they have worked for and

[2] This also applies in the case of appointments to the grade of headmaster or inspector.

gained the necessary higher qualifications) might be lucky and obtain in course of time university appointments. Luck, indeed, plays perhaps a too preponderant part in every appointment: whichever political party happens to be in power at the time a vacancy occurs can often be a determinant factor in arriving at the final decision over candidates whose qualities are being persuasively argued from both sides.

The state has its own salary scales for teachers, and these have been twice altered since 1945 to cope with the increasing cost of living. At the moment, new salary scales for headmasters, inspectors, and directors of education are under discussion. Formerly, provinces and boroughs had scales slightly higher than those fixed by the state. They also insisted on choosing their own teachers by competitive examination, hoping by so doing to attract the best possible teachers. The present government has decided that, in order to avoid unfair competition, all scales shall be uniform. The scales now in force are as follows:

Primary school teachers . . .	65,600–116,000 Belgian francs [3]
Lower secondary school teachers .	82,000–144,400 Belgian francs
Higher secondary school teachers .	114,000–198,000 Belgian francs

It cannot be said with any accuracy what salaries religious congregations pay to their members or to lay personnel concerned with teaching.

Men and women nominally receive the same salary, but total household income decides what has to be paid in income tax. So, a married woman teacher (and many women teachers are married) earns comparatively less, in reality, than her husband. Family allowances are paid to male teachers with children—or, of course, to a widow with children to support. Additional qualifications are not always rewarded. For example, should a teacher hold qualifications that are not required for the type of teaching on which he is engaged, he has no right to expect extra payment. In practice, teachers with a university qualification might obtain an additional allowance if teaching in the lower secondary school (this often happens) or in a primary school. There is no definite ruling, however, and each case would be judged on its merits.

Part-time employment is frequent only among women teachers, who, if married, often prefer a half time-table to a full one. Part-time men teachers are usually those teaching music, drawing, or physical training; the smaller schools cannot ordinarily find full employment for their services. Such teachers usually become peripatetic, seeking employment in a variety of establishments in order to augment their salary.

It should indeed be added that the cost of living is now so high in Belgium that very few teachers manage to live comfortably

[3] Approximately 50 Belgian francs = 1 U.S. dollar.

without seeking some source of additional income. It is estimated that a full 50 per cent. seek further teaching or coaching work in their spare time, or some other similar employment.

As a rule, all teachers, headmasters, and inspectors are entitled to be granted a pension on attaining the age of 60. The size of the pension is proportional to the length of teaching service, but it can rarely exceed 75 per cent. of the last true salary earned.

It is obvious that the general tone and efficiency of a school will depend, in circumstances of appointment as just outlined, on the tact, diplomacy, and far-sightedness of the headmaster. Above all, he must know just how to interpret the various ministerial rulings; when to be rigid in application and when to be lax; when even to ignore certain aspects of them altogether; when to stand firm and argue his point and when to give in with good grace. A wise man, though he possesses undoubted authority, will act as *primus inter pares* with his staff and concede all he can to keep them working as a happy and efficient team.

Teachers are free to go in and out of school as they wish. Their hours of service are clearly laid down at the beginning of every school year, when their time-table for the year is handed to them. The wise head will not unduly alter this time-table without very good reason, nor will he expect teachers to be on the premises when they are free from actual teaching duties. Again, though teachers are not allowed to use textbooks that have not been placed on an approved list by a body called the *Conseil de Perfectionnement,* and may not try out new methods or evolve new syllabuses without the approval of higher authority, a wise head will encourage to his utmost an enthusiastic teacher and interpret these rulings by no means rigidly, though he will have to justify his decision with his inspector.

As a rule, teachers enjoy the same holidays as their pupils: a week at Christmas, a fortnight at Easter, and two months as a long vacation for secondary schools and training colleges; primary schools take only six weeks in the long vacation. Schools run by the Catholic church vary this system somewhat by interpolating a number of saints' days and patronal festivals as holidays.

A teacher who is ill for up to six months in any given school year is then considered as being unable to teach and is replaced *ad interim.* After six months he is *en disponibilité.* Prolonged illness will lead to the teacher's resignation and the award of a 'break-down' pension commensurate with the number of years' service he has given.

Dismissals can occur for gross impropriety, for behaviour calculated to have an adverse influence on the youth placed in the teacher's care, for inefficiency, and if, in spite of repeated warnings, the teacher does not obey directions received from his superiors. No dismissal, however, is final. The teacher may appeal against

the sentence to the *Conseil d'Etat*—a kind of non-judicial committee whose ultimate decision must stand.

Though teachers are not allowed to participate fully in political life—they are requested not to interfere publicly in political matters, and they may not be elected to parliament or to borough councils without first resigning their posts—there is no attempt made to restrict their political or philosophical opinions.[4] They may belong to the professional union of their choice. All the unions open to them have been organised on a trade-union basis, three of which are political (socialist, liberal, and Catholic), whilst at least two insist on their non-political nature. All these unions are represented on inter-departmental bodies and examine all government proposals as to salaries and conditions of work. They are also consulted by the authorities responsible for running the various schools. Although several Ministers of Education have contested the right of these unions to call teachers' strikes, their members have maintained that their organisation is such as to make a strike quite legal, and have asserted their rights.

Teachers also have their professional organisations—especially university-trained teachers—sometimes according to the subject they teach, sometimes according to the university from which they graduated. Such associations rarely concern themselves with salary scales or conditions of work, usually limiting their activities to interchange of views on their various professional teaching problems, to the discussion of new techniques in teaching, and to the preparation of resolutions on some particular problem to which they would call the attention of the appropriate inspectors and the appropriate department at the Ministry of Education.

General Social Status

Politically conscious as he must always be, the Belgian teacher is equally class-conscious in a positive, constructive sense. His innate love of independence and his ultimate respect for the other man's point of view, no matter how severely in the heat of the moment he will attack him, lead him to take a certain pride in an established order he would not readily change. A firmly established *bourgeoisie* has over the past century successfully carried the country through a series of crises and most willingly opened its ranks to all who gave proof of ability and zeal. The teacher asks nothing more than zealously to serve, safeguarding his rights through his trade-union organisation to challenge what he feels might prove undesirable measures, inimical to all in his profession he stands for. Thus, at this present moment, he is uneasy over the prospect that a new *lutte scolaire* might be developing, though determined to stand for his Catholic or liberal-socialist principles.

[4] The present government has issued a decree, empowering without enforcing the banning of communists from the teaching profession.

He is a civil servant, in the best sense of the word, though he has as yet no well-defined status as such. Like many civil servants, he feels acutely the rising costs in living and has difficulty in maintaining the standards his position demands without taking on extra work. The primary school teacher, particularly in the rural areas, is called upon to fulfil a role complementary to that of the parish priest. His advice and help in a variety of mundane matters are sought and acted on with confidence. Often he becomes the bustling and efficient convener and instigator of a host of parochial activities. Socially, he might loosely be compared in status with the highly skilled manual worker or the regular army N.C.O. of the quartermaster-sergeant class.

The secondary school teacher, an acknowledged specialist with the important task of educating those who are expected to swell the ranks of the *bourgeoisie* (using the word in its widest possible application), has a status not dissimilar from that of the intermediate ranks of the civil service, or of the regular army officer. Headmasters of secondary schools rank a corresponding grade higher, and university professors higher still, being classed with the magistrature and the higher dignitaries of the church.

Teachers seek their social life usually in the class to which they belong, and often amongst themselves, either entertaining in turn at home or meeting for traditional gossip or a game of cards at a favourite *café*. There are no special social *tabus* for women teachers, who may mix as they wish in the *cafés* with their colleagues. Men and women teachers alike are frequent *habitués* of concerts or theatres—as their finances permit—though in the smaller towns lack of such facilities drives them to make their own entertainment. Increasingly they are encouraging group travel among their pupils to concerts, theatres, important places of historical or cultural interest, within Belgium, and also abroad. Indeed, the post-war drive of "*La Jeunesse Belge à l'Etranger*" and of the "*Voyages Scolaires Belgo-Luxembourgeois*" (two important government-sponsored organisations for foreign travel) is most commendable. Annually, hundreds of school children and scores of teachers leave the close confines of their country, genuine ambassadors-at-large in Europe for a democratic way of life that really works in spite of constant and often acute internal difficulties.

The fact that it really works is due in no small measure to the enlightened realist outlook and patient industry of the whole of the teaching profession, whom we would in conclusion salute.

VERNON MALLINSON,
assisted by
MARION COULON and
R. VANDERVEIKEN.

CHAPTER FIVE

SWEDEN

ABOUT six or seven out of every thousand of Sweden's population of just over seven millions are members of the teaching profession. This body consists of a great variety of different groups, their differentiation being due in part to historical tradition, and in part to the requirements of modern education. The work they do at stages lower than the university may, in respect of its aims, be characterised by two terms: general education and special training. Traditionally, there are two main lines in general education: elementary and higher. The two chief teaching bodies in Sweden owe their origin to this main division of general education.

The older body is that of the teachers at the *gymnasium,* which corresponds roughly with the various stages of the sixth form in English grammar schools and is a replica of the German *gymnasium.* Such *gymnasia* have existed in Sweden from the beginning of the seventeenth century; nowadays their function is to provide education for pupils between the ages of 15 and 19. Preparatory schools are attached to them: a stage which lasts either four or five years. Teachers in these schools must have a university degree, either the lower type of degree which requires about five years' advanced study, or the higher, covering an average of twelve years, and leading up to a doctorate. A doctorate is required as qualification for some of the teachers in the *gymnasia,* as well as for some of the teachers at training colleges. A university degree or its equivalent is also usually required of teachers at commercial colleges, nautical colleges, technical institutes, and also at the folk high schools which are characteristic of Scandinavia. This entire group of graduate teachers was estimated in 1952 as numbering about 7,000, most of whom were men.

The other great category of teachers is engaged in elementary education. Teachers in this category teach in the schools which children are at present obliged to attend for at least seven years, from 7 to 14. Under normal conditions all these teachers have to be prepared to take the same class in all subjects and at all stages.

During recent years schools for children under the age of 7 have been established in increasing numbers. They are called kindergartens, and their main function has in fact been to look after children while their parents are otherwise engaged. Teachers here

are exclusively women; they have been trained at privately owned training colleges, which, however, receive state support.

During the first two years at school the child is taught by infant school teachers, almost all of whom are women. In 1952, teachers in this group numbered approximately 14,000. They undergo a two-year course of training after having reached Lower School Certificate standard in a limited number of subjects. Teachers in elementary schools proper, i.e. for children between 9 and 14 years of age, must go through a longer course of training. Here the prospective teacher has two alternatives. The first is to follow up his Lower School Certificate by four years' training at a teachers' training college, at the end of which he becomes a qualified teacher. This alternative combines general education with the specialist training required. The other alternative course, lasting only two years, consists mainly of specialist training, since the prospective teacher does not begin this course until he has taken an examination roughly corresponding to Higher School Certificate, an event which usually occurs at the age of 19 or 20. Both the two- and the four-year courses aim at giving the same qualifications, and entitle the successful candidate to the same salary. In 1952 this group numbered about 19,000, including 8,500 women.

Apart from these two main groups, one other must be mentioned; teachers who take subjects such as music, crafts, woodwork, art, and physical training. These are trained as specialists in one subject only, and consequently do not take Swedish, mathematics, history, and so on. This group numbers approximately 8,000.

Selection, Recruitment, Training

Graduate teachers usually come from the middle classes, and are often the children of civil servants or teachers. No fees are charged for attendance at the universities. The number of students is limited only by the accommodation and the teaching staff available. Professional training does not take place at the universities—the students are obliged only to attend an elementary course in educational psychology—but at certain grammar schools, which are for the most part situated in university towns. Normally this training lasts a year, but during the present shortage of teachers it has been reduced to one term—there are only two terms or *semesters* in the Swedish school year. During this course the student attends lectures in school hygiene, elocution, and educational method, but the main part of his work consists of listening to and giving a certain number of lessons. These are divided into groups of 10 to 15 and prepared so that each is a unified sequence. While students are still at the universities they have the chance of teaching as assistants for short periods, and after leaving the universities they usually get some years of experience before they enter professional training. As a result, graduate teachers reach a mature age before

being appointed to permanent posts, that is, posts from which no person or authority has the right to dismiss them except in the case of the most blatant incompetence (see below).

As regards the social background of non-graduate teachers, an investigation has recently been carried out and the results published. These show interesting contrasts, both between men and women class teachers, and also between the older and the younger teachers of this type. Of the men teachers, one-third are farmers' sons, one-third the sons of white-collar workers, and only 17 per cent. the sons of manual workers. Fifty per cent. of the women teachers are the daughters of white-collar workers, amongst whom teachers are of course included, only 23 per cent. daughters of self-employed men in the trades and professions, while merely 10 per cent. are the daughters of manual workers. If we restrict the figures to teachers under thirty years of age, the proportions are rather different. The sons of white-collar workers have increased to 50 per cent., the daughters to 63 per cent.; whilst the figures for farmers' sons and daughters have sunk to 16 per cent. and 6 per cent. respectively. The corresponding figures for workers' children are a little higher: 20 per cent. and 15 per cent. These changes reflect first and foremost a change in the composition of Swedish society, but also an alteration in the social groups from which the ungraduated teachers are recruited. During the last two decades the proportion of the student body at teachers' training colleges with the Swedish Higher School Certificate has been steadily increasing. This certificate is obtained after attendance at grammar schools; since these are almost without exception to be found only in towns, only a limited part of the farming population can send there those of their children who are intellectually gifted.

Students may be accepted for the four-year course at the teachers' training colleges between the ages of 17 and 26 inclusive; but at present, owing to the shortage of teachers, this limitation cannot be upheld, and similarly the upper age-limit of 28 for the two-year course does not apply for the time being. Students on the four-year course devote most of their training to *gymnasium* studies; their aim is to reach the same standard (except with regard to languages) as is required in the Swedish Higher School Certificate. Over and above this higher secondary education, much time is devoted to psychological studies. Students have opportunities for teaching practice and for listening to lessons given by experienced teachers for several hours each week, whilst at the same time pursuing their higher studies. The only form of block teaching practice is provided during a fortnight's stay at one- and two-teacher schools.

Two factors determine whether a young man or woman is accepted at a teachers' training college; first, the stage he has reached in his studies and in such subjects as crafts, art, and par-

ticularly music; second, the opinions of the teachers at the training college where he has sought admission. Suitability is, of course, a concept of a highly subjective nature, and it has been impossible to avoid accepting students for training who have subsequently proved to be quite unsuited to the teaching profession. For this reason efforts have been made during recent years to develop methods of psychological testing, by the use of which a clear and objective picture of the character of the applicant could be obtained. So far the development of these methods is still at an experimental stage, and they have yielded no positive results. At the moment there seems to be a general inclination towards the view that the results of character tests may conceivably give a picture of the condition of character in the applicant at the time of testing but have no value from the point of view of providing material from which to forecast future development. There is now no really difficult final examination. Previous regulations provided for searching written and oral examinations. But since it was considered that final marks should not be based on one single examination, with its attendant nervous strain, but should be given on the evidence provided by all the work done by the student during the whole course, final examinations have now been discontinued. The only test consists in taking a class for thirty or forty minutes. This is under the control of the Board of Education, a civil service division, which is part of the Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Three categories of teachers teach at training colleges: lecturers, teachers in subjects demanding special skills such as music and crafts, and class-teachers who are also responsible for guiding the students in their teaching practice. The lecturers have had the same training as the most highly qualified teachers at grammar schools. The other two groups consist of specially selected teachers in each category; they receive a salary greater than the salary normally paid to a teacher with the type of training they have undergone. At the time of writing (1952) efforts are being made to raise the lecturers' salary on the grounds that they teach at a teachers' training college. This will give them a higher salary than that paid to any other group of teachers employed at stages below university standard.

No other relationship exists between the teachers' training colleges and the universities in our country than the fact that the lecturers have been educated at the university. It is not uncommon for the lecturers at teachers' training colleges and *gymnasia* to have taught previously at the universities in an assistant capacity.

A generation ago it was not infrequent for young men and women in their twenties, without a Lower School Certificate, to seek admission to teachers' training colleges after having worked for a time at some trade or as manual workers. In spite of the increased intake into teachers' training colleges, this group of students has diminished; as it is becoming more and more usual for

young people with a studious turn of mind to take Lower School Certificate. However, the older tradition is still followed occasionally.

The students receive, as a rule, no grants from the authorities during their training. The state, however, provides a yearly sum of money to be split up into students' loans, these loans being free of interest and made with reference to parents' income. The sum for each student is small, but should be sufficient, at all events, to cover the cost of living modestly for the nine months which constitute the school year. Some grants covering the cost of living for half a year are awarded yearly to those promising to teach for a certain time in the northern parts of Sweden after their examination.

A young teacher does not have to undergo any period of probation. But he cannot be appointed to a permanent post (see below) without having first taught for two school years. This regulation is, however, not strictly enforced in the case of graduate teachers.

Normally it is not possible to appoint a person to a teaching post for which he has not been trained. But under the present conditions, when there is a considerable shortage of teachers, it is not uncommon for teachers to be appointed to posts for which their qualifications are in fact too low. Similarly, persons who have taken the Swedish Higher School Certificate, but who have not received sufficient professional training in a particular subject or group of subjects, may be appointed to teaching posts in schools.

Scientific research in education and educational psychology is carried on at all Swedish universities, and is rewarded with high academic honours, including the doctorate. Since it is considered that the subject education belongs to the faculty of philosophy, the title of Doctor of Philosophy may be given for a thesis on education. Historical as well as psychological research is done for this degree. Non-graduate teachers often devote themselves to such research work; they are rewarded by appointment to advanced posts in the educational world.

It is traditional for teachers to show particularly keen interest in further education by taking part in refresher courses of various kinds. The teachers' organisations usually take the initiative in getting these going, and the responsibility for carrying them through. During more recent years public authorities have been giving increasing support to such efforts.

Little of a general nature can be said regarding the training of teachers in subjects like music, physical training, and so on, since they are split up into a large number of specialised groups, in each of which the type of training is strictly governed by the nature of the subject.

Appointment and Dismissal

In this country we distinguish clearly between established and non-established teachers. The second group is further divided into two sections: temporary and assistant-temporary. Lists of vacant posts for established and temporary teachers are published in an official newspaper designed for this purpose. His Majesty's government appoints teachers to permanent posts at teachers' training colleges, grammar schools, technical institutes, and nautical colleges in subjects other than those demanding special skills. On the other hand, teachers in subjects demanding special skills are appointed to posts at these schools and institutes by the Board of Education; it is, however, possible to lodge an appeal with the Minister against the decision. There is no appeal against appointments made by the Board of Education of assistant-temporary teachers. But the majority of teachers, including all those who teach in elementary schools, are appointed by the local education authorities, irrespective of whether these posts are permanent or not. Appeals may be lodged with the Cathedral Chapter in charge and, in the last resort, with the Minister against decisions made by the local education authorities.

Once a teacher has been appointed to a permanent post, that is, once he becomes established, he is, to all intents and purposes, irremovable. As regards established teachers appointed by the state, who are thus in a sense civil servants, these may be dismissed from their posts only after having been guilty of such gross professional misconduct, or of such a serious crime, that their dismissal is decided on in a court of law. Established teachers appointed by the local education authorities may, it is true, be dismissed by the same authority. But this occurs very rarely. It must first be shown that the teacher has broken the law of the land or has acted in a way that clearly shows he is unsuitable to have charge of the education of young people. The fixed nature of the appointment can admittedly lead to abuses; considerations of personal convenience may tempt the teacher to cut down his work to a bare minimum. Another disadvantage is that it takes a long time to secure the dismissal of a really unsuitable teacher. Nevertheless, both Swedish teachers as a body and Swedish public opinion in general hold the view that the advantages of this system of permanent appointments considerably outweigh the disadvantages. For instance, it gives the teacher professional independence. Neither political nor religious bodies of opinion have the power to force him to include in his teaching views which he does not share or which do not form part of the prescribed courses of study. The fixity of his appointment must particularly strengthen his position when parents or guardians try to compel him to give pupils

undeservedly high marks in order to qualify them for transfer to more advanced types of schools.

A teacher wishing to apply for a post sends his certificates to the appropriate authorities. These documents consist of a complete and precise record of his academic and professional qualifications.

These are very detailed. For every subject the teacher has studied at the teachers' training college he is given a mark, which can be expressed in figures. When applications for a particular teaching post are being considered, these figures play an essential part. This is especially the case with ungraduated teachers; and since certain subjects are considered to be more important than others in a particular form of education, the figures which represent the marks given in these subjects are multiplied by two or even by so high a figure as ten; this ensures that when all the marks expressed in figures are added together, the important subjects will be proportionately weighted. It is this sum total, and not the marks given in each subject, which is taken into consideration when the qualifications of the various applicants are being compared.

The documents which the teacher sends in also include records of the extent and nature of his previous teaching experience. The certificates sent in by the various applicants are compared and first place is given to the applicant who turns out to be best qualified when the following three criteria have been considered, taken in this order of importance: (1) skill as a teacher; (2) academic qualifications; (3) length of teaching experience. The government usually appoints the applicant to whom first place has been given. As regards non-graduate teachers, the local authorities have the right to appoint the best of the three, judged in the same way.

There are no restrictions and no barriers of any kind in the appointment of teachers in Sweden. Nor are new teachers sent to special parts of the country or to particular types of schools for their first period of teaching.

Until 1951 divinity teachers had to be members of the established Swedish Lutheran church. As religious instruction is given right through the elementary schools as well as at grammar schools, the large majority of Swedish teachers had to comply with this regulation. It did not, however, imply that any investigation of the teachers' actual religious views was carried out. To-day this stipulation is no longer made, since it is considered that sufficient check is kept if the teacher objectively and conscientiously imparts religious instruction according to the principles laid down in the prescribed syllabuses in force. Yet the teacher is not entitled to give up religious instruction, even if he wishes to do so on conscientious grounds.

If a teacher has contracted an incurable disease he must retire with a pension after a certain number of years. A medical certificate confirming the presence of an incurable disease must be pro-

duced. A teacher can be forced to undergo medical examination, even if he refuses.

Mobility and Promotion

It is clear that Swedish teachers are trained for a particular type of school, and therefore seldom transfer to another type. Yet it is not infrequent for a teacher to obtain further qualifications by continuing his studies and then be appointed to a post in a more advanced type of school than that for which his original examination had fitted him. Usually this further education takes the form of academic studies. Quite often teachers from grammar schools transfer to teachers' training colleges, and vice versa. Since the universities train a larger number of qualified scientists and scholars than can be employed there, many of these take posts at teachers' training colleges or grammar schools, and some return to the universities as professors, if a chair falls vacant.

Young teachers who are first appointed as assistants often have to move about from one place to another. This is so more with graduate than with non-graduate teachers. The latter are appointed to permanent posts at an earlier stage in their career and very frequently remain at this post until they retire. The former are appointed to permanent posts at the average age of 40.

For Swedish teachers the chances of promotion are not good. Principalships are extremely few in comparison with the large body of teachers. The rules governing appointment to these posts have not been clearly formulated. It is presupposed that the applicant should have a certain degree of ' suitability '.

It is most exceptional for a teacher to leave his post and enter some other profession. This may happen, for instance, when a position in the business world or an administrative position in a professional union offers a higher salary than the teacher receives.

Conditions of Work

A Swedish teacher's post is based on a certain number of periods, lasting 45 minutes each. He is obliged to be present for these every week. For non-graduate teachers in the elementary schools from class three (children from 9 years of age) the number of periods amounts to 30. Infant school teachers and graduate teachers have fewer periods, the former 28, the latter 24–28 in the lower classes, and 20–24 in the upper classes. As a consequence it is important for the teacher to observe punctuality for these periods.

To a foreigner this system may appear peculiar. He may well get the impression of a collection of individuals, who, watch in hand, suddenly appear from nowhere in a classroom full of school children to teach them the allotted section for the day, and then vanish back into their private demesnes. Perhaps this impression

will be strengthened when it is learnt that a teacher may very well teach for more periods than the numbers stated above, but that in that case he will receive compensation according to a precise and detailed financial scale. This is most clearly noticeable with graduate teachers. Nevertheless, all this is a complete misconception. The teacher is a member of a staff, and thus obliged to take part in the life and organisation of his school. As a rule he is form master of some class, and is therefore brought into contact with practical matters in the life of his class. This is particularly so with the non-graduate teachers, who, being class teachers, take part in the life of their classes as the older and more experienced leaders of little communities. Perhaps the period system is a manifestation of the northerner's touchiness about the need for personal security, for an exact delimitation of the extent of his own task. This trait can also be perceived in a marked hypersensitivity to supervisory measures. In many countries the door leading from corridor to classroom is provided with a small glass window or hatch, through which any passer-by can see what is happening in a classroom during a lesson. No Swedish teacher would stand for anything of that sort. He would regard it as trespassing on his personal rights in a most unseemly manner, as an impertinent and insulting insinuation that he might be prepared to betray the trust placed in him by his superiors the moment the classroom door had shut. To the Swedish teacher's credit, it must be said that his sense of responsibility, his competence, and his professional pride render such supervisory measures superfluous.

For most teachers the school year consists of 39 weeks, divided into two terms, the autumn term from about September 1st to about December 20th, and the spring term from about January 10th to about June 10th. A week's holiday is given at Easter, as well as other shorter breaks.

When a teacher is ill he receives free medicine and medical treatment, but his salary is reduced by 15 to 30 per cent. If he is ill for protracted periods the same rule applies, with the exception, however, of the above-mentioned case of incurable disease.

Just as the teacher is obliged to give a certain number of lessons, he has likewise little freedom in what he teaches. He is bound to follow certain syllabuses, which are designed to ensure that roughly the same kind and amount of material is dealt with at the same age and in the same type of school. He may choose the textbooks he is to work from only to a limited extent, and then only after obtaining permission from the school authorities. He is, on the other hand, completely independent with regard to the method he employs in his teaching. He is equally independent in setting marks. No higher authority can alter marks given by Swedish teachers on other than purely formal grounds. The educational reform at present being carried out in Sweden, however, aims at

providing teachers with greater freedom in choosing syllabuses and textbooks. This reform is dynamic in character, allowing for a stage-by-stage realisation of the various points in its plan. A further feature is that some of the changes proposed will come into full operation only after trial and research have shown their capacity for survival. The traditional limitations on the teacher's freedom in preparing syllabuses and choosing textbooks have been suspended for teachers taking part in these investigations.

To-day there are no obstacles to a teacher's joining political parties or professional unions or being a member of any church. Nor are schools dependent on any religious or political party. The bishops of the Swedish church are formally entitled to inspect grammar schools, and the cathedral chapters form a subsidiary court of appeal to deal with certain educational matters. No one considers this institution, which has an historical and traditional background, as a shackle on freedom of thought or conscience. Only a few schools are run privately. A number of folk high schools are called 'movement-schools', owing to the fact that they are owned and are under the influence of one of the more widespread national movements, such as the Workers' Movement, the Temperance Societies, or various religious denominations. As a rule, however, only teachers who are in sympathy with the movement which dominates the particular school apply for posts there.

Parents' associations are to be found at some schools with the idea of building a bridge between school and home. These associations are grouped together in a national union, which exercises a certain amount of influence. Previously these associations met with marked suspicion on the part of teachers, especially graduate teachers, who feared unauthorised interference on the part of parents and guardians in their work. But since the National Association of Parents and Guardians supported *en bloc* the teachers' demands for increased salary during a critical salary dispute, signs of increasing mutual understanding between teachers, on the one hand, and parents and guardians, on the other, seem to be observable.

The question of the teachers' right to strike came up for the first time in Swedish school history in the spring of 1952. It was caused by a question of salaries. It was decided that teachers in permanent posts, who have been appointed by the government, do not have the right to strike. Non-permanent teachers may leave their posts after a month's notice. The large group of teachers in the infant and elementary schools, however, all appear to have the right to strike whether they are in permanent posts or not. Swedish teachers have never yet actually struck. During the threatening situation which recently existed, the most acute stage of the struggle was reached when 185 non-established graduate teachers gave notice that they intended to give up their posts on a

certain date. But just before this period had expired, talks were resumed and the teachers called off the strike.

Only limited exchanges of teachers take place between schools in Sweden. Exchanges of an international nature take place, in point of fact, only between Sweden on the one hand and Denmark and Norway on the other.

Headmasters usually look upon the members of the teaching staff as partners in the work of the school.

Many women teachers are married; and in recent years the proportion of married women teachers has increased. There are no figures available giving the number of married women who are employed full-time or part-time in the teaching profession.

Professional Organisations

Most teachers belong to one or other of the large organisations, whose primary function is to look after the teachers' financial and professional interests. Non-graduate teachers have three such organisations; one for infant school teachers, one for male elementary school teachers, and one for female. These three, however, are united in one composite organisation, called the Federation. The other types of teachers are also members of their respective organisations.

All these organisations are nation-wide and have regional and local subdivisions. There is no organisation for all the teachers throughout the country. The organisations are habitually consulted by the authorities, and particularly the non-graduate teachers' large organisations have considerable influence.

Of quite another nature are the organisations whose members meet to discuss subjects of historical, geographical, scientific, and other interest. They draw their members mainly from the ranks of the graduate teachers, but teachers from all the three groups mentioned in the introduction are to be found in the educational societies met with in most towns.

Salaries and Remuneration

Practically speaking, all civil servants receive salaries according to a standard scale. The position on this scale depends on the training the person in question has received, his type of work, his length of service, and the part of the country in which he is working. For the main types of teachers the following amounts applied for the first half of 1952, calculated on an exchange rate of 15 Sw. kronor to the pound.

It is quite usual for teachers to earn extra income by carrying out some work over and above their duties as a teacher. The most usual way is to take extra lessons either in their own school or in other schools in the same area. It is only at grammar schools that part-time appointments are made to any great extent.

Type of Teacher	*Non-established Teachers*	*Established Teachers*	
		Initial Salary	*Top Salary*
	£	£	£
Primary school teacher . . .	570	620	700
Secondary school teacher . .	730	800	950
Grammar school teacher (lower) [1] .	950	1,070	1,260
Grammar school teacher (upper) [1] .	—	1,320	1,420
Lecturers at teachers' training colleges [1]	—	1,320	1,420
Teachers of:			
Music, drawing, physical training .	760	800	950
Crafts	620	640	730

Note.—As a rule, a teacher may reach his top salary only after a minimum of 11 years, dating from his appointment as an established teacher.

[1] *From July 1st, 1952, the salary for these teachers has been increased.*

Both men and women receive the same salaries and the same benefits. Allowance is made for families by adjusting the taxable income.

Salaries are fixed after discussions have taken place between the representatives of the teachers' organisations and the government. The final decision is made in Parliament. All teachers who are civil servants are paid by the state. Teachers who are appointed privately and by local education authorities receive their salary from their employer, but the state subsidises the latter with 100 per cent. of the total salary, except in the case of teachers in music, crafts, drawing, etc., where the subsidy amounts to only 78 per cent.

The chief posts in the schools are paid according to the following rates:

Headmaster of an elementary school or a district of elementary schools, £1,100–£1,150.
County inspector for elementary schools, £1,545.
Headmaster of small grammar school, £1,700.
Headmaster of large grammar school, £1,900.
Principal of teachers' training college, £2,000.

All teachers receive a pension, partly for the families and partly for themselves. The latter pension, to which they are entitled at the age of 60–67, after completing a minimum of 30–35 years' teaching, normally amounts to about two-thirds of the salary.

General Social Status

It is not possible to make any general statement about the social status of teachers in Sweden. For historical reasons, infant school and elementary school teachers have not had a particularly

high social status, this being probably due to the social class from which they come, their low pay, and the lack of respect which used to be entertained for this type of school. During recent years, however, much progress has been made in this respect. Elementary school teachers are now recruited from all classes, particularly from the middle classes; salaries have gradually been appreciably increased, and the general elementary education of to-day has an excellent standing in all classes of society, for now the training given to teachers and the accommodation provided for education have reached a high standard, and almost all sections of the population send their children to the elementary schools, at least for the first four years of their education. The position is quite different for grammar school teachers, particularly those with the highest qualifications, who frequently have received their doctorate. This group of teachers were traditionally highly respected as the representatives of culture. Nowadays this respect seems to be diminishing, probably owing to the fact that, in spite of the expense and time taken for their training, they receive a salary considerably lower than that of a doctor, a dentist, or a lawyer.

All teachers have an unlimited right to take part in social and political life, and do in fact make an important contribution in this field, as well as in popular educational movements such as the Swedish Workers' Educational Association. Teachers frequently play an important part in local affairs as members of municipal bodies. They also are active in national politics. They may be Members of Parliament, and in 1951 one M.P. in ten was a teacher; occasionally they become ministers, especially in the Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Provided that the teacher fulfils the requirements society demands of an educator of the young, he may take part in social affairs as much as he chooses. As a rule, teachers are expected to take a leading part in cultural life.

There is no social discrimination between a teacher who is a civil servant and one who is not. Social status appears to depend more on the salary received.

The Swedish teacher is at present in a unique situation. For a number of reasons—a rising birth-rate, an increased demand for persons with a higher standard of education, better pay in other walks of life—Sweden is just now experiencing a marked shortage of teachers. For the first time in Swedish history the Swedish teacher finds himself sought after; as the shortage grows more acute, the contribution he makes to society receives greater appreciation. This is a very suitable starting-point, when he and others judge his general position in society.

EINAR LILJA.

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CHAPTER SIX

DENMARK

THE educational system of Denmark has been developing for four hundred years. Its foundations were laid by the Church Ordinance of 1537, which established the Lutheran Church and outlined the basic regulations for education. The system of to-day is based on the Education Act of 1937 and on the Secondary Education Act of 1903.

Its development has, at all times, been greatly influenced by the teachers as individuals and as a group. The way they have carried out their work, their enthusiasm, their attitude to and participation in social, political, and cultural life have all been decisive factors of progress. An appraisal of their present position will therefore be possible only on the basis of a brief retrospective outline of education in Denmark.

THE RURAL SCHOOLMASTER

(a) *The Parish Clerk*

The basic principle laid down by the Church Ordinance was that the villagers themselves should be responsible for the instruction of their own children. 'Education in the home' was the ideal, so deeply rooted in Danish tradition that even nowadays parents are not forced to send their children to school if they prefer to teach them at home or otherwise provide an adequate education.

Nevertheless, nearly 100 per cent. of the parents prefer to hand over their children's education to professional teachers, whose forerunners were the parish clerks. Their duties consisted in directing the instruction given in the homes in reading and in the interpretation of scripture. Once a week the clerk had to summon the youth of each village and examine them on their knowledge of Bible and catechism. This generally happened on Sundays. When the clerk had rung the bell for service, he would then 'toll fifteen or sixteen times', and the young people knew that they had to come and take their seats in the front pews. In outlying villages, young people were summoned to the home of some respectable farmer, and the clerk came to examine them there. Gradually this 'clerk-reading' developed into proper instruction, and eventually a special room was made available in every village. Thus a very simple village school was established. In addition to his regular duties, the parish clerk had become an itinerant teacher.

Gradually, assistants were employed to visit the far-off villages ('itinerary masters'). Their standards were not high. They might be ex-pupils of a Latin school in a neighbouring town, or undergraduates who had failed in their studies for a clerical career. In other cases they were just 'clever boys' who had been selected by the clergyman whose duty it was to examine all candidates before they could be employed. They were poorly paid. The villagers had to meet all the expenses themselves. However, after the Roman Catholic priests and monks had disappeared, the parish clerk and his assistant schoolmasters had become indispensable to the rural communities.

(b) *The Resident Schoolmaster*

A new era for education opened up about the year 1700, when German Pietism penetrated Denmark. Landowners and royal princes began to build schools with resident masters in the villages belonging to their estates, and in 1721 the king himself ordered the erection of 270 schools, scattered all over the country in the villages of his Yeomanry Estates. Some of these are still in use. These teachers soon obtained a position quite different from that of the 'itinerary masters'. They were selected by the county magistrate. The church was responsible for their training, and before employment they were examined by the parson in the presence of the sheriff. As officials of the royal estates they were independent of the villagers; they were paid by the church, partly in money and partly by getting free lodging, fuel, grazing, and winter forage for two cows and six sheep. Economically they were among the better-off members of the rural community.

(c) *The 'Common-sense Peasant among Peasants'*

The farmers were liberated in 1788. Their emancipation and release from serfdom were the Danish counterpart of the French Revolution. These social and political reforms gradually changed the character of the rural communities. The traditional village culture centred around a rich social life which was based on customs and rules connected with the collective cultivation of the soil. But for more than a century bondage had prevented the peasants from farming their own land adequately. They had become apathetic, lazy and shiftless, weak and submissive. They needed a leader. This need became all the more acute now that they had suddenly been freed.

The new spiritual and cultural impetus that brought about a series of agricultural, social, and educational reforms came undoubtedly from the village schoolmasters of the early nineteenth century. One important innovation was the establishment of training colleges which offered systematic and regular courses for intending teachers. However, the numerous training centres which,

inspired by progressive clergymen, sprang up spontaneously all over the country during the decades that followed were more effective and less pretentious. Their aim was to give prospective teachers some practical knowledge in basic subjects, including agriculture, and a religious instruction that inspired them. The type of teacher those 'parsonage-colleges' strove to produce was the 'common-sense peasant among peasants'. The graduates of these institutes went into the village schools which in the first half of the nineteenth century spread all over the country.

Their economic condition was very modest: it was roughly comparable to that of the small-holders or small farmers of the time. Nevertheless, they did invaluable work in raising the level of the peasant culture. They were called 'deacons' (*degne*), because they also exercised the functions of the parish clerk. But their relationship with the villagers was much more intimate than that of the clergymen. Most of them had themselves grown up in a village, and they were well acquainted with the customs and traditions of rural communities. At first they were in charge of the children only; but eventually they became the leaders of the whole community.

The deacon played an important part in the life of the family. He entered new-born babies in the church register, attended their baptisms, received them into school at the age of 7, instructed them in all subjects for seven years, attended their confirmation, gathered the adolescents in evening class, eventually arranged the village Christmas-tree, organised outings in the summer, was a guest at all weddings, called at the homes of rich and poor alike, was the first to visit the sick, the bedridden, and the aged, and, finally, conducted the funeral ceremonies in the homes. Any festival or celebration would have been unthinkable without the deacon; he made the appropriate speeches, led the singing. In a word, he accompanied his parishioners from cradle to grave, their servant and leader at the same time.

(d) *Rural Teachers as Political Leaders*

In 1834 the absolute monarchy introduced consultative estates with advisory authority, and in 1849 it gave way to a liberal constitution based on a two-chamber system. The peasants supported this democratic development from the very beginning, partly as a result of the rural teachers' leadership. The village schoolmasters were active in organising the left wing of the Liberal Party, the 'Farmers' Friends' as it was called at first; and when it developed into the biggest and most powerful of the parties, the 'Left' (*Venstre*), several rural teachers were at the very top and a great number in the rank and file or at the head of local units.

A number of village teachers rose to leading positions in national government; a few, like Rasmus Sørensen (born 1799) and Chr. Berg (born 1829), both elected into Parliament, played a large part

in the development of democracy, I. C. Christensen (born 1856) became a leading figure in the Cabinet, first as Minister of Education and Church Affairs (1901), and later as Prime Minister (1905–8).

(e) *The Folk High School and the Rural Free Schools*

The municipal schools and their teachers were not the only factors in the development of rural education. There has been and continues to exist another type of school with its own teachers and its own philosophy, which has played an important part—the most important part, according to some—in the creation and promotion of cultural life in Danish village communities.

The founder and 'prophet' of that branch of rural education—the folk high school—was N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783–1872), a poet, clergyman, educationist, and philosopher. His chief ideas were that education of the intellect and education for social responsibility were to be reserved for the mature mind of the adult; that children were entitled to a carefree childhood: ". . . all intense brainwork in childhood is killing"; that therefore the schooling of children and adolescents should be limited to instruction in the basic skills and, at a later stage, to a familiarisation, through direct contact, with the crafts and occupations from among which they would then choose their vocation; and that all instruction should be given in response to a felt need. These ideas found their expression in the folk high school—the high school for adults. Grundtvig did not formulate a detailed plan for such a school; he only laid down general principles, and left its organisation to others. He soon found a disciple who understood his ideas and knew how to carry them out.

This man was Christen Kold, born in 1816, the son of a cobbler. At 18 he entered a training college, and there developed a new approach to educational practice which, at that time, was considered revolutionary. He reacted against the current practice of making pupils learn by rote. He enlivened his lessons with narrations from the Bible and from history. The teacher—he felt—should be so engrossed in his subject and his calling as educator that his pupils would become inspired with love for their work. Sometimes, when he was talking about the Bible or Danish history or about personalities that had made a deep impression on him, he was so moved that his pupils became quite absorbed, to the point of forgetting their meals, their leisure-time, and everything else. Grundtvig thought that Kold was Denmark's, and perhaps the world's, greatest educator. No wonder that he soon got into conflict with the authorities of his time. He banished all catechism and all repetitive exercises and examinations. When criticised by sceptics who objected that unless he examined and assessed his pupils' achievements he would not be able to see the results of his work,

he answered: "If you put drain-pipes in the ground you have to mark the place where you put them; but when you sow corn, you need no markers: you will see the results when harvest-time comes."

In 1850, Kold opened the first folk high school on Danish soil. His first pupils were fifteen peasant boys, but as the years went by their number grew, and gradually his example was followed by other enthusiasts, so that this new type of youth centre, bearing the imprint of Grundtvig's views, was soon spreading all over the country.

But Kold did more than that. He also created a school adapted to the needs of children—the rural free-school. A group of parents who had confidence in his principles had asked him to teach their children. He started in a simple room in a parsonage without any comfort and with very poor educational equipment. But the power of his words and his inspiring personality soon made his pupils forget all these shortcomings. His example spread. Kold encouraged parents in other districts to establish their own schools and choose their own teachers, instead of sending their children to the public municipal school. This was legal, provided the children passed the annual examination before the local authorities, thereby proving that they were being properly taught.

The free-school movement found an influential spokesman in Klaus Berntsen, a disciple of Kold's and a free-school teacher himself. Born in 1844 as a farmer's son, he eventually became a member of Parliament, Minister of Home Affairs, and finally, in 1910, Prime Minister. His name and work have greatly furthered the cause of the free-school movement and of the folk high schools. Several of the pupils from these institutions were to become champions of the farmers' economic and political emancipation.

As the new schools were gaining in popular recognition, the teachers' position improved. Nowadays many of the teachers in folk high schools are university graduates; others have been educated at training colleges or in extension courses organised by the high schools themselves. Free-school teachers usually have the same qualifications as their colleagues in the municipal schools, although no special diploma is required for them. All types of free-schools are state-subsidised; in some cases these subventions may cover 80 per cent. of the school's expenditure, provided the equipment and rates of remuneration have been approved by the Ministry. The latest statutes for folk high schools were issued in 1942; those for free-schools in 1946.

Rural Teachers and the New Developments

Whether the new trends will prove a threat to the small rural schools, i.e. the public municipal schools and the private free-schools, remains to be seen. For one thing, a more effective classifi-

cation of pupils is required nowadays than is possible in an all-age school with only one teacher. An attempt was made to solve this difficulty. in the middle of the nineteenth century, when a legal proviso was issued allowing for an assistant woman teacher for infants to be attached to the village schools and, since 1892, special training has been provided for such rural infant teachers. Another difficulty comes from the need to provide adequate equipment. The Education Act of 1937 stipulates that any school with pupils over 10 years of age must have a gymnasium, baths, locker rooms, workshops, domestic science apparatus, etc. It would seem that, in view of the high cost of such equipment, expenses could be reduced considerably by consolidating a number of county or free schools into one centralised school for the whole district, at least as far as children over 10 are concerned. But this policy has its drawbacks. Under such a plan, the village teacher is bound to lose his intimate contact with his people: the parents and the villagers. Thus technical and economic advantages conflict with human values. The Act has wisely left the decision with the local authorities. Statistics of the last fifteen years show that consolidation has been preferred in a large number of cases. The total number of rural county schools has decreased by roughly 10 per cent. However, it will be a long time yet before the last village school will be abolished, and probably this stage will never be reached. In all likelihood the village schools with three or four classes and a schoolmaster with one or two assistant teachers, including a female infant teacher, will remain the main type of rural school for a long time.

The economic status of teachers does not vary much in the different types of school. There are three national scales, one for headmasters, another for assistant teachers, and a third one for infant teachers. (Details are shown in Appendix I.) All rural teachers are entitled to living accommodation for a very moderate rent. In addition, a headmaster is granted an administration allowance, graded according to the number of classes in his school.

The duties of a parish clerk are usually attached to the headmastership, although they are no longer legally combined with it. The headmaster conducts the singing, while another teacher plays the organ at religious services. For these duties they are paid between 1,500 and 2,000 kroners each.[1] Rural teachers may further supplement their income through evening classes or employment in a neighbouring vocational school. As a rule, one of the teachers is in charge of the public library of the area, a job for which he is paid, too. Certain other posts are often available, e.g. as accountants in co-operative societies, etc.

Roughly speaking, the position of a rural teacher may be compared to that of the upper middle class in the community. If his

[1] Approximately: $1 = 7 kr.; £1 = 20 kr.

tax assessment is taken as a criterion he belongs to the well-to-do. Rural teachers are still cultural leaders; they draw their friends from all the classes in the village community and are frequently elected into the municipal councils. In Parliament, too, one still finds a number of rural teachers.

URBAN TEACHERS

(a) *Latin Teachers*

Urban education started with the 'Latin schools' which, according to the Church Ordinance of 1537, were to be established in every town. The head was the local clergyman; his assistants were clerks or deacons, students or graduates. Their economic and social status was low and, therefore, they were not allowed to marry. Part of their salary was given to them as alms. It is indicative of their status that it was found necessary to issue an order stating that they would be punished if they appeared drunk at school, or if they fought, swore, or committed moral offences. But most of them were masters of Latin, which distinguished them from the common people.

(b) *Grammar Teachers*

For more than two centuries the Latin schools were subordinated to the church; but as time went on they grew more and more independent. From 1739 onwards, principals were appointed by the King. Gradually the schools became attached to the university rather than to the church. Latin and Greek were still the main subjects, but they were no longer quite as important as they had been. The study of the mother tongue and social studies had been added to the curriculum. An *examen artium* was introduced as a final test, the passing of which was a condition for matriculation at the university. These changes marked the transition from the Latin school designed for the training of intending clergymen to the grammar school, which prepared young people for the university. In 1850 the grammar schools became independent of the university to the extent of establishing an inspectorate of their own headed by an inspector-general.

Ever since, the academic standing of the grammar school teacher has been high. The theological degree which played a predominant part at the time of the Latin school was replaced by a Master's degree in arts or science, now a condition for employment. It is obtained after six to eight years of study at the university, followed by a term of professional training in educational principles, psychology and teaching practice in a grammar school. Intending teachers are put on probation for four months before they can be employed. Some grammar school teachers hold a doctorate, in

which case they become eligible for the post of university professor. Since the introduction of the Constitution of 1849, a few have had political careers as members of Parliament or Cabinet Ministers.

Their economic position ranks with that of division chiefs in the Ministry. They are paid according to their own national scale, which averages 2–3,000 kroners a year above that of municipal teachers (see Appendix I). They cannot, however, compare with graduates from other faculties except the theological. The average income of, e.g., medical doctors is about 3,000 kroners above that of grammar school teachers, and more than three-quarters of all medical doctors have a net income varying between 15,000 and 200,000 kroners. Dentists, lawyers, and engineers, too, are considerably better off than grammar school teachers.

(c) *The Burgher Schoolmaster*

The Church Ordinance of 1537 stipulated that the magistrate should see to it that 'writing schools' were set up in the towns for those children who were not suitable for the Latin schools. Gradually these burgher schools became known as 'Danish schools'. Their purpose was to instruct the average child in the essentials of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Infants were often taught by 'teaching mothers', who also organised needlework schools for older girls. They were the prototype of the woman teacher. The Danish schools proper were conducted by a clergyman and staffed by teachers of various types. Some were ex-pupils of Latin schools who had failed their examinations; others—lackeys, craftsmen, ex-soldiers, etc.—had failed in their careers. However, there were also burgher-schoolmasters who, through experience or apprenticeship, had developed a fair degree of skill.

Peder Trellund of Ribe (one of the oldest towns in Denmark) constitutes an example of this last group. The son of an alderman, he founded a Danish school in his native town as early as 1581. This school acquired such a reputation that not only the poor but also the well-to-do citizens of the town and surrounding districts sent their boys and girls there. He published a teachers' manual on *The Art of Writing,* a copy of which was sent to the King. He was invited by His Majesty to move to Copenhagen, and there again he established a school, leaving the old one to his son and later to his nephew. Thus the Trellund family developed into a dynasty of teachers, whose influence spread all over the country. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, their disciples initiated a rather successful campaign against illiteracy, which was later continued by the congregations and clergymen in the towns.

Shortly after 1700, the establishment of burgher schools became compulsory in the capital and all the towns of Denmark.

(d) *The Urban Elementary Teachers*

The Royal Statutes of 1814, through which compulsory education became effective, mark the beginning of a new era for both urban and rural districts. While previous ordinances had been meant and understood as incitements, expressions of hope and encouragement, this one was to be taken literally. All children between the ages of 7 and 14 had to go to school. If they played truant their parents were fined. School buildings, too, had to be provided. Thus a great burden was put on the municipalities, and it was felt all the more severely in the capital and the towns, because of their political and economic situations.

In 1807 Copenhagen had been bombarded by the British Navy, which made Denmark side with Napoleon in the war from 1807 to 1814. The resulting slump in trade severely affected the towns, and in 1813 the state went bankrupt. This caused an economic depression, lasting over a decade, in all urban districts. No wonder that the new compulsory elementary school met with difficulties from the start. It suffered from a shortage of buildings and equipment. Teachers were now being recruited from the new training colleges, thus replacing the clergymen, non-graduates, and unqualified masters of earlier times; but they were poorly and unequally paid and had to work under bad conditions. However, those early elementary teachers understood that any improvement of their condition would be dependent on the progress of the school in general.

Therefore, when the effects of the French Revolution of July 1830 led to the establishment in Denmark of Consultative Provincial Estates, the urban teachers did not hesitate to raise demands for educational reform. They formed regional unions, organised congresses which sent their resolutions to the estates and to the King, and issued periodicals and pamphlets in which they called the attention of the people and statesmen to changes urgently needed. Undoubtedly the reforms which were eventually introduced owed much to the propaganda of the urban teachers in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Urban Teachers and Modern Developments

New trends in urban education were initiated by the village schoolmaster I. C. Christensen, then Minister of Education. He disapproved of the division of the educational system into the 'two worlds' of elementary[2] and grammar schools, each with their special clientele. The latter drew their pupils from the upper classes, the well-to-do citizens, and higher officials; the former catered for the working and lower middle classes. Each category

[2] Age-range: 7 to 14 years.

had its own type of teachers. Co-operation was difficult, no transfer of pupils was possible. This was felt to run counter to democratic principles, and a unification of the two systems was demanded.

Christensen's Higher Education Act of 1903 met this need by creating an intermediate or middle school for children between 11 and 16 years of age. The introduction of this new type of school had a remarkable effect on the position of the elementary teacher. It was an evident acknowledgment of his status and his abilities. He was accepted by the academic world as a colleague capable of giving secondary instruction. The level which the primary classes had reached under his care, i.e. their mastery of basic subjects and their mental and physical development, was accepted as an adequate basis and preparation for secondary education. At the age of 11+ the pupils of any elementary school had the chance to transfer to a secondary school, provided they passed an entry examination. And this secondary course was established within the framework of what had been until now an elementary school—the pupils did not even have to change school. Thus the municipal schools had become bilateral, with an elementary stream for children from 7 to 14, and a secondary one for pupils from 11 to 16.

Their new status also implied a challenge to the elementary teachers. There was no intention of transferring grammar school teachers with university degrees to the municipal schools. The elementary teachers had to do the job themselves. Would they be able to provide education at the secondary level? It was beyond their ordinary training. They had had no foreign languages in the training colleges of that time, yet they were expected to teach English, German, and French in the new secondary stream. In mathematics and physics, too, their education was insufficient, for they would have to cover an extended syllabus in all subjects. It was doubtful whether such claims could be met.

The answer was given in the first decade under the reform. The urban teachers proved to be qualified. They either had already supplemented their education or were doing so by means of continuation courses or private studies. The instruction given in the middle schools within the framework of the bilateral municipal schools proved equal to that provided by the grammar schools. This fact led necessarily to a rise in the urban teachers' status, which was reflected in the attitude of the authorities and in public opinion and, at the material level, in the Remuneration Acts of 1908 and 1919.

Another challenge to urban teachers came from the F. J. Borgbjerg Reform, which in 1937 instituted secondary education for all by converting the senior elementary classes (11 to 14) into a 'practical' middle school for the age-range from 11 to 15. If this reform is to be more than a mere change of name, then a new

course must be devised which is worthy of the title of secondary education and which constitutes an intermediate stage between primary and further education, so as to justify the name of middle school. In all likelihood it will be vocationally biased. Teachers are given a free hand in its organisation; the only type of examination foreseen for it is an internal assessment by the teachers themselves. Experimentation is facilitated by the establishment of special experimental schools and by the encouragement of individual experiments.

The remuneration scale is the same for the various branches of the multilateral school. The normal number of working hours is thirty-six per week; a special reduction is made for work in the middle-school branches. Most teachers serve in both the primary and the middle-school classes. They are supposed to teach all subjects in the former, but to specialise in the latter. They are paid on a national scale, which is a little above that of rural teachers (see Appendix I). They rank with the senior groups of civil servants. They may draw additional income from employment in adult education. Evening and continuation classes and a considerable proportion of vocational schools are staffed by municipal teachers, especially the younger ones.

GENERAL PROBLEMS WITH REGARD TO THE POSITION OF TEACHERS

Teachers' Associations and Unions

Early attempts, made from 1840 onwards, to form associations did not result in a permanent union. They were opposed by the authorities, and the teachers themselves did not seem sufficiently mature for such a step. More successful were three village teachers who in 1874 issued an open letter to their colleagues, proposing the foundation of a general union. This secured general agreement, first among rural teachers, next among their urban colleagues, and that year a National Union of Teachers was established in Denmark.

This union is the main association of teachers. It is organised in regional sections, each with its own executive and chairman. Management is in the hands of a common executive committee, elected for a period of four years, and a president elected by the committee for the same period. The union issues a weekly paper, *Folkeskolen*. An annual conference is held, usually in the capital, with the participation of representatives of all sections and categories of members.

Ever since its foundation, the influence exercised by the union has been on the increase. It is significant that the annual conference is followed by the daily Press with the greatest interest. All papers send reporters, and the issues dealt with in the Union President's report make the next day's headlines. The authorities,

too, are present at the conference; usually it is the Minister of Education himself who answers questions and meets claims or criticism voiced by the President or the representatives. Very often vital problems and crucial points are focused publicly. Furthermore, all those Members of Parliament who are teachers are present.

The union has the right to negotiate with the Ministry on all matters of importance, such as remuneration, working conditions, rewards and punishments, educational reform, etc. It is generally represented on all committees appointed by the Ministry for the investigation of educational problems. Practically no action of any significance can be taken without the co-operation of the National Union.

In addition, there are other associations as, e.g., unions of teachers in secondary schools, training colleges, private schools, folk high schools, etc. These hold their own annual conferences, but co-operate with the comprehensive National Union in all matters of common interest. They are all non-political in character. There are also some purely pedagogical associations. The oldest of these is the Pedagogical Society, founded in 1820; another one is the Socio-Pedagogical Association. They function as centres for discussion and planning, but are not officially consulted by the authorities.

The National Union furthermore arranges inter-Scandinavian conferences which are held usually every five years in co-operation with the corresponding unions in the other Scandinavian countries. The first one was held in 1870, and since then fifteen such conferences have been organised. They take place in the various capitals in turn, and gather on an average from five to six thousand teachers. Here common problems are dealt with, views are exchanged, principles of school administration discussed, and many personal contacts are made. These conferences constitute a significant factor in the inter-Scandinavian movement.

Teachers' Remuneration

Unlike civil servants, municipal teachers are not state officials. Nor are they municipal employees in the proper sense of the term: they are paid partly by the state and partly by the municipalities, the proportion being, roughly speaking, 50–50. But their remuneration is fixed by Acts of Parliament.

Whenever an amendment or reorganisation of the Remuneration Act is demanded, the initiative is taken by the National Union of Teachers in co-operation with the unions of civil servants. Generally a committee is then appointed by the Minister of Finance to investigate the problem. The union is represented on this committee by its chairman and some of its members. When agreement has been reached, a Bill is submitted to Parliament, and the union

has a further opportunity of negotiation with the parties there represented or with their leaders.

The most recent Remuneration Act dates from July 12th, 1946. However, on account of the high cost of living, an amendment was passed on May 20th, 1952. The following general principles were laid down in the Act of 1946:

(i) equal pay for equal work, irrespective of sex;

(ii) increments according to length of service, with an additional increase every third year for a period of twelve years;

(iii) additional allowances for teachers with dependants, irrespective of the number of children;

(iv) living accommodation for all categories of rural teachers, the following two types being offered: either family accommodation at a rent corresponding to one-eighth of the teacher's basic salary, or accommodation for a single person at a cost of one-twelfth of his basic salary;

(v) regional allowances graded according to area and payable by the municipalities;

(vi) additional allowances payable by the municipality for service in the capital and suburbs;

(vii) the right to a pension, provided the teacher obtained regular and permanent employment before the age of 40. If employed after that age, his pension rights are dependent on approval by Parliament. Full pension can be obtained only after twenty-eight years of service. (See Appendix I.)

Retirement. At the age of 65, a teacher is entitled to retirement, which becomes compulsory at the end of the month of his 70th birthday. In the case of sickness for which the teacher is not personally responsible, he may retire with his due pension.

Special Concessions. Male teachers serving temporarily in the Army, Navy, or Air Force are entitled to one-fourth of their salary if single, and half their salary if married.

In the case of illness or incapacity for which the teacher is not himself responsible, he is entitled to nine months' leave of absence without a reduction in salary. After nine months, his salary may be reduced by one-third, and if his illness lasts more than one year, his continued employment becomes subject to approval by the Ministry of Education. The same leave, without reductions in salary, is granted to women teachers in cases of confinement.

Supervision, Administration, and Control of Schools

The teacher's position, as far as promotion and working conditions are concerned, is closely connected with the organisation of supervision and school administration.

As stated above, the schools were originally controlled by the church. The local education committees established in 1814 were headed by the parson, and up to 1933 he was practically the only

one who counted. He inspected the schools, arranged and held the annual examinations, evaluated the teachers' work and acted as their immediate superior. The next higher authorities were the deaneries, which appointed an education committee under the chairmanship of the county president (*Amtmand*), but with the dean as manager and supervisor. It was he who decided on appointments, transfers, and promotion of teachers. In addition, the bishop had the right of visitation and in some cases the final decision in matters of appointment.

This arrangement was historically justified: the school was the 'daughter of the church'; and the latter was therefore responsible for its work. Supreme control rested, nevertheless, with the Ministry of Education.

This state of affairs was at first accepted as a matter of course, but as the teachers were maturing as a corporation and gradually growing independent of the church in the second half of the nineteenth century, they began to consider ecclesiastical supervision as a yoke. Although on the whole the clergymen were humane and considerate, the teachers thought it unreasonable, illogical, and humiliating that they should be controlled by another profession. Moreover, the clergyman could not be expected to have the technical and pedagogical qualifications required for an educational supervisor. His own education was different, and he was not familiar with the development of the teaching profession.

The grammar school was the first to attain emancipation from clerical supervision. In 1848 a chief inspector for secondary education was appointed. In the middle of the century an attempt was made to establish a higher directorate for elementary education, but it proved unsuccessful. Only in this century were consultative officials (state advisers) attached to the administrative authorities. But local supervision continued to remain in the hands of the clergy.

From the start, the National Union of Teachers had launched a campaign for emancipation from the church, with the support of the teacher-politicians mentioned above. But all attempts failed. Tradition was still too strong. Finally, in 1933 an Act of Parliament (amended in 1949) instituted a system of administration and supervision in which the clerical officials were replaced by professional teacher-supervisors.

In urban districts and in the capital, each school was to be headed by an inspector responsible for day-to-day administration and inspection. In larger towns with six or more schools, the general administration and inspection were entrusted to a chief education officer, i.e. a school director. In smaller towns these functions were to be discharged by one of the school inspectors, who would then be called 'town-school inspector'. But the ultimate responsibility lay with the town education committee

appointed by the municipal council and the parents. If demanded by the council or by a certain number of parents, a board of governors might be elected for each school. Furthermore, each school established a teachers' council comprising all the members of the staff, who elected their own chairman; all the teachers in a town formed an urban teachers' council. These professional councils are consulted by the education committee, which consists of lay people.

In rural districts, each school is headed by a headmaster who is responsible for the daily administration, but who has no right to inspect his assistant teachers. These are directly responsible to the education committee, and all the teachers in the municipality form a teachers' council with consultative authority.

While the urban authorities are directly subordinated to the Ministry of Education, the rural authorities come under the county authorities, consisting of a county education committee appointed by the county council, and headed by the president of the county. Attached to the county education committee is a professional adviser, the county adviser, who has replaced the dean. But while the dean was both supervisor and administrator, the new county adviser is only a consultant. He does not have the right to inspect or to visit the schools unless he is ordered to do so by the county committee, by the municipality, or by the teachers themselves. He is not a member of the county committee, nor has he anything to do with the administration, which was transferred from the dean to the county president.

It is a significant feature of this arrangement that the old claims of the teachers' union that both supervision and administration should be in the hands of professional officials have been met only as far as urban districts are concerned. In the case of the rural schools, only supervision, modified as an advisory function, has been delegated to an educationist, whereas administration and management have been entrusted to juridical officials.

Appointment and Dismissal

All vacancies are publicly advertised. When a vacancy occurs for an ordinary post, such as that of a rural or urban assistant teacher, the first selection is made by the municipal education committee (*Skolekommissionen*), in conjunction with the board of governors mentioned above, if such a board has been elected. Three applicants are thus chosen, and their names forwarded to the county education committee (*Skoledirektionen*), in the case of a rural school, or to the municipal council, in the case of an urban school. If the first nominee is the unanimous choice of the municipal committee, the higher authority is bound to appoint him. Otherwise, the higher authority is free to appoint any one of the three nominees. In urban districts the appointment made by the

municipal council is subject to approval by the Ministry of Education; however, this is usually a mere formality. Municipal committees in rural districts may be assisted in their choice by the county adviser; in urban districts the advice of the chief education officer (school director or town school inspector) is always followed. In Copenhagen the chief education officer has the right to select and appoint teachers for ordinary posts, and to nominate headmasters (school inspectors), who are then appointed by the Copenhagen board of directors.

Headmasters (school inspectors) of urban schools, chief education officers, and county advisers are all appointed by the King. When a vacancy occurs, the municipal education committee (or, in the case of county advisers, the county education committee) nominate five applicants, from among whom the Minister of Education recommends one for approval by His Majesty.

New teachers are allowed to apply for any post in rural and urban schools as assistant teachers. A post as rural headmaster or master in a one-teacher school cannot be obtained without at least two years' service. For appointment as county adviser, a minimum of ten years of previous service as a teacher is required. For a headmastership (school inspectorate), or a post as chief education officer in urban districts or in the capital, no minimum length of service has been fixed, but according to tradition such posts are given to teachers between 40 and 50 years of age and with a record of eighteen to twenty-eight years of service.

The Education Act rules that teachers may not be fully appointed on completion of training, but have to serve a two-year probationary period, during which their remuneration is 10 per cent. below their regular salary.

The same authority that appoints teachers also accepts applications for retirement, both with and without pension. All cases of resignation on account of ill-health, however, have to be approved by the Ministry of Education.

Dismissal of a teacher is extremely rare, but may occur for three reasons: (*a*) for a criminal or punishable offence; (*b*) if his teaching is unsatisfactory; (*c*) if his attitude to teaching as a vocation is considered unsuitable. In the case of (*a*), the teacher forfeits his pension rights. If he comes under (*b*), his case is investigated by the Ministry with the aid of a state adviser. If he is dismissed, the Ministry decides whether or not he qualifies for a pension. In the case of (*c*), the first decision lies with the education committee and the local municipal council, and if three-fourths of the members of either of these authorities vote for dismissal, the case is put before a panel consisting of the president of the county council, another member of this council, and an official of the Ministry. The teacher may conduct his own defence with a solicitor or a member of the National Union of Teachers executive (if he so desires). If the

panel decides in his favour, he automatically continues in his post. If pronounced guilty, he is dismissed either with a pension or with the so-called 'waiting salary', i.e. two-thirds of his normal salary for a period of five years, after which he receives his full pension. He may, if he wishes, apply for a post in another school, which at present is not difficult to obtain in view of the shortage of teachers.

Transfers and Promotion

Possibilities for advancement are relatively reduced in the teaching profession. In rural districts, most men teachers obtain a head mastership, and only a few remain at consolidated schools as assistant teachers. In theory, headships are also available to women teachers, but owing to the mentality of the rural population women principals are very rarely accepted. One-third of the staff in urban schools will always hold posts as senior teachers (*overlaerere*), which entitles them to an extra allowance (see Appendix I). There are, moreover, the posts created under the Supervision Act: the school inspectorate, the post of deputy inspector, the school directorate and, in rural districts, the post of adviser. All these posts are reserved for professional candidates. Furthermore, there are posts as psychological advisers, both in rural and in urban schools, which are open to specialists in the teaching of handicapped children who have supplemented their training with psychological studies. All these posts are usually filled by teachers who have come up through the different types of school after graduating from the training college. Teachers who have supplemented their education through courses at the teachers' high school, or who hold a university degree, are particularly eligible for promotion. Transfers are easy up to the age of about 50, although there is no fixed age-limit.

It is significant that despite these limited opportunities for promotion, very few teachers abandon the profession, except for women teachers who give up teaching after marriage. This, however, occurs more often in rural areas, where it is difficult to find suitable posts for both husband and wife in the same district. In urban areas a woman rarely gives up her job on account of marriage. Women retiring under these circumstances may apply for compensation for loss of pension, which may amount to as much as a year's salary.

Conditions of Work

The school time-table is worked out by the head of the school with the assistance of the teachers' council. It is subject to approval by the local education committee. The normal number of weekly working hours for a teacher is thirty-six. Teachers in grammar schools teach twenty-seven hours a week, and lecturers at training colleges twenty-four. The school year extends over 240 days or forty weeks.

Teachers are entitled to periods of leave (usually a year) for study at home or abroad. During this time they do not receive a salary, but their pension continues to accumulate. Exchanges of teachers among the Scandinavian countries are frequent, but have been limited so far to secondary school teachers and training college lecturers. All teachers are, of course, free to join any legal party or association.

As regards methods of teaching, teachers are given a completely free hand. It is indicative of the democratic development of the country that the nature of regulations issued by the Ministry of Education has changed, as follows:

(i) During the period of absolutism:

The School Ordinances of 1814 give orders to teachers.

(ii) Under constitutional monarchy, but before effective parliamentary government:

In 1900, the interpretation of an Education Act of 1899 was given by the Ministry of Education in the form of 'recommendations to teachers', especially to the younger ones, and a suggested outline of syllabuses for the various subjects.

(iii) In recent years:

The interpretation of the Education Act of 1937 was left in the hands of professionals, in the following way: the Ministry invited the National Union of Teachers to appoint three representatives to a committee headed by the state adviser in charge of public municipal schools, and which also included a representative of the training college lecturers, as well as a county adviser. This committee was appointed in the early summer of 1940 to draw up recommendations for syllabuses and teaching methods. It produced a *Handbook of Suggestions* which has been much relied upon by headmasters and teachers' councils.

Selection and Recruitment of Teachers

To a considerable degree, the teacher's position is dependent on proper selection, recruitment, and training. The professional associations have always been aware of this. The National Union of Teachers has established permanent committees to investigate the development of teacher training and the balance between demand and supply of teachers. All reforms in this field have been prepared and carried through by the authorities in co-operation with the teachers' associations. The present Training Act stipulates that training should be open to young people of all classes of society regardless of the type of school previously attended. The problem was raised whether the Grammar School Certificate should be required for admission to the training colleges, but it was agreed that such a measure would favour the town population to the disadvantage of the rural classes, who had hitherto provided the majority of training college students. Furthermore, if the entrance

requirements were to be the same for training colleges and universities, the former would be likely to get the less qualified students, while the brighter ones would go on to the latter. The recruitment of 'common-sense peasants' had for generations proved greatly beneficial to the teaching profession, and supplied a large number of mature youth with 'fresh brains' and great enthusiasm for the vocation. Therefore training should be made available to young people who from the elementary school had directly gone on to jobs in agriculture, crafts, housework, etc., and who later on had become attracted to the teaching profession. The "man from the plough and the girl from the kitchen" should be given a chance. They should, however, take a preparatory course lasting at least one year and pass an examination corresponding to the standard of the Lower School Certificate (*real-examination*), but without foreign languages. Those who had already obtained a School Certificate with fairly good marks might be exempted, and students holding the Higher School Certificate were entitled to a reduction in the duration of their course at the training college—i.e. two and a half to three years instead of the regular four years.

In addition to his ordinary course, each student is expected to choose one or two topics for extended free study and experiments in laboratories or in the field. The ordinary course leads up to an examination with external assessment in all subjects, controlled by the government through permanently appointed examiners. Those who pass are awarded a teacher's diploma, and employed in the public municipal schools. Unqualified teachers are admitted only in cases of emergency or as instructors in manual subjects such as woodwork, needlework, etc.

There is also a two-year course for women students wanting to teach infant classes in rural schools (age-range from 7 to 10). The curriculum for this course, which was established in 1892, is limited with regard to academic subjects, and the professional training has been reduced to the needs of infant teaching. The National Union of Teachers has protested against this, claiming that infant teachers also should be given full statutory training, but so far the Association of Rural Infant Teachers has resisted any attack.

Training is provided by twenty-three colleges, eight of which are run by the state. The other fifteen are private institutions; however, they may have up to two-thirds of their expenditure covered by state subsidies, while the remainder is paid for by tuition fees of about 500 kroners a year. The principals of the private establishments select their own teachers; but they are subjected to the same supervision as the state colleges, carried out by one of the state advisers, who is, however, not supposed to control teaching methods. Originally, all colleges were supervised by the bishop of the diocese in which they were located, but now local advisers or inspectors have no longer any right of control. Like the universities,

the training colleges are given a free hand. Only their results are controlled by the state through appointed examiners, much in the same way as university degrees are controlled by state-appointed censors.

Lecturers in training colleges are specialists in their subjects. Some hold a university degree, while others have been themselves educated at a training college and afterwards continued their studies at the Teachers' High School.

This latter is a state institute roughly equivalent to a university. It is located in Copenhagen, with affiliated courses in several other towns, and it offers full- and part-time extension courses for teachers in middle schools and *realklasse* and refresher courses in all subjects, especially during the summer holidays. It also facilitates extended studies in pedagogy and psychology. Attached to it there is a state High School for Physical Training and a series of state courses in woodwork, domestic science, art, music, needlework, and the teaching of feeble-minded children.

It is a significant characteristic of Danish teachers that they are very keen on continuing their training and education. Short in-service courses are arranged every year by the regional units of the National Union of Teachers, subsidised by the state and supported by the county advisers. Generally speaking, it can be said that the great majority of teachers avail themselves of every possibility for improving their qualifications, in order to further the cause of the universal enlightenment of the people which is the aim of public education in Denmark. The attitude of the public reflects the national respect for the teaching profession, whose members are doing much to bring this about.

APPENDIX I

Scales of Salary

	Initial Salary p.a.	*Maximum Salary p.a.*
Scales for Rural Teachers:	*kr.*	*kr.*
Rural infant teachers (women) . .	6,668	9,006
Headmasters of rural schools . . .	7,708	12,510
Rural assistant teachers	7,148	11,643
Scales for Urban Teachers:		
Assistant teachers (men and women) .	7,888	12,733
Senior teachers (one-third of staff) . .	10,398	13,894
Deputy headmasters and headmistresses .	11,070	14,415
Headmasters and headmistresses . .	12,454	17,384
Chief education officers (directors) . .	18,282	22,258

Maximum figures shown in all cases include family allowances.

A regional allowance, graded according to area, is payable to all categories of teachers by the municipality. It varies between 108 and 648 kr.

Pensions

When a teacher has been employed for five years after reaching the age of 30 he is entitled to a pension, and from that date on his superannuation grant accumulates according to length of service, starting with 18/60 of his average yearly income during the last three years of employment, and finishing—after 28 years' service—with 42/60 of the average income of the last three years.

In accordance with the Remuneration Act of 1946 the average income, on the basis of which the pension is awarded, is computed having regard to the following factors :

(1) Initial salary, as fixed by the above Act ;
(2) Increments in salary according to length of service ;
(3) Special allowances, if any.

Pension scales for those entitled to a full pension and dependants' allowances, from the age of 63 on :

	kr. p.a.
Rural teachers:	
Infant teachers (women only)	6,916
Headmasters and others on the same scale	9,446
Assistant teachers	8,954
Urban teachers :	
Assistant teachers	9,363
Senior teachers	10,483
Deputy headmasters and headmistresses	10,838
Headmasters and headmistresses	12,621
Chief education officers	15,735

APPENDIX II

Statistics of Recruitment of Teachers through Training Colleges

(1) *Social Groups* from which intending teachers have been drawn in recent years :

Parents' Occupation	*Approximate Number of Students (in Percentages)*			
	1947	*1948*	*1949*	*1950*
Teaching	19	16	18	15
Clergy	3	1	1	2
Civil Service	5	5	5	4
Farming	17	23	21	20
Commerce	9	10	9	5
Unskilled labour	7	9	10	9
Craftsmen	15	11	15	12
Miscellaneous occupations (widows)	24	23	21	31

(2) *Types of School* from which the students in the 4-year course were drawn in 1950 :

Elementary and middle schools plus a one-year preparatory course run by the training college or a private establishment	268 students
Realklasse, with Lower Certificate	354 students
Grammar schools, with Matriculation Certificate	78 students
	700 students

(3) *Number of Applicants* with Matriculation Certificate accepted in 1950:
(*a*) For a 3-year course . . . . . 47 students
(*b*) For a 2½-year course . . . . . 288 students

(4) *Number of Students* admitted in 1950 by the training colleges for infant teachers for a 2-year course 47

They had all come from rural elementary schools and had taken a preparatory course.

They came from the following social groups:

Parents' Occupation	*No. of Students*
Teaching	7
Farming	27
Commerce	5
Craftsmen	1
Miscellaneous	7

(5) *Age of Students*

Age at Beginning of Training in the Four-year Courses	*No. of Students, in Approximate Percentages*			
	1947	*1948*	*1949*	*1950*
17 years	6	6	6	7
18 years	26	22	23	23
19 years	21	23	23	19
20 years	18	19	14	15
21 years	7	10	10	10
22 years	7	6	7	5
23 years	4	5	4	4
Above 23 years of age . .	10	10	10	10

F. C. KÅLUND-JØRGENSEN.

EUROPE: PART TWO

U.S.S.R.

PART I

THE SOVIET SCHOOL TEACHER

The Rights and Conditions of the Soviet Teacher

THE Soviet state considers it its sacred duty to ensure the maximum satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the people.

Since education is one of these requirements, it naturally plays a very important part in the country, and this determines the exceptional role of the teacher and his high station in Soviet society.

The Soviet teacher is assured all the necessary conditions for the successful fulfilment of the responsibilities and lofty tasks entrusted to him by the socialist state. His legal status and material conditions are defined by government Acts.

The present article deals with teachers in the regular schools.

The education and training of children in the Soviet Union is considered a most responsible task, which may be entrusted only to persons whose training qualifies them for this work. Only persons with corresponding teaching diplomas have the right to teach in the elementary, seven-year, and ten-year schools.

The following teachers' diplomas have been established by the government: Elementary School Teacher, Secondary School Teacher, and Honoured Teacher. The diplomas carry with them corresponding certificates. Graduates of secondary teaching schools or other schools of equal status receive the Diploma of Elementary School Teacher. The Diploma of Secondary School Teacher is conferred upon graduates of teacher training institutes or universities; persons graduating from junior teacher training institutes receive the Diploma of Secondary School Teacher with the right to teach in the first seven forms of secondary school.

The title of 'Honoured Teacher' is conferred by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republics on teachers who have gained special distinction in their teaching work.

Teachers are appointed by the Director of the regional or territorial Department of Education; and in the autonomous republics by the Minister of Education.

The hours, working conditions, and duties of the teacher in the

elementary, seven-year, and ten-year schools are defined by special labour regulations approved by the Minister of Education.

The teacher's working day is four hours in the elementary school and three hours in the secondary school. Teachers are therefore paid for twenty-four hours a week in the elementary school (first to fourth forms), and for eighteen hours a week in the secondary school (fifth to tenth forms). Extra lessons are paid for by the hour.

Salaries are paid by the state in accordance with a graduated scale for the various categories of teachers. These categories depend upon the experience and education of the teachers and on the locality where they are employed. For example, teachers of the basic subjects (Russian language, mathematics, physics, chemistry, geography, history, natural science, etc.) in the fifth to seventh forms are classed in two categories: graduates of universities and teacher training institutes, and graduates of junior institutes. Teachers from universities or teacher training institutes draw higher salaries. Teachers with more than five years' experience receive an extra remuneration, which is raised regularly every five years. The teacher in the city school draws a higher salary than the teacher in the rural locality, but the latter is accorded special privileges by the government. All the village-school teachers receive their flats with heating and electric light free of charge, and if the teacher has dependent relatives living with him, he is given an allotment of land free of charge. Honorary titles carry with them a higher salary.

In addition to their salaries, teachers are entitled to extra payment for checking written exercises in the native and foreign languages, in literature, and in mathematics. Natural-science teachers receive an extra remuneration if there is an experimental plot where the pupils conduct practical exercises. A special remuneration is also paid for taking charge of the school laboratories and science rooms.

All teachers are entitled to a service pension. Teachers with a twenty-five year record of work receive a lifetime pension amounting to 40 per cent. of their salaries, irrespective of whether they retire or continue to teach. In accordance with a special government decree, teachers are awarded government orders and medals for specified records of work. A teacher may not be transferred from one school to another without his consent.

It goes without saying, that in our country, where women enjoy equal rights with men, teachers receive equal pay for equal work without sex discrimination.

The teacher receives a two-month holiday during summer.

High earnings and annual reductions in retail prices of general consumer goods secure a high standard of living to the Soviet teacher, and enable him to devote all his energy and knowledge to the education of the young generation of the land of Soviets.

Training of Teachers

The esteem enjoyed by the teacher in the U.S.S.R., his secure position, and the great demand for teachers at teachers' training establishments, account for the large annual enrolments.

There are three types of schools training teachers in the U.S.S.R.: (*a*) teacher training institutes and universities; (*b*) junior teachers' institutes, and (*c*) teaching schools.

The teacher training institutes are institutions of higher learning with a four-year course. The institutes have special faculties for training the future teachers in specific fields of knowledge. The main faculties in the institutes are the faculties of Russian language and literature, physics and mathematics, natural science and chemistry, geography and history. Foreign-language teachers are educated by special institutes. The Union republics have institutes for training teachers from citizens of the local nationalities, and in addition to the above-mentioned faculties these institutes have faculties of the native language and literature.

The three basic groups of subjects taught in all the faculties of the teacher training institutes are: social and economic, special and educational sciences.

For illustration, let us mention the subjects studied in the geography faculty of the teacher training institutes and in the English faculty of the institute of foreign languages.

In the geography faculty, which trains geography teachers for the secondary school, the social and economic sciences include a number of philosophical subjects and political economy. The special sciences include astronomy, cartography, and fundamentals of topography, geology, general physical geography, geography of soils, geography of animals, physical geography of the parts of the world, physical geography of the Soviet Union, economic and political geography of foreign countries, economic geography of the U.S.S.R. The course covers also the facultative subjects (selected by the students): geography of the population, ethnography, regional history, geography of a specific district of the republic, economic cartography, drawing, photography, a foreign language (English, French, or German, as chosen), history of the U.S.S.R., history of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., history of geography.

A special seminar is conducted in physical or economic geography. The course of lectures and seminars is combined with practical exercises, to which twenty weeks are allocated at different periods.

The educational sciences taught in the faculty of geography include psychology, teaching, history of teaching,[1] methods of teach-

[1] It may, perhaps, be of interest to the reader to know the chapters of the textbook of the history of teaching which contain information about

ing geography, school hygiene. A special seminar is conducted in this faculty also in teaching, psychology, and methods (as selected by the students). Two hundred and seventy-six academic hours are allocated for teaching-practice in the school.

The English language faculty in the foreign language institute covers the social and economic sciences taught in the other faculties, including philosophy and political economy.

The special studies are represented by the following subjects: history, literature of Britain, the English language, Russian literature of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, Soviet literature, introduction to linguistics, the modern Russian language, Latin, and a second foreign language (German, French, etc.). In foreign-language studies much attention is paid to practical training. The time allocated for practical training in the English language for all the years in this faculty is 1,810 hours.

Facultative subjects are widely represented in the institute: there are special courses in style, grammar, history of the language studied, in the modern English language, comparative grammar of the English and Russian languages, and geography of Britain.

Lectures on educational subjects in this faculty cover: teaching, psychology, history of teaching, school hygiene, physical education at school, methods of teaching the English language. Twelve weeks are allocated for school practice.

Graduates are required to take state examinations in philosophy, teaching, and methods of teaching the English language, the theory and practice of the English language.

Connection of education with life, with socialist construction, is an essential condition for successful study in the institute, and the teaching schools therefore allocate much time to practical training: teaching in the school, educational work in the school, participation in cultural activities, lecturing at various circles, excursions to factories, collective farms, etc.

At the beginning of the 1951–2 academic year, the Soviet Union had 141 teacher training institutes, with an attendance of about 150,000. The annual enrolments at these institutes are growing constantly.

One of the tasks of the Soviet *universities* is the education of secondary school teachers. The course of training in the universities is five years. The curricula of the faculties which train teachers include the same three groups of subjects as the faculties

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outstanding English teachers. The textbook gives a fairly good idea of the educational system of John Locke, Herbert Spencer, and Robert Owen; of the trade school of Petty and John Bellers; of the system and methods employed in the English school in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The materials relating to the twentieth century cover, in addition to the educational ideas of English teachers, also the Education Acts of 1918 and 1944.

of the teacher training institutes. The group of subjects in the main speciality is more differentiated.

Students with a leaning towards scientific research may, after graduation from a teacher training institute or university, do post-graduate research under the university chairs or in the scientific institutes. After completing a three-year course of post-graduate studies, the fellow must defend his dissertation to receive an M.Sc. degree.

The junior teachers' institutes of the U.S.S.R. educate teachers for the fifth to seventh grades of the general school.

When compulsory universal seven-year schooling became effective throughout the U.S.S.R., it created a very great demand for teachers for the fifth to seventh grades; they had to be trained urgently, and junior teachers' institutes with a two-year course were opened for this purpose.

To qualify for admission to a junior teachers' institute one must have had a secondary education. The curricula of these institutes are approximately the same as for the first two years of the teacher training institutes, but the programme is slightly abridged. For illustration, let us mention the subjects covered by the programme for teaching: Soviet teaching, teaching methods as a science, historical and class character of education and teaching as a science, the aims and tasks of Soviet education, peculiarities of the different ages of the growing generation, system of public education, fundamentals of Soviet didactics, the substance of education and training, the lesson in the Soviet school, methods of education, methods of controlling and appraising the knowledge of the pupils, principles of moral education, methods of moral education, manual training, training of conscious discipline, aesthetic education, physical education, children's organisations in the school, extra-curricular activities, the teacher in the Soviet school, the upbringing of the child in the family, school management.

School practice occupies a very important place in the programme of the junior teachers' institutes.

At the beginning of the 1951–2 academic year, the Soviet Union had 232 junior teachers' institutes, with an attendance of 80,000. Beginning with this year, the number of junior teachers' institutes will be reduced. The biggest institutes will be reorganised into teacher training institutes, and the others into teaching schools. The junior teachers' institutes, which were formed as temporary institutions and which rendered a great service, will eventually be dissolved.

Teachers for the elementary schools and for the first four grades of the secondary schools are trained by the *teaching schools.* These admit graduates of the seven-year school. The course of study in the teaching schools is four years. In the first four grades of secondary school, just as in the elementary school, one teacher

instructs in all the subjects, and the programme of the teaching schools takes this into consideration. The main subjects taught in this school are: the Russian language, literature, mathematics, physics, chemistry and mineralogy, natural sciences (anatomy and physiology of man, botany, zoology, the fundamentals of Darwinism), geography, history, logic, penmanship, drawing, singing, physical education. These subjects are taught in order to raise the general level of education of the students and to equip the future teacher with a rich store of knowledge. The group of educational subjects taught in these schools covers teaching, psychology, school hygiene, penmanship, drawing, and singing. The students are instructed in physical education, and in methods of teaching the subjects in the elementary school. The students are acquainted with methods of manual training in workshops and in farm practice. The students are frequently sent for practice in the schools, where they conduct lessons under the guidance of experienced teachers.

In addition to these teaching schools, there are special schools for training teachers for the kindergartens, which are attended by children of pre-school age (4–6 years). Thousands of kindergarten teachers are educated by these schools.

Many graduates of the junior teachers' institutes who teach in the fifth to seventh grades take advantage of the opportunities to continue their education in order to qualify for teaching in the eighth to tenth grades. One of these opportunities is a *correspondence course.* The government has opened special *correspondence divisions* at the teacher training institutes which direct the training of teachers who desire to continue their education. These teachers, who frequently live in rural localities, attend special lectures at the institute arranged during the summer and mid-winter holidays; and during the winter they receive by mail special tasks and examination papers which assist in the progress of their independent studies. Examination papers are approved and mailed by the Board of Higher Schools of the Ministry of Education of the R.S.F.S.R. Here, for example, is an examination paper in the History of the Middle Ages for students taking correspondence courses with the teacher training institutes and junior teachers' institutes:

Subject VII: The Revolt of Wat Tyler.

1. The sharpening of the class struggle in the English village in the second half of the fourteenth century (the commutation process and position of the English peasantry in the first half of the fourteenth century, 'Black Death', 'labour legislation and feudal reaction').
2. Direct causes of the revolt.
3. The course of the revolt. (Its outbreak in Essex and Kent, the leader of the revolt, the peasant march on London, developments in London and the conference with the king, suppression of the revolt, and reprisals of the feudal landlords against the peasants.)
4. The social composition of the insurgents and their demands (various social groups among the insurgent peasants, difference between Essex

and Kent, participation in the uprising of urban elements, the different programmes of the insurgents: the Mile End Programme, the Smithfield Programme, the views of John Ball and Jack Straw).

The supplement contains a list of literature on these subjects, and sources. The sources recommended are: the 1349 Ordinance on labourers and servants, the Statute of Labourers in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Edward III (1350–51), an extract from the Anonymous Chronicles belonging to the St. Mary Abbacy at York. Records of the courts appointed by King Richard II for trying and punishing the insurgents who took part in the revolt of 1381, and other materials (six sources in all).

Detailed instructions are given on the methods of studying a given theme.

The teacher who takes a correspondence course has the benefit of the consultation service functioning in one of the secondary schools of the district.

The teachers taking correspondence courses are given paid leave and travelling expenses to enable them to attend lectures and to take examinations at the teacher training institute.

In this way many teachers complete their education every year, and after passing the state examinations receive diplomas which qualify them for teaching the senior grades of secondary schools.

Advanced Training of Teachers

The progress of science, engineering, philosophy, literature, and the arts in the Soviet Union makes it necessary for the teacher constantly to broaden his scientific and educational knowledge. It is impossible to teach without keeping abreast of all the scientific achievements in the profession and in the humanities in general.

The teacher desiring to improve his knowledge in the profession, and in social and educational sciences, has at his service a whole system of institutions, courses, etc. *Institutes for the advanced training of teachers* are maintained at the expense of the state budget in every region and in the big cities. These institutes have permanent staffs of specialists to give consultations to the teachers, to elaborate the most difficult themes of the school programmes, separate lessons and half-yearly programmes for the subjects of the curriculum, and to arrange teachers' conferences, etc.

Professors and other scientists lecture at these institutes.

The institutes arrange excursions for teachers. In connection with work on the problems of a polytechnical education, the institutes arrange visits by groups of teachers to factories and mills, experimental fields, etc., and many institutes have their own carpentry and other workshops for manual training.

The institutes arrange *seminars* (which last from three to fifteen days) covering mainly educational questions.

In addition to the advanced training institutes, there are special *courses* which play a very important part in advanced training of teachers. These courses are organised annually in the district centre, mainly for elementary school teachers, or at the higher schools in the regional centre for secondary school teachers.

An important part in the system of advanced training of teachers belongs to the *scientific practice conferences* convened regularly by the advanced training institutes on concrete problems of teaching and educational methods. The most urgent problem to-day is that of polytechnical education in the school. Reports at these conferences are made by a group of teachers.

There are *teachers' co-operation services* in all district centres catering for the school teachers of the given district. The co-operation service organises special societies of fifth- to tenth-grade teachers according to the subjects taught by them. The most experienced teachers are chosen to direct these societies. The task of the co-operation service is to popularise the experience of the best teachers, to arrange a typical lesson for young teachers, to analyse this lesson, and to take into account the best experience. The co-operation service prepares model school programmes for the coming term, arranges exhibitions on teaching problems, displaying the best works done by the school children, visual aids, new books, etc. The co-operation service has its own library, and frequently also maintains a book-delivery service for the schools.

The *educational publishing houses* of the Ministry of Education and the Academy of Educational Sciences assist a great deal in advancing the skill of the teachers. During the year the two publishing houses issue hundreds of books on teaching, manuals on methods, and works written by teachers on their experience. These houses publish bi-monthly, monthly, and fortnightly magazines which deal with teaching problems and methods of education. The teacher thus has at his disposal a theoretical monthly, *Soviet Pedagogics,* the magazines *Elementary School, The School and the Family,* and journals dealing with methods of teaching special subjects, such as *The Russian Language in the School, Literature in the School, Foreign Languages in the School, Mathematics in the School, Physics in the School, Chemistry in the School,* etc.

The teacher desiring to broaden his knowledge and improve his skill finds of great help the *Teachers' Gazette,* published in all the Union republics.

The institutes for the advanced training of teachers issue, through the regional publishing houses, booklets and collected volumes illuminating the experience of the most successful school teachers.

The *methodology* groups of teachers functioning regularly in every school arrange collective discussions of current problems connected with methods of education.

The *union* of elementary and secondary school teachers is directly

concerned with the ways and means of advancing the knowledge and skill of the teachers. Questions relating to the advanced training of teachers are discussed at production meetings of the trade union committees in the schools, and at district and regional conferences of the union. The teachers' union maintains a teachers' house (club) in every city. The teachers' house renders systematic assistance to the teachers by organising lectures, reports, talks, exhibitions, and excursions for their benefit.

Naturally, great results are achieved through these varied forms of assistance by the government and public institutions to the teacher in improving his scientific knowledge and skill.

Friendly Co-operation of Teachers and Scientists

Experts on education and teachers co-operate in many ways in the U.S.S.R. The research workers of the Academy of Educational Sciences, together with the teachers, compile school textbooks. For example, the best teachers of Moscow and Leningrad, workers of the method research associations, psychologists, workers of the art education institutes, and many others co-operated in the compilation of a school primer. The textbook was tested in one hundred schools and was republished with major corrections. The primer was adopted by the Ministry of Education and is now issued in millions of copies. Co-operation between the scientists and school teachers is very essential. More than twenty textbooks are now being compiled jointly by scientists and teachers.

Another form of co-operation between scientists and school teachers is their joint contribution to papers describing the experience of one or another school. Under the guidance of the Academy of Educational Sciences, sixteen groups of authors are now preparing monographs describing the experience of sixteen secondary schools. Similar work is conducted together with the teachers by the workers of the institutes for the advanced training of teachers. The monographs mirror every aspect of the educational process in the given school.

The Educational Research Institute in Leningrad is preparing, in co-operation with a group of schools, an interesting work on the subject: "The System of Education and Training in the School and the All-Round Development of the Child and Adolescent."

A very effective form of co-operation between the scientists and the school teachers is represented by the *educational readings* arranged annually by the Academy of Educational Sciences and by most of the advanced training institutes. These readings are arranged as follows: The Academy announces the subjects on which it would like the teachers to submit papers summing up their experience. The teachers desiring to take part in these readings work during the year on the subjects chosen by them. Their papers are submitted to the Academy, where they are reviewed by

the scientists, who consult the authors. The jury appointed by the Academy appraises the papers, and the best papers are read by the authors at the Academy in the presence of its scientists and Moscow school teachers. The best papers are adjudged prizes and published. This co-operation between the Academy and the teachers has acquired large proportions and developed into a tradition. In 1945, the Academy received 153 papers for the educational readings, and 2,136 papers were submitted in 1952.

The close contact between teachers and scientists helps to raise the scientific knowledge of the teacher and acquaints the scientist with the practical work in school.

This co-operation between the teachers and the scientists is being broadened annually, and its forms are being constantly perfected.

MIKHAIL MALYSHEV.

PART II

PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS

THE educational workers' trade union was organised in 1918. Since the formation of the Soviet state the number of schools, kindergartens, and other institutions for culture and enlightenment has grown many times over. And alongside the growth in the number of educational institutions, the membership of the union has kept increasing. When the union was organised it had altogether 70,000 members; to-day it has 1,700,000.

Like all Soviet trade unions, the educational workers' union is built on two basic organisational principles.

Firstly, the *industrial principle*, which means that membership of the union is not restricted to one narrow speciality, say teachers of a particular category. The union takes in all workers in the field of public education, that is elementary school, seven-year, and secondary school teachers, instructors at teachers' training schools, teachers and nurses at kindergartens and children's homes, technical workers at schools and children's institutions, etc.

In line with this principle, the basic, primary organ of the trade union is the branch committee, which is elected at a general meeting of the union's members employed in a particular school or kindergarten, or in several small educational institutions which have a single trade-union organisation. This latter is usually found in rural localities. The union has more than 68,000 branch committees in the R.S.F.S.R.

Thus, the membership of a secondary school's trade-union organisation is open to the school principal, the assistant principal, all teachers of both lower and higher grades, the librarian, the book-keeper and clerk, the cleaners and furnace tenders; in other words, all workers without exception employed in the particular institution.

The other organisational principle on which the union is built is—*democratic centralism.*

Centralism means that every lower trade-union body is subordinate to the higher body, the branch committee being subordinate to the district committee, the district committee to the regional committee, and so on. The union's leading body is the central committee, whose decisions are binding on all members and organisations of the particular trade union.

There are central committees of educational workers' trade unions in each of the union republics, and they are united for the U.S.S.R. as a whole through the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (A.U.C.C.T.U.), through which they are affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The educational workers' trade union, being a mass public organisation, takes in on a voluntary basis all teachers and all other workers employed in the system of public education, without regard to race, nationality, sex, or religion. It is a non-party organisation.

Branch committees of the union are elected at general membership meetings for a term of one year. District and regional committees are elected at district and regional conferences respectively for a term of two years. The union's central committee is elected for a term of two years by the all-Russian congress of the union. The all-Russian congress is the union's highest organ.

At these elections every member of the union has the unrestricted right to nominate, criticise, or challenge candidates. Voting is by secret ballot.

All trade-union bodies, from the branch to the central committee, have to report on their work to the union membership at general meetings, conferences, plenums, meetings of active trade unionists, and congresses. Branch committees report every six months, and district, regional, and central committees once a year. In the discussion on the reports of the trade-union bodies, members of the union criticise freely and in a business-like way defects in the work of the union and of the management in the sphere of activity in which they are engaged.

Thus, *democratic centralism* means free elections by secret ballot of the leading trade-union bodies, from the lowest to the highest, and the subordination of the lower bodies to the higher during the term of office.

Soviet trade unions develop all their activity with the idea of involving a broad body of active trade unionists. And members

take an active part in the work of the union, willingly carrying out its assignments.

Every branch, district, and regional committee has its commissions on production, organisation, culture, housing and welfare, labour protection and social insurance.

Teachers and other educational workers take an active part in these commissions. Each of these commissions of a school's branch trade-union committee has from three to five members. Every branch committee has, in addition, a labour-protection inspector, a social-insurance delegate, a union group organiser and a cultural organiser. The branch committeee thus carries on its work with the help of eighteen to twenty-five active members.

Nearly half the members of our trade union (over 700,000) are taking an active part in the work of one or another of the union's organisations. The work is extremely varied. The labour-protection inspector, for instance, sees to it that the school administration provides proper working conditions and also that health and hygiene rules are observed. The social-insurance delegate helps union members to get medical treatment when they require it, and also conducts activity for the prevention of sickness. Cultural-commission members attend to the cultural requirements of the union members and their children. The members of the production commission arrange for the experience of the leading teachers to be passed on to all, and for the giving of comradely help to young teachers by the experienced teachers. This commission also conducts production conferences.

Their trade-union activity gives the active members of the trade union an opportunity of acquiring practice in public, administrative, and political activity.

The Soviet social and state system affords trade unions, the educational workers' union among them, unlimited opportunities for their steady growth and development and for many-sided activity.

Trade unions take an active part in drafting all legislation relating to production, labour, and salaries and wages, and see to it that those laws are enforced.

The educational workers' union takes part in preparing and solving questions affecting the organisation of work and the pay of teachers and other workers in the educational system, and watches over the enforcement of labour legislation and labour protection and safety regulations. The union's organisations see to it that leading educational bodies provide normal working conditions for members of the union and give timely help to young teachers.

The union gives educational bodies every assistance in improving the work of schools and children's institutions. It arranges conferences for the purpose of passing on the best methods developed by teachers, and for the giving of practical help to young teachers

in their work at school. It helps teachers to improve their qualifications by means of correspondence courses, or the network of other courses, or through self-study.

The immense sums set aside by the Soviet government to meet the cultural and everyday needs of educational workers are allotted only with the participation of the union's organisations, which also supervise the spending of the funds. Last year, 56,853 houses were built for teachers of rural schools, and the union saw to it that they were built properly and without delay.

The union's budget contains an item, and the amount is a substantial one, earmarked for the giving of material aid, in the form of a lump sum of money, to members of the union in need of such aid. Decisions on this matter are taken by union committees. The amount paid out for this purpose in 1952 came to 13,350,000 roubles.[1]

Our union has 4,338 mutual-benefit funds, from which a member of the union can in case of need (because of sickness or some natural calamity) get a sum of money as an outright grant or a long-term loan—to buy furniture, clothing, or for other purposes.

During illness, a union member receives from the non-contributory social-insurance fund an amount equal to his average pay. The money for this fund comes from a levy equivalent to 6 per cent. of the wages bill which the management of all institutions and enterprises have to pay over to the trade union.

These state social-insurance funds are managed entirely by the trade union. It fixes the benefit to be paid to education workers temporarily disabled and makes the payments from the fund.

Last year, 400 million roubles were paid in pensions from the social-insurance fund of the Trade Union of Educational Workers of the R.S.F.S.R. to pensioners who continued working.

A life pension amounting to 40 per cent. of the salary is paid to every teacher who has worked for twenty-five years. The pension is paid regardless of whether he or she continues to work.

For aged teachers, the R.S.F.S.R. has forty hostels where retired pensioners may live. These hostels are maintained completely at government expense.

Every year the union adds to its network of health and holiday centres for the use of its members and members of their families. The money for this purpose comes out of the social-insurance funds. The union has nine sanatoria and twenty-two rest hostels of its own in the Crimea, the Caucasus, on the Volga, and in other parts of the country.

Each year tens of thousands of members of the union get free accommodation at health holiday centres, the cost being met from social-insurance funds. In 1951, the amount spent on such accom-

[1] 1 rouble = approximately 1 shilling.

modation was 45,490,000 roubles. Last year it was 47,500,000 roubles.

On the birth of a child, women members receive a sum of money to buy a layette.

The union also has its own clubs (educational workers' houses and teachers' houses), libraries, excursion and tourist bases, gymnasia, stadiums, and swimming and boating pools.

The union has 188 clubs. It receives a special subsidy from the state for their maintenance, repair, and equipment. In 1952, the amount of the subsidy was over 7 million roubles.

In teachers' houses, lectures and talks are given on subjects of interest to union members, hundreds of amateur art groups (dramatic, musical, and singing) are carrying on their activities, soirées are arranged for members to meet distinguished teachers from other parts of the country, and meetings are held for the comparing of notes on teaching methods and results.

The union has 245 big libraries, with more than five thousand mobile libraries serving members in the districts and rural localities.

Once a month the union arranges 'Rural Teacher's Day' in the towns and district centres. On these occasions they hear talks on science, literature, and art, visit the theatre or cinema, attend performances by teachers' amateur groups. There are 13,000 of these groups in the various organisations of the union, and over 170,000 teachers and other members of the union belong to them.

Excursions and tours are an important feature of the union's cultural activities, and hundreds of thousands of the union's members avail themselves of them.

Each year a large number of teachers go to the union's mountain-climbing and tourists' camps.

Over 240,000 members belong to the union's three thousand sports sections.

Much attention is given to members' children. The union has organised children's activities after school hours (art and technical circles, children's matinées, parties, etc.). In summer the union operates children's camps for members' children. Last summer, 87,000 children stayed at the union's 192 camps. It costs the union 20 million roubles a year to maintain them.

Teachers take an active part in the cultural work conducted among the population. Over 750,000 teachers are regular lecturers, speakers, or leaders of general educational circles.

These figures and examples give some idea, but far from a complete one, of the activities of the Trade Union of Educational Workers.

I. I. GRIVKOV.

PART THREE

EASTERN EUROPE

CHAPTER ONE

POLAND

THE question of the position of the teacher in society was the subject of several of my pre-war publications in Polish. The first of them, entitled *School and Society in the U.S.A.* (1936), was the result of several years of studying the American school system, a task started in 1933. In this book I devoted considerable space to the position and the role of the teacher. Another four-volume publication of mine appeared under the title *The Younger Generation of Peasants* (1938), and was a sociological analysis of the situation and social trends among the peasant youth of Poland in the years preceding the war. It presented a picture of the conflict inherent in the situation of peasant youth in Poland, due to the fact that, down to World War II, cultural values were traditionally divided into two separate worlds: that of the gentleman and that of the peasant. School education and teachers belonged to the former.

I mention those works because the sociological point of view which I take here has its history and grounding in those studies. The position of the teacher in modern society is usually treated as it was in *The School in the American Social Order—The Dynamics of American Education* (1947) by N. Edwards and H. G. Richey, that is, from the economic point of view, against the background of technological changes, industrialisation, and urbanisation. Undoubtedly this criterion is important. But the economic aspect expressed in the level of the teacher's earnings as compared with the earnings of other professions assumes its full importance only when it is considered within the context of all the other factors which define the basis and the character of the hierarchy of professions in society. It cannot be considered in abstraction from the class structure of society. The criterion of social status, which is valid for a capitalist society in which the economic aspect of the hierarchy of professions is the main one, cannot be applied either to a feudal or to a socialist society.

The traditional role which the intellectual professions played in society, a role which took different forms in the history of different

societies, makes even a comparison between different capitalist countries difficult. Any comparison between capitalist and socialist societies must result in a completely false picture if it does not make allowance for the different class structure of those societies.

This problem cannot be dissociated, either, from the essential social functions performed in society by the public school system and its teachers. Things look different in a capitalist society, where the traditional ideology of individualism and liberalism defines the role of the school as a means for following one's individual career within a social system accepted as unchangeable. The outlook is different in Poland, the U.S.S.R., and all those countries in which the public school system is a fundamental instrument for building a new social order.

In the pioneer days of America, when reasons were being sought which would justify the establishment of a free public school system, Daniel Webster argued that public education was a wise and liberal police system, safeguarding life, property, and the peace of society.

In pioneer days the child belonged to the family and the father had full control over its education. The school was kept up by the family and the parish. But to whom did the school belong a hundred years later? The family had lost all its significance as a producer and a large part of its functions as a consumer. "Join the Pepsodent family"—says an American advertising slogan. A new literature has grown up about the education of the consumer, and the big department stores now have their own 'education departments'.

Property lost the meaning it used to have in society. It is not a piece of land any longer. Concrete property has been replaced by functional property, measurable in terms of the universal medium of money. Accordingly, in a society dominated by the profit-making motive, education has become a kind of product manufactured for the market. The teacher, who used to be a servant of the family or the church, has become a mixture of a public servant and of a 'salesman of education'. It is the traditional view that the 'business of education' should be run for the benefit of children and society. In this respect the situation of parents has changed very much, as has that of the stockholders in the economic sphere. Both have lost control over their property: it has been taken over by controlling groups representing organised interests.

What effect has this trend had on society and education? It has resulted in the deepening gulf between the America of the farmers and the America of the businessmen. Edwards and Richey, in the book mentioned above, write: "Before World War II approximately one-half of the farmers of the nation produced relatively little more than they consumed on the farm—that is, for a great many, farming was essentially on a subsistence rather than a com-

mercial basis" (pages 647–8). Accordingly, education was differentiated into schools in poor or depressed areas and those in rich districts. Parallel to this ran the differentiation of the teachers' salaries and the specific problem of migration.

A comparison of earnings in different trades, given in P. H. Douglas's book *Real Wages in the U.S.A., 1890–1926* (Boston, 1930) shows that the average annual earnings of public school teachers ($1,277 in 1926) were almost equal to those of wage earners in the manufacturing industries ($1,309), and much lower than those of railway clerks ($1,604) or those of postal employees ($2,128), not to speak of the earnings of doctors or other workers occupying the highest grades in the scale of earnings.

What is the sociological meaning of this comparison? Does it mean that the teacher in America belonged to the working class? Such a conclusion would be entirely false. It does not mean, either, that the teacher does not belong to the *bourgeois* class in spite of the big differences between the earnings of teachers and those of lawyers.

The class aspect of the teacher's social position was prominent in Poland before the war. In 1938 I wrote as follows, in an article for the Polish *Encyclopaedia of Education*:

> A feature of that group [the Polish teachers] is its lack of a distinct social character. The rift, if not the gulf, dividing the teacher from the peasants and the workers, the classes from which he usually comes, is the obstacle preventing him from taking up a distinctive social attitude. He lives, as it were, in a social vacuum. And, as regards the elementary school teacher, even his own colleagues in the secondary school do not think him their equal.

I read with interest in Sir Arnold McNair's Report on *Teachers and Youth Leaders* that "in homes in which teaching is not regarded as a step up in the social scale is the feeling . . . that teachers are a race apart . . ." [1] In this report it was rightly pointed out that the position of teaching as a profession depends on the status of education itself, of the appreciation of education as something of vital concern to all citizens. It is from this point of view, which I consider the most important, that I wish to describe the situation in Poland.

Influence of Economic Development

Industrialisation and urbanisation played an essential part in the history of public instruction and education as well as in the history of the teacher's profession.

They helped to spread the scope of education, but did not eliminate the class determinants of the culture of capitalist society.

The Industrial Revolution had, in the Victorian era, increased

[1] *Teachers and Youth Leaders* (1944), p. 29.

the disparity between the rich and the poor; the population of great cities became segregated into various social quarters inhabited by different classes.

Until nearly the end of the nineteenth century English elementary school teachers were barred from employment in secondary schools and from higher posts in school administration, which were occupied mostly by graduates from Oxford and Cambridge. We remember Disraeli's famous saying that England was divided into two nations: the rich and the poor.

This was, of course, characteristic not of the social history of Britain only. The development of capitalism was everywhere accompanied by the same social phenomenon: the division of a nation into two 'nations'. Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski, a well-known Polish statesman, said in 1937 that there was Poland A and Poland B, the latter, according to his formulation, almost reaching the turnpikes of Warsaw.

In Poland, as in England, this general division was paralleled by a division among the teachers. Each of the two 'nations' had its own schools and its own teachers.

Secondary school teachers and university professors opposed the slogan of *'l'école unique'*, propagated after World War I by the Union of Polish Teachers, which was dominated by elementary school teachers. Conflicting class interests were drawing a line of division between the college-trained elementary school teachers on the one hand, and the university-trained secondary school teachers and university professors on the other.

Salary alone did not define the social position of a teacher; this was done by the fact of whether he was teaching in an exclusive secondary school or in the elementary school destined for the masses. A teacher's social role is determined by his place in the class system of the society. In that respect, the history of England is an excellent illustration of the fact that industrialisation and urbanisation affected the teacher's position not by themselves but as a result of the fact that they took place in the class system of capitalism.

The social aspect of industrialisation and urbanisation must be kept in mind when the teacher's position in Poland before the war and now is compared. Industrialisation and urbanisation come to the forefront, but in post-war Poland these processes are being accompanied by social processes entirely different from those which were characteristic of Victorian England.

The latter were taking place within the capitalist system, while those in Poland were smashing the capitalist system and laying the foundations of a socialist system. In this connection the teacher's social role in Poland, following a socialist industrialisation, is changing in an essentially different way from his social role during the capitalist industrialisation of nineteenth-century England.

Let us begin with industrialisation. As a result of the carrying out of the Polish Three-Year Plan first, and at present of the Six-Year Plan, its scope and rate cannot be passed over in silence, since they are bringing about a radical change of the whole country from an agricultural into an industrial one.

This process can be illustrated by the following figures:

Year	*Number of People Employed Outside Agriculture, in Thousands*
1938	2,730
1946	2,850
1947	3,180
1952	5,340

As we see, the number of people employed outside agriculture has nearly doubled as compared with pre-war figures. The number of people employed outside agriculture rose from 7·8 per cent. of the entire population in 1938 to 10·8 per cent. in 1946 and to 21 per cent. at the present time.

No less interesting are the changes in employment in big and medium industry, which before the war was owned mostly by foreign capital. These changes can be seen from the following figures:

Year	*Number of Workers, in Thousands*
1937	860
1946	1,050
1952	2,000

The above figures do not refer to a process that has come to an end: we are only in the middle of the Six-Year Plan, and the Five-Year Plan which is to follow and to cover the years 1956–60, and which is still to be worked out by the newly elected Seym, will be a further stage in the planned economic development of this country.

But it is not the scope of industrialisation alone which deserves attention; its social nature is also characteristic. The social and cultural phenomena which accompany industrialisation account for the fact that this industrialisation is not merely an ' industrial revolution ' but a cultural revolution as well, which penetrates far into all the spheres of our national culture.

As early as during the Three-Year Plan of economic reconstruction (1946–9), expenditure on education, as envisaged in the state budget, was higher than ever in the history of education in Poland. It reached 1·8 billion złotys [2] in 1947 and 2·8 billion in 1949, which amounted to about 30 per cent. of the entire state budget, as compared with some 12–13 per cent. of pre-war budgets.

A further development of public instruction, which has put into practice the principle of universal education, has as its goal to ensure, during the period to be covered by the future Five-Year Plan (i.e. by 1960), at least a full seven-form education to all children in town and country, and secondary education to all children in large towns and industrial centres as well as to ever-growing numbers of peasant children.

Whereas in 1939 there was one seven-class school for every seventeen villages, this figure had grown by 1951 to one in seven. The number of primary schools in the villages carrying on the curriculum of the full seven-class schools rose tenfold in comparison with 1936.

One of the most characteristic features of the progress achieved in education is the expansion of crèches and nursery schools, which is particularly noticeable in industrial areas.

Education has not only been made universal but, on the one hand, it covers more and more the pre-school age, and on the other it is, on an ever-growing scale, becoming the basis for secondary and university education.

The development both of vocational schools, which satisfy the growing needs of our economic life, and of university schools is also one of the striking features of public instruction in the post-war Poland.

The three types of vocational schools (preparatory vocational schools, Grade 1 vocational schools, and Grade 2 vocational schools) this year have an enrolment of about half a million students, that is, eight times as many as before the war. In vocational courses of every kind there are over 400,000 students, as compared with 19,100 in 1936–7, which means a twentyfold increase.

The number of schools of university rank rose from 27 in 1938 to 82 in 1951, and the number of students increased in the same period from 48,000 to 134,000.

The elimination of illiteracy must also be mentioned here. The campaign against this shameful remnant of the pre-war period, started by the government in 1949, had covered over a million illiterates. This drive against illiteracy, based on an enormous number of courses for illiterates, had been concluded by the end of 1951.

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[2] 11·20 złotys = £1 ; 4 złotys = $1.

A wide popularisation of book reading might also be mentioned here. Whereas in 1938 Poland had barely 1,033 public libraries, during the course of four years from the end of the war a whole network of libraries was built, covering the whole country.

There are now 19 *voivodship* libraries, approximately 4,000 public libraries (including nearly 3,000 in the rural areas), as well as more than 20,000 library centres or smaller libraries in the villages. The steadily increasing number of public libraries throughout the country has helped to satisfy the great demand for books and newspapers. The total issue of books and pamphlets rose from about 30 million in 1937 to about 50 million as early as 1948. In the same period, the average edition of one book increased from 3,700 copies to 16,900 copies.

British readers will certainly find it interesting that a translation into Polish of a fine book on Shakespeare by the Soviet Shakespearean scholar M. Morozov was published in 1950 in 10,400 copies. In the same year a translation of *The Book of Snobs* by Thackeray was published in 10,000 copies. This year, the first translation into Polish of the *Diary of Samuel Pepys* has appeared in 10,000 copies.

Social Change

The roots and ideals of our revolution reach deep into the history of humanity. This does not mean, however, that the rapid democratisation of culture, which is going on in post-war Poland, is limited to the reproduction of those cultural achievements which have already existed before. A new culture, which corresponds to the new epoch of social progress, is springing up from its historical background. This is a multilateral process and its sociological significance cannot be illustrated by figures alone. The meaning of culture, the social structure of cultural institutions, as well as the psychology of the makers of culture, are undergoing changes.

In this process the social role and position of intellectual professions is changing too. A new intelligentsia is being born out of the masses. The problem of the social position of teachers cannot be separated from the essential changes which affect the role of all professions in the development of the nation, the relations between those professions on the one hand and the working class and the peasants on the other. The source of those changes is to be sought not in spontaneous processes taking place on the free competition market of intellectual professions, but in the changes in the social system, namely in the introduction of planned economy which is carrying out the tasks of developing both national culture and national economy. As a result of all those transformations the intelligentsia has become connected with the working class by the community of aims—the fulfilment of the national plan. At the same time the intelligentsia, differentiated as it is into various

intellectual professions, has become an indispensable factor for the fulfilment of the plan. This is the most essential change in the social role of the Polish intelligentsia. It is becoming more and more manifest as the Six-Year Plan is being carried out. These changes have set the schools and the teachers new tasks resulting from the requirements of the plan. And at the same time the schools, while undergoing radical changes, are in turn becoming on an ever-growing scale an instrument for transforming the intelligentsia.

In the academic year 1934–5, sons and daughters of peasants (holders of farms not exceeding 5 hectares in area) and of workers constituted only 13·7 per cent. of all university students. This social composition of the students has undergone a radical change. Following a planned recruitment of young people for university studies, which was started in the school year 1947–8, the percentage of students of worker and peasant origin grew from year to year. In 1949 it amounted to 40 per cent. of the whole body of students, the figure for technical schools of university rank being nearly 60 per cent.

Ever larger numbers of young people from those classes which before the war were practically barred from university studies are now entering those professions for which these studies are a prerequisite. Consequently, those professions which are being rejuvenated in this way are losing their class character; a new people's intelligentsia is being born.

This process is a result of a fundamental change in the social system. The popular revolution which has deprived the class of capitalists and landowners of power and social influence—nationalisation of industry and the development of socialised industry, breaking up of big estates, nationalisation of banks, and social reforms covering all the fields of social relations—has changed the social structure of those professions which developed historically in connection with the development of the bourgeoisie.

The professions entered by graduates from university schools have hardly anything more in common with the analogous professions in pre-war times than their names. In People's Poland the professions of a barrister, a physician, or a dental surgeon have, following the socialisation of the bar and of the health service, become entirely new professions.

The health service is a good example of the changes which have followed socialisation. In 1938, there were in Poland 12,917 physicians, out of whom 6,853, i.e. more than a half, practised in towns of more than 100,000 inhabitants. The war, and above all the activities of the Nazi occupation authorities, which were aimed at the extermination of the Polish intelligentsia, reduced the number of physicians by a half. The great efforts in the period covered by the Three-Year Plan made it possible to raise the number of physi-

cians to 8,700, and the number of nurses to 11,238, i.e. to 175 per cent. of the pre-war level (namely, 6,674 in 1938).

What is characteristic here, however, is not the increase of the medical staff alone, but a planned organisation of the social health service for which that staff is being trained. The network of health-service centres, like that of schools, is being expanded in a planned way. A physician who is employed in the socialised health service may also have a private practice of his own, but the notion of a 'profession' has lost the essential meaning it had in the capitalist system. All essential differences between the 'free' profession of a physician and the public function of a teacher have disappeared. Physicians and nurses are public servants, as are also teachers and nursery school attendants.

S. Łukasiewicz published before the war a novel entitled *Nauczyciele* (*'Teachers'*), which described the life of secondary school teachers. Its hero, a young teacher whom his colleagues made realise that his profession was nothing to boast of, "happened to take part in a reception attended by barristers, doctors, and engineers. He felt then quite ashamed of the fact he was just a teacher. He was shy and humble, and others treated him with unmistakable though veiled contempt."

The primary school teacher's place in the social hierarchy was even lower. "The social position of such a person was not to be envied," writes an elementary school teacher in his memoirs. "At that time I was working in Warsaw. I remember how young women in company used to hide the fact that they were teachers. They preferred people to think they were office workers. There was a tremendous difference between primary school and secondary school teachers." [3]

About the same time (1932), *Głos Nauczycielski,* the central organ of the Polish Teachers' Union, wrote:

> In Poland we can see a strange paradox—the great army of unemployed has been increased by teachers, who are out of work, while at the same time according to official figures the schools are unable to accommodate 340,000 children because of lack of classrooms and lack of funds for teachers' salaries. . . .[4]

New Tasks

I have dwelt at length on the change which has come about in Poland in the relative position of doctors and teachers, since the social standing of every profession is indicated by its relationship to others. Using this example, I wanted to bring out the fundamental significance of the social criterion in establishing the hierarchy of professions in our society. This criterion consists in the social function which a given profession fulfils.

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[3] Marian Witkowski, *Głos Nauczycielski,* September 14th, 1952.
[4] *Głos Nauczycielski,* 1932, No. 20.

At the third National Congress of Delegates of the Polish Teachers' Union in 1951, President Bierut told the teachers:

> Your mission is to fight for peace and the Six-Year Plan by moulding the minds of the young people and using the powerful weapon of learning and knowledge. Under the banner of learning and knowledge, progress and socialism, consolidate the millions of young people in Poland. Form, along with the young people of Poland, a powerful legion of peace defenders and fighters for cultural revolution, who are in the forefront of the nation and who are shaping our splendid and rich socialist culture, imbued with the finest elements of our cultural heritage, and rising on the foundation of the new, socialist economy.

These tasks confronting Polish teachers show the position they occupy and the role they must play in People's Poland.

Let us have a look at the report of the Teachers' Congress in 1951. What strikes us about it? The social significance of the Conference, as of all the work of the union, lies in the fact that the whole of its work was dominated by the central theme of mobilising all the teachers for the fulfilment of the Six-Year Plan. The Six-Year Plan is the whole nation's plan, and from the point of view of the function which the Teachers' Union fulfils towards the community, its main task is to play as big a part as possible in the fulfilment of the plan. It is also a criterion of the social position of the teacher. This criterion is applied to the teachers by the working class—the class which, together with the teachers, is shaping by its work the existence and the progress of the nation.

Here we have the key to the question. When the clergy, the aristocracy, and the businessmen had to yield to the working class their say in establishing the relative status of the various professions in society, then the old hierarchy collapsed, so that useful and productive work and the creative contributions of scientists, paving the way to progress, now take the place of the old aristocratic and plutocratic criteria.

This must be borne in mind when reading the report of the Polish Teachers' Congress, and when trying to understand the difference between the structure and the social functions of that trade union before the war and now.

Is the Teachers' Union never confronted with questions concerning the material welfare of the teachers, or are the teachers in Poland so well off that there is no need for improvement? Of course this is not the case. The enormous investments connected with the industrialisation of the country require unusual efforts and thrifty management on the part of the whole community. The union is very active in dealing with the material affairs of the teachers, but that is not its main purpose.

Under capitalism, the main purpose of the Teachers' Union and the trade unions in general, is to fight for better pay and better conditions. The trade unions in the capitalist countries fight

against organised interests. But whom is the Polish Teachers' Union to fight? The various other trade unions of workers? The pay and other conditions of the teachers, as of other workers, are questions which are dealt with by the Trade Unions' Council, to which the Polish Teachers' Union also belongs.

Much light on the structure and the role of the Polish Teachers' Union is thrown by the fact that it is the only trade union of teachers in Poland. The teachers of every type of school, from nursery school to university, belong to this union, which has 180,000 members. The following table shows the growth of the union's membership:

Year	*Total Number of Members*	*Number of Women*
1938	51,746	—
1950	145,876	85,125
1951	162,881	95,191
1952	179,248	106,541

Here it must be added that, before the war, besides the Polish Teachers' Union there were several other unions, membership of which depended on religious belief or nationality. There was also a separate Technical Teachers' Association, which in 1938 had 1,020 members, and the Association of Secondary School and University Teachers, which in 1938 had 3,298 members. These unions had relatively small memberships.[5] The number given in the table for the year 1938 indicates only the membership of the Polish Teachers' Union. The total number of teachers in all the trade unions amounted to 66,000.

The immense increase in the number of union members is not only the result of the amalgamation of all the unions into one big teachers' union, nor of the fact that membership of the union has become more general, nor that it now includes administrative workers in the schools, but it is also the result of the great increase in the total number of teachers in the country. The number of teachers in the various schools, apart from the universities and colleges, now amounts to 100,000.

In comparing the number of teachers before the war and now, we must also remember that within the pre-war frontiers of the Polish state (including also areas inhabited by peoples of other nationalities), the population amounted to 30 million in 1931,

[5] Polish teachers' associations were described by me in the *Educational Yearbook* of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York (1935).

whereas now it is about 25 million (the exact figure for 1946 was 23,929,800).

This unification of the teachers' unions is paralleled by the unification of the whole school system. '*L'école unique*', which provided the subject for discussion and controversy by teachers throughout the whole period between the First and Second World Wars, has ceased to be a controversial issue. It has come into being as a result of the democratisation of the whole social and political system.

Scientific workers also belong to the Polish Teachers' Union. The formal aspect of this fact is of secondary importance here. What is important is the fact that scientific workers have been brought into close contact with other teachers. In his book, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* (1944), the sociologist Karl Mannheim rightly pointed out that one of the central problems of modern society was the problem of intellectual leadership. The era of the liberal conception of science, so characteristic of Victorian England, has gone for good. That era was brought to an end once and for all by the atom bomb.

The present evolution of the Polish teachers and Polish intellectuals in general began during the war. During the Nazi occupation some 17,000 teachers throughout the country were killed, and 90 per cent. of Warsaw's schools were totally destroyed. The experiences of the war and the occupation, so difficult to recapture, have nevertheless been beautifully portrayed by Kazimierz Brandys in his book *Miasto Niepokonane—Opowieść o Warszawie* ('The Unconquered City—The Story of Warsaw'). I should like to quote a short excerpt from this book, describing the moment when the author crossed the bridge over the Vistula, together with the population driven from this city which was condemned to die a lonely death.

> Along with the crowds I wandered over the bridge with a bag slung over my arm, containing the manuscript of my first novel. And it often occurred to me that I owed this city not only my salvation, but also an indefinable good which I attained in return for a terrible price paid by the city. For in spite of the fact that I managed to escape death and torture, and all my sufferings were only in the world of fear, during these years I learned the great principle of community. . . . We came to understand that what is human is social by its very nature, and to denounce the seclusion which gave rise only to hatred, doubts, and fear.

The writer has caught very well the psychological essence of this change, which Polish intellectuals know from their own experience. This was our road leading "over the bridge" from the "unconquered city" to our socialist system, a road on which we came to understand that "what is human is social by its very nature". This process was not an easy one. In the course of the class struggle taking place in the community and the inner conflict taking place

in ourselves, we gradually passed from our abstract conception of the "principle of community" and from our subjective consciousness of this community to the unification of all the forces of the nation on its historic transformation into a socialist nation.

J. CHAŁASIŃSKI.

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CHAPTER TWO

YUGOSLAVIA

THE professional, social, and economic status of teachers in Yugoslavia has been changed by the National Revolution, which took place during the War of Liberation (1941–5), and the socialist reconstruction of the country after the war. The significance of teachers in social life has been increased through the economic development of the country, and their status is continually improving.

The teachers of Yugoslavia have done much to raise the over-all cultural level of the people. They have worked not only in schools and educational establishments but also in campaigns against illiteracy, in the organisation of cultural and artistic activities, particularly in villages and in mass organisations; they have delivered numerous lectures and courses for the enlightenment of the people, and in their associations they have developed widespread activities. By such achievements they have gained public esteem: they are no longer looked upon as mere employees but hold a high position among other civil servants.

During the last few years, state administration has been decentralised and powers transferred to local authorities: a policy which conforms to that of the socialist democratisation of economic and social life. Great reforms in the administration of education have followed. The Ministries of Education in the republics and the committees for education in districts and towns have been transformed into *Councils for Education, Science, and Culture of the People's Republics* and into *Councils for Education and Culture* in the towns and districts. These councils consist of leading cultural and educational workers, scientists, teachers, men of letters, artists, and other citizens who show interest in and understanding of this work. The teachers enter the councils as representatives of their associations, according to a law passed in Parliament on January 13th, 1953, and they can be recalled only by the associations themselves. The councils discuss and solve educational and cultural problems, decide on measures to be taken, deliberate on matters of educational policy. Thus the co-operation of a large number of people, most of whom are educators, is secured. This makes possible the exercise of a certain amount of social control in the educational sphere and stimulates participation of workers in the shaping and carrying out of educational and cultural policy.

The councils do not constitute a mere replacement of one official

body by another under a new name and with old methods of management, but they represent a coalescence between government departments and citizens' organisations. They have taken over certain functions and tasks which in the past had been carried out by the state exclusively. Nowadays all matters of education and culture are discussed and decided on in collaboration with associations of educators. A great deal of the work which used to be done by government administrative bodies has been transferred to these associations, such as, e.g., the preparation of curricula and textbooks, the raising of the level of professional competence, the training of good teachers and proficient experts in various subjects. To promote the teachers' professional training, the associations collaborate also with professional societies such as the Society of Geographers, Society of Historians, Society of Mathematicians and Physicists, Society of Biologists, etc.

Remuneration

The rapid and successful development of the national economy in the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, and the resulting changes in the economic life of the country, made necessary a revision of the old system of wage and salary scales for workers and civil servants. The old system dated from the pre-war period and did not correspond to new conditions and needs. In 1947 an adjustment of salaries and wages was made for workers and civil servants which also improved the material position of educators. However, in view of the rapid economic and social expansion that had taken place in the republic by 1950–1, it had become obvious that this adjustment did not correspond to the level of the country's social and economic development either.

A discussion on the status of educators was held in April 1952. After consultation and in collaboration with trade unions and educators' organisations and on the basis of a thorough analysis of economic possibilities, a series of wage and salary scales was set up for the various professions, occupations, and specialities. They take into consideration academic qualifications and abolish differences in pay based on relatively small differences in age. Primary school teachers in their first three years of service have received an increase of 330 dinars [1] per month over their former salary; and those in the top rank, which is usually reached after 21 years of service, have received an increase of 4,380 dinars per month. At the same time, the cost of living for workers and civil servants has fallen somewhat below the 1951 level.

All civil servants are classified into 20 groups according to quali-

[1] Officially £1 = about 850 dinars; 1 U.S. $ = about 300 dinars. But the purchasing value of the dinar is considerably higher: perhaps twice as high as this exchange rate would indicate.—EDITORS.

fications, occupations, and length of service. Class I is the top rank, with a monthly salary of 22,500 dinars. It includes outstanding experts in government, some eminent deputy ministers and university professors. In the bottom class the salary is 5,000 dinars. This class includes unqualified civil servants with only an elementary education.

The regulations establish a rank and salary system for teachers which is determined by qualifications and type of service. Teachers who work with children and adolescents are classified as primary school teachers, 'educators', vocational teachers, middle school teachers, or secondary school teachers. The qualification required for teachers in primary schools or in the four lower classes of the eight-year school, for 'educators' in children's homes and other educational establishments, and for vocational teachers, is the certificate of the teacher training college (which is awarded after eight years of compulsory education and four or five years in a teacher training college), or the certificates of a corresponding vocational school. The vocational teacher teaches subjects such as singing, physical training, arts, crafts, etc., in eight-year schools, secondary schools, and vocational schools. Teachers classified as primary school teachers, 'educators', or vocational teachers start in Class XV with a monthly salary of 6,800 dinars, and are promoted on the basis of length of service until they reach Class VIII with a monthly salary of 12,500 dinars. Promotion from class to class takes place almost automatically every three years, and the corresponding increase in salary is 400 to 1,000 dinars per month. Thus Class VIII may be reached after 21 years of service. The regulations foresee three periodical increments after the top rank has been reached, one every three years. The first and the second amount to 500 dinars each and the third to 700 dinars. In this way the primary school teacher, the 'educator', and the vocational teacher may earn a monthly salary of 14,200 dinars after 30 years of service. In addition to their salaries, teachers who are on duty in villages and have less than 12 years of service get an extra allowance of 500 dinars (if they have less than three years of service), 400 dinars (three to six years of service), or 300 dinars (six to twelve years of service) per month.

The qualification required for the post of middle school teacher is the diploma of a college of education. For admission to that college, a certificate of a teachers' training college or of a higher secondary school is required. The training course lasts two years (four semesters). With the diploma of a college of education the teacher is qualified to teach the subjects in which he has specialised, in the upper classes of the eight-year school, or in the lower classes of the secondary school. For purposes of remuneration, the middle school teacher is classified in the same way as the secondary school teacher (see below); but there is a deduction of 3 per cent. from

his salary until he reaches Class VII—the top class—after 24 years of service, when he receives a monthly salary of 13,500 dinars. After 33 years of service, with three periodical increments, he may earn 15,600 dinars. However, if the middle school teacher teaches in the upper classes of the secondary school, in a teacher training college, or in a secondary vocational school, he receives the salary of a secondary school teacher without any deductions.

For the rank of secondary school teacher a university degree is required.[2] Courses at the faculty of philosophy and at the faculty of natural science and mathematics last four years (eight semesters). The secondary school teacher is qualified to teach the subjects in which he has specialised at the university, in all classes of the secondary school, in teacher training colleges and vocational schools. In the salary scale he ranks from Class XIV to Class VI, with a monthly salary ranging from 7,200 dinars to 15,000 dinars. He is transferred to the next higher class every three years. A secondary school teacher reaches the top class after 24 years of service, with a monthly salary of 15,000 dinars. After 33 years of service and three increments of 700 dinars each, he may earn up to 17,100 dinars monthly.

For a university teaching career, the first condition is a university degree and a record of scientific work. Secondary school teachers who are outstanding in their subjects can also become university teachers if they prove capable of doing scientific work. The posts in universities and schools of university standing are: assistant, lecturer, *docent*, junior professor, senior professor (head of department). The assistant advances in the salary scale in the same way as the secondary school teacher. The lecturer starts in Class X (10,000 dinars per month), and is promoted until he reaches the top class, VI. All university posts are elective, and elections take place at the sessions of the faculty councils on the basis of duly advertised competitive examinations, and of the candidate's competence in his subject. If he has published any scientific work it is taken into account.

A secondary school teacher with a university degree can also become professor in a college of education if he is outstanding in his subject and has had papers published in professional journals. This post, too, is elective, elections being held by the teaching staff of the college of education on the basis of duly advertised competitive examinations and of the applicant's academic record. The successful candidate receives the title of Professor of the College of

[2] The requirements for university entrance are: either four years of primary school plus eight years of secondary school, or the eight-year school course plus four years of higher secondary school. Although all students pass matriculation examinations on leaving secondary school, nearly all universities have recently begun to require entrance examinations as well.

Education, with a corresponding classification in the salary scale from Class VIII (12,500 dinars per month) to Class IV (18,000 dinars per month). He reaches the top class after twelve years.

The posts of *docent*, junior professor, and senior professor exist only in universities and institutes of university standing. All university posts are elective, and the ranks of *docent* and university professor are awarded only to those who hold a doctoral degree. Elections are held by the faculty councils on the basis of an advertised competitive examination and of the candidate's academic record. The ballot is secret.

Secondary school teachers with a doctoral degree have no special status except the right to compete for the above posts at the universities and colleges of education.

Docents are classified in the salary scale from Class VI (15,000 dinars) to Class IV (18,000 dinars); junior university professors, from Class IV (18,000 dinars) to Class III (19,500 dinars); and senior university professors from Class II (21,000 dinars) to Class I (22,500 dinars)—the highest salary in the civil service. Promotion to a higher class takes place every three years, but there are no more periodical increments once the top class has been reached.

Teachers who are heads of schools, children's homes, and other educational or cultural establishments get an additional allowance which corresponds to their position and years of service. Among those entitled to such an allowance are principals of primary, eight-year, and secondary schools; principals of training colleges and vocational schools; school inspectors, deans, heads of university departments, rectors, etc.—in short, all those in charge of educational institutions or administrative organs. The functional allowance ranges from 300 to 6,000 dinars monthly, the exact amount being determined by the significance and size of the institution or department. The highest allowance (6,000 dinars) is paid to university rectors.

Teachers' salaries are fixed by a uniform scale for the teaching profession which is valid throughout the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, so that there are no differences in remuneration among the various people's republics. Remuneration is determined by type of work, professional abilities, qualifications, and years of service, regardless of sex, nationality, or religion. "Equal pay for equal work" holds true in every branch of work throughout Yugoslavia. Women enjoy the same rights as men in every respect, including remuneration. Special attention is paid to the material welfare of teachers who are on duty in villages; free lodgings with a vegetable garden and fuel are provided for them by the community through the agency of the respective people's committee.

Salaries and allowances are free of all taxes, including contributions to the health service, which is state financed.

Opportunities are given to 'educators' and primary school teachers to obtain higher qualifications. They may work as part-time students at a college of education or at the faculty of philosophy, and thus may eventually become middle or secondary school teachers.

Apart from teaching in schools, many teachers give lessons in evening continuation courses for workers and civil servants. For this work they receive extra pay on the basis of periods taught. In schools, too, additional pay is offered for every class period in excess of the legal maximum, which is twenty-two periods a week for beginners, and twenty-four for teachers with more than three years of service. There is a tendency to lower this maximum, and only the shortage of teaching personnel has so far prevented this step. Owing to this shortage there is also a small number of part-time teachers (non-appointed teachers) who are paid per class period.

Attached to the district and town people's committees there are committees in charge of the classification of teachers and of determining their qualifications for promotion. Each such committee must include a representative of the association of which the teacher whose case is being discussed is a member.

Teachers are paid by the local authorities (district or town people's councils) of the areas in which their schools or other educational establishments are situated. It is very difficult to compare the salaries of civil servants with those of employees and workers in the national economy, because regulations vary widely. Wages and salaries of workers and employees in factories, mines, and other economic enterprises depend on the execution of the production programme for the establishment in question and on its financial situation. Every enterprise sets up its own regulations according to its economic possibilities, although there is a basic scale which stipulates minimum wages throughout the national economy. Roughly speaking, the salaries of highly qualified and intermediate professional staff, as well as of highly skilled workers in productive enterprises, are a little higher than those paid to civil servants. In some cases, however, the reverse holds true. It is therefore much easier to establish comparisons among the different branches of the civil service. Among all civil servants with average professional qualifications, teachers are the best paid. The initial salary of a teacher is 400 dinars higher than that of any other civil servant with qualifications of the same rank; and in the top class the difference is 1,000 dinars. When the special allowance for those teaching in villages is taken into account, this difference becomes considerably greater: no other group of civil servants is paid such an allowance. Middle school and secondary school teachers receive the same remuneration as other civil servants with higher school or university degrees. However, there is one important

difference: a great number of civil servants in other branches never reach Class VI, because the vacancies in this class are limited. Physicians and judges may earn higher salaries than secondary school teachers, but only when on elective duty. The salaries of army officers are higher than those of teachers.

A comparison between the earnings of free professions (lawyers, men of letters, artists, etc.) with those of the teaching profession is practically impossible, because of wide variations from one case to another. Some lawyers, men of letters, and artists earn much more than teachers; others earn less.

Health Service

In the new Yugoslavia a considerable change has taken place with regard to health services for workers and civil servants. Workers, civil servants, and employees and their families are entitled to free health services. The state shoulders the costs for its civil servants and workers; similarly, private employers and enterprises must provide health services for their employees.

The health service is uniform and offers the same rights to all those insured. It covers free and unlimited medical treatment, material assistance in the case of partial disablement, insurance in the case of temporary unemployment, material support in cases of injury or disablement through occupational accidents, retraining for a new job in cases of disablement for specific types of work, allowances for children, retirement pensions, and pensions for the permanently disabled.

In the case of illness, a teacher is granted leave of absence for a period up to one year, during which time he continues to receive his full salary. If he has not recovered after one year, he is examined by a committee of physicians, who can prolong his sickness leave for another year. After the expiration of the second year he must once more present himself to the medical committee, and if they pronounce him disabled for further work, he is recommended for a disablement pension. The amount of the pension depends on the number of years of service.

All those insured, as well as their families, are entitled to medical treatment regardless of the length of their service, type of illness, or duration of treatment. In addition to free treatment, full salaries are paid throughout the duration of the illness. In the case of partial disablement, whether the injury has occurred at work or not, the insured individual is entitled to a disablement allowance in addition to his regular pay. Simultaneously, if his working capacity is diminished, he is trained for another occupation. The amount of the pension for the permanently disabled depends on the number of years of service. Superannuation amounts to 92 to 96 per cent. of the last salary.

In the case of death, all dependants are entitled to a pension.

Children receive a pension until they reach the age of 14; if, however, they are at school, the age limit is increased to 19 for secondary school pupils and to 25 for full-time students in universities or other institutes of higher education. The widow receives a pension only if she is over 45. If the parents of the deceased were maintained by him, they too have a right to his pension.

Normally, conditions for retirement are 30 years of service and 50 years of age for women teachers, and 35 years of service and 55 years of age for men teachers. However, the superannuation pension can be made payable after a minimum of 15 years of service; in these cases the minimum age is 55 years for women teachers and 65 for men.

The insured individual has the right to a special allowance for his children under 14, or, if they are studying, under 24. This allowance is progressive; it may amount to 1,000, 2,000, or 3,000 dinars per child, depending on the economic situation of the insured individual. If both parents are employed, only one of them is entitled to this allowance.

When the insured individual dies, his family or the person in charge of the funeral receives the equivalent of two months wages for burial expenses.

Much attention is paid to mothers, whether they are working or not. At the birth of a child, three months' paid leave is granted, as well as material assistance. Women who hold jobs, or those whose husbands are insured, receive a lump sum of 8,000 dinars for the baby's outfit; in addition, they are paid an allowance for special nourishment for mother and child during the first six months, amounting to 600 dinars monthly. After she has returned from her leave, and until the child has reached the age of six months, the woman's working hours are reduced to four, or, in the case of teachers, three class periods a day.

Transfers

Teachers can be transferred from one locality to another, or from one school to another, at their own request or on grounds of service requirements. Transfers generally take place during the summer holidays, so that the teacher can be in his school at the beginning of the school year; only in exceptional cases are transfers made in the middle of the school year. Costs are paid by the authorities when the transfer is due to service requirements. The district, town, and people's republic's councils have set up special boards to handle transfers. Each board must include representatives of the teachers' associations of the respective district, town, or people's republic. In the case of transfer on grounds of service requirements, the teacher has the right to appeal. If he himself has applied for transfer, he must obtain the agreement of the boards of both the locality where he is on duty and the locality to which he is to move. Transfers

are more frequent inside a people's republic than from one republic to another. In this latter case there must be agreement between the corresponding boards at the respective people's republic's councils. In considering requests for transfer, boards take into account the applicant's whole situation. Thus priority is given to teachers whose children wish to attend schools of a type non-existent in their own locality.

The number of teachers who give up their profession for other types of work is rather small. There are some teachers who are also members of Parliament, of people's committees, or who work in mass organisations, but a complete change of profession is very uncommon. On the contrary, many teachers who have changed to other occupations are returning to the teaching profession.

Training Institutions

Students are admitted to teacher training schools after graduation from the eight-year school or from the lower secondary school. As there are always more applicants than vacancies, competitive examinations are held, and only the best pupils are admitted. Most of these come from villages.

The training schools offer a four-year course, which has recently been prolonged to five years. The course covers both academic and professional subjects, including teaching practice. There is a primary school attached to every training school, but other schools as well are used for the practical training of student teachers. The students are about 14 to 15 years old when they enter the training school. At the end of their last year they have to pass a Matriculation Examination in order to obtain the certificate which qualifies them as primary school teachers.

At a college of education much attention is paid to pedagogical training, apart from the study of various scientific subjects. There is always an eight-year school attached to a college of education, and in addition students undergo practical training in other eight-year schools and lower secondary schools. The students at this college belong to different age-groups. Those who matriculate after graduation from the higher secondary school are 18 or 19 years old. Those who are admitted immediately after graduation from the teacher training school tend to be the same age or a year older. But there are also a number of students who enter a college of education after having taught in a primary school for several years.

Universities have no teacher training departments, but only departments of education where all students at the faculty of philosophy and the faculty of natural science and mathematics are required to take a course in pedagogy in addition to their regular courses. Before sitting for the examination in pedagogy the students attend classes in a secondary school and give one lesson in one of the classes they have visited. There is a tendency to

encourage the pedagogical training of secondary school teachers. Regular courses at the faculties last four years (eight semesters). Conditions for admission to the faculties are the Certificate of the Matriculation Examination of the higher secondary school and the passing of an entrance examination set by the faculty. A degree is given after the conclusion of the eighth semester, provided the examinations have been passed and all practical exercises carried out. On graduation from the faculty the student is at least 22 or 23 years old.

Appointment and Dismissal

Graduates from teacher training schools are appointed to primary schools; those from colleges of education to eight-year and lower secondary schools; and those from universities to lower and higher secondary and vocational schools. University graduates may also be appointed to teach in the upper classes of the eight-year school which are equivalent to, and have the same curricula as, lower secondary schools. Some graduates stay on at the university as assistants or go on to various institutions for scientific research.

Teachers are appointed immediately after graduation, and no probationary period is required. However, they must pass a professional examination within the first five years of their teaching career, but they may pass it after the first eighteen months of their career. This examination consists of three parts: written, oral, and practical. The written part covers the teacher's special subject; the oral is divided into two sections dealing with professional and pedagogical subjects respectively.

Up to the present, teachers have been appointed in the following way: in view of the unequal distribution of teaching personnel among the different people's republics, a staff distribution plan is first drawn up by the federal secretariats of the Personnel Service. Then the republic's Councils for Education, Science, and Culture put the staff allotted to them at the disposal of their district and town people's committees, which in turn post them in the various schools in their area. Thus appointments are handled ultimately by the local committees. The school inspector has no say in matters of appointment, but his opinion, as well as the principal's, are taken into account when the question of promotion arises. The principal has the right to demand a professional inspection of the applicants work; if it is found unsatisfactory, promotion is postponed. On the other hand, if the teacher feels he has been treated unfairly, he may put in a claim for promotion; and when his case is being decided the participation of the representative of his association is secured.

Young teachers usually start their career in villages far out in the country. After a few years, they may be posted nearer to or in the town itself. Such transfers depend to a large extent on the judg-

ment of the candidate's association. The same holds true for the careers of young middle and secondary school teachers.

On the occasion of their appointment, teachers, like all civil servants, take the following oath:

> I swear upon the honour of my people and upon my own that I shall serve the people, that I shall be loyal to the constitution and its laws, that I shall defend the constitutional democracy of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia and of the People's Republic of . . . [Serbia, Croatia, etc., as the case may be], and that I shall do my duty conscientiously.

The civil servants' rights and responsibilities are laid down by law. If a teacher or any other civil servant violates his legal and constitutional obligations, he can be dismissed. However, the reasons for his dismissal must be expressly stated in the notice delivered to him. A teacher may be dismissed by verdict of the disciplinary court, which includes a representative of his association. If his dismissal is due to an offence against good professional conduct (e.g. in cases of drunkenness, public scandal, offences against children, etc.), he still has the right to take up another profession. The criteria for good professional conduct are more severe in the teaching profession than in many other professions. No distinctions are made in this respect among teachers, principals, inspectors, etc. However, dismissal of teachers is very rare. In every case an appeal can be put in against dismissal.

Working Conditions

Working hours for teachers are stipulated by the plans and curricula for the various types of school. In primary schools the plan foresees twenty to twenty-five periods a week. The teacher is expected to be punctual for his lessons; after class he is free.

Teachers may belong to political and professional organisations. In the case of infringement of their rights by the authorities, teachers, like all working people in the new Yugoslavia, have at their disposal various mechanisms for the defence of their interests, such as the Press, criticism in public meetings, action taken through their associations or other professional and mass organisations, etc.

All teachers have at least a six-week holiday in the summer, whereas other civil servants have only fifteen to thirty days. In addition, teachers are free from January 15th to 31st.

The curricula for every subject and every type of school are discussed and drawn up in teachers' meetings. But once a curriculum has been agreed upon, it is adopted in all schools of the same type throughout the people's republic. Every teacher has the right to use whatever teaching methods he prefers, provided the curriculum is covered. He also has the free choice of existing textbooks approved by the Council for Education, Science, and Culture.

However, this choice is as yet somewhat limited owing to the shortage of textbooks. Individual teachers, as well as teachers' associations, analyse textbooks, curricula, and plans and publish reviews and criticisms in the daily or professional Press. Such public discussions encourage the publication of new textbooks. The professional Press very often publishes discussions on problems of education, planning of curricula and syllabuses, textbook editing, etc. Thus it becomes one of the channels for the exchange of experiences and ideas among teachers. The same kind of problems are discussed in local teachers' associations and at the yearly meetings of the teachers' association for the people's republic. The professional Press also publishes contributions by teachers in other countries, e.g. England, France, Western Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, U.S.A., and others.

Parent-teacher meetings are held in schools at regular intervals. At these meetings, too, problems of education are discussed.

According to the constitution, the church is separated from the state and, consequently, from the school system as well. There is no religious instruction in school, and no religious organisation may exercise any control or power in matters of education.

Schools have their own youth clubs. They, as well as the 'Pioneers' Organisation' (for children under 14) are all affiliated to the 'National Youth of Yugoslavia'. Together with the influence of parents and teachers, these organisations constitute an important factor in the education of children and adolescents.

Principals are selected from among the most capable teachers. Their professional standing must be high and their conduct impeccable; they must be good citizens and good community members. Of course, there are exceptions to this rule. All problems related to the school are discussed and measures and decisions taken at the meetings of the staff councils which are formed by the whole teaching staff of a given school. Resolutions are passed on the basis of a majority of votes. The school inspector's function is to advise and help the teacher rather than to control him. The progressive democratisation of the country's social and economic life is marked by the struggle against bureaucracy and bureaucratic attitudes in matters of human relations. Teachers are playing an important and active part in this struggle, which characterises the fight for socialist democracy.

A considerable percentage of the teaching staff are women, particularly in primary and secondary schools. We have no statistics on the relative proportions of married and unmarried women teachers; however, the majority are married. In the new Yugoslavia, marriage has never been an impediment to employment in teaching or in any other profession. No efforts are made on part of government agencies or the general public either to encourage or discourage marriage of women teachers. There is a certain generalised

feeling that girls should marry and become mothers; but if they choose not to do so they are in no way discriminated against.

Organisation of Educators

After the War of Liberation educators organised themselves into the League of Educators (later the Trade Union of Educators), which included teachers, scientists, artists, men of letters, and all those engaged in work of an educational, scientific, or cultural kind. However, this proved too large an organisation, and in 1950 the university teaching staff organised their own association. Other branches of the educational service soon followed suit. Teachers in primary and all types of secondary schools were organised in the Trade Union of Teachers. At a congress held in July 1951, this trade union was dissolved and five new organisations were formed which held their inaugural congresses in the spring of 1952. These new organisations are:

(1) Association of Primary School Teachers of Yugoslavia (30,000 members).

(2) Association of Middle and Secondary School Teachers of Yugoslavia (10,000 members).

(3) Association of Vocational School Teachers of Yugoslavia (6,000 members).

(4) Association of Special School Teachers of Yugoslavia (5,000 members).

(5) Association of Educators in Pre-School Establishments of Yugoslavia (1,000 members).

All these associations have central committees for the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia; area committees for each of the people's republics; and district and town committees for every district and town. All these associations have the status of trade union organisations.

Being thus grouped together according to types of schools, teachers are in a position to deal with their specific problems more successfully. Although all teachers' associations co-operate with one another, there is no blanket organisation to which they would all be subordinated.

All these associations have their own statutes. Their aims coincide to a large exent in that they all seek to create a new type of teacher, to raise his level of professional, pedagogic, and ideological competence, to promote educational activities, to educate young people for socialism. They collaborate not only with one another, but also with other professional, pedagogic, and scientific societies, in an effort to promote the enlightenment of the people, build up moral and political unity among the workers, further the cause of socialism, and foster fraternity, equality, and unity among the different nations of Yugoslavia. The associations regulate their members' working conditions, protect and guarantee their legal

rights, promote relations and exchange of professional and pedagogic information with similar associations in other countries, familiarise their members with the culture and educational systems of other nations, and seek to contribute to the cause of international co-operation and the preservation of world peace.

Apart from these associations, which function in much the same way as trade unions, there are various professional and scientific societies in the cultural centres of the various people's republics. Their members are specialists, such as geographers, historians, chemists, physicists, mathematicians, biologists, philosophers, etc. Their aim is to improve professional standards, organise conferences and courses, publish professional and scientific papers, etc. They are partly subsidised by educational agencies.

Social Life in General

The teacher's social life depends on living conditions in his area. Teachers in larger centres have their clubs, which also include cultural workers other than teachers. These clubs organise discussions, lectures, and parties; they provide reference and sometimes also lending libraries. Most teachers enjoy good music and the theatre. There is a certain amount of travelling and group excursions, organised with the support of educational bodies.

In their homes, teachers usually have an animated social life. They not only visit among themselves but also with people in other professions. The public holds teachers in high esteem.

MITAR NIKOLIĆ.
NEDELJKO SAVIĆ.

SECTION V

ASIA

CHAPTER ONE

SYRIA

Remuneration. Since 1947, personnel in public educational institutions have been divided into three categories: University of Syria, secondary schools, and primary schools. Administrative grades form a special group. Table I (on the next page) gives monthly salaries for each grade and each group. Women receive the same salaries as men. In addition, all members of the service have the right to family and children's allowances. Teachers in primary schools, possessing a Certificate of the Normal School, and masters in secondary schools possessing an academic degree, attain their maximum salary at the age of 42 years. University professors reach theirs only at the age of 48.

Masters teaching more hours than the maximum of the weekly time-table receive special remuneration, which must not exceed 30 per cent. of their salaries. Deans and headmasters receive special allowances: deans 30 per cent. of their salary; headmasters or principals of the *lycée,* technical school, or normal school from 50 to 60 Syrian pounds per month; assistant headmasters or principals 40 S. £—in institutions without a boarding establishment from 30 to 50 S. £. Head teachers of primary schools receive an additional allowance of from 6 to 18 S. £ per month. Other allowances of headmasters and head teachers are increased by 45 per cent.

Pensions may be claimed after thirty years of actual service, and on reaching 60 years of age. The pension is calculated by dividing the average salary during the last five years of service by 60, and multiplying it by the number of years of actual service.

Transfer and Promotion. The Ministry of Education transfers and promotes teachers and masters annually according to their merits, seniority, family circumstances, and qualifications. In the case of a shortage of secondary school masters, the Ministry may appoint primary school teachers to secondary schools. Within each *Mohafazat* (department), transfer is administered by the *Mohafez* (*préfet*). Transfer from one department to another is subject to the approval of the Ministry of Education. After graduation the

TABLE I

TABLE OF MONTHLY SALARIES IN SYRIAN POUNDS

Grade	*Range*	*Basic*	*Actual*	*Primary*	*Secondary*	*University*	*Administration*
Exceptional	Maximum Minimum	500 420	750·27 648·65	—	—	—	Secretary-General
I	Maximum Minimum	380 320	597·87 521·63	—	—	Ordinary professor	Director-General
II	Maximum Minimum	290 240	483·53 420·03	—	Master of 1st degree	Associate professor	Director of department or inspector (1st degree)
III	Maximum Minimum	220 190	394·62 356·56	—	Master of 2nd degree	Assistant professor	Inspector (2nd degree)
IV	Maximum Minimum	175 145	337·51 292·03	Teacher of 1st degree	Master of 3rd degree	Senior lecturer	Inspector (3rd degree)
V	Maximum Minimum	130 120	267·25 250·73	Teacher of 2nd degree	Master of 4th degree	Junior lecturer	Assistant inspector
VI	Maximum Minimum	120 100	250·73 217·42	Teacher of 3rd degree	Assistant Masters	—	—
VII	Maximum Minimum	95 85	208·98 191·72	Teacher of 4th degree		—	—
VIII	Maximum Minimum	80 70	181·95 162·42	Teacher of 5th degree		—	—
IX	Maximum Minimum	65 55	152·64 133·10	Teacher of 6th degree	—	—	—
X	Maximum Minimum	55 45	133·10 113·56	Supplementary teacher	—	—	—

candidates are appointed to the lowest grade of their group. They are promoted to the next class (three within each grade) after two years' service. In spite of this regular promotion a certain number of teachers leave the profession. Some are disappointed by the difficulties of the work; others are attracted by higher incomes in business; others, again, are attracted to law, politics, or administration, where they can acquire more authority and influence.

Recruitment. Syrian teachers may belong to any social class, and there are no barriers of race or caste. The only condition of appointment is professional capacity. The personnel is divided

into two groups: *professeurs* (secondary school masters) and *instituteurs* (primary school teachers). The candidates for a post of *professeur* have to possess a university degree (*licence ès-lettres* or *ès-science*), or a special diploma for supplementary subjects such as religion, music, gymnastics, drawing, or manual work. For appointment as *instituteurs* the candidates have to possess either a *brevet élémentaire* or a *baccalauréat*, or a Certificate of a Normal School. The training of secondary school masters is in principle given in the *école normale supérieure* of the University of Syria. The course takes five years: four years for graduation in either science or letters, and one year of professional training. The students are of two categories: those admitted to the first year after a competitive examination, and those admitted to the fifth, professional, year by selection. Conditions for admittance to the first year are: Syrian citizenship, to be not less than 18 years and not more than 22 years of age, and to pass a medical examination. For the admission to the fifth year, in addition to the first and third conditions, the candidates have to possess the *licence ès-lettres* or *ès-science* and to be not less than 22 years and not more than 30 years of age. The training of the *instituteurs* is given in primary normal schools. The course takes three years. The candidates are admitted after an examination and have to be Syrian citizens, not less than 15 and not more than 19 years of age, and to possess the *brevet élémentaire* and a medical certificate. Candidates in possession of a *baccalauréat* may be admitted to one year's training (professional). All the students in training give a pledge to serve as teachers for three times as many years as they have spent in training.

The reasons which attract young people to teaching are mostly of a material character. The training institutions are free boarding establishments. In addition, the career of a teacher assures relatively stable conditions of life. The social status of teachers may also attract many people: they are relatively free, being employed from twenty to thirty hours of class work per week during the nine months of the school year. It is true that the lawyer, the physician, and the engineer have a more lucrative occupation in Syria than the teacher. But the position of the latter does not involve any risks, and at the same time secures him from economic misery. The pedagogical training in the *école normale supérieure* includes psychology, general pedagogics, methodology, history of education, experimental pedagogics, comparative education, and practical teaching in secondary schools. The latter includes observation of model lessons, and two weeks of actual teaching in a *lycée*. Graduates receive either a *certificat d'aptitude au professorat de l'enseignement secondaire* (post-graduate teacher's certificate) or a *licence de pédagogie* (degree in education). The *licence de pédagogie* is awarded to candidates who obtain certificates in general culture, psychology, sociology, and pedagogics.

The subjects taught in primary normal schools include religion, Arabic, French or English, history, geography, mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural history, practical and theoretical agriculture, sociology, psychology, practical and theoretical pedagogics, drawing, manual work, gymnastics, music, and calligraphy. Normal schools are directly subordinated to the Ministry of Education, but the *école normale supérieure* is a part of the University of Syria and under the direction of the academic authorities.

In-service training includes conferences, model lessons, refresher courses, and travelling abroad. The Ministry publishes *The Arab Teacher*, a monthly periodical telling teachers about progressive methods and modern pedagogy. According to the laws in force, candidates who possess a *brevet, baccalauréat,* or *licence* may be appointed to public schools without professional training, but they cannot be placed in a regular grade without the approval of an inspector.

Appointment and Dismissal. Each year the Ministry of Education publishes a list of candidates approved for new appointments in the following order: (i) the graduates of normal schools in the order of their qualifications in the final examination; (ii) teachers returning to service after a long period of sickness or after being released from military service; (iii) candidates admitted after a competitive examination, in the order of their performance at that examination. The Ministry sends the list to the Director of Education of *Mohafazats* (departments), who appoint new teachers to primary schools in their areas. The masters of secondary schools are appointed directly by the university. New teachers are obliged to teach at least the first two years in a rural district. Teachers in public schools may transfer to private schools, at the same salaries as those paid by the Ministry. In primary schools, teachers are usually in charge of a class and teach all subjects, whereas in secondary schools they are subject specialists and may teach in several classes or even in several schools.

The law recognises the equality of all Syrians irrespective of their membership of a racial or religious minority, and appointment in no way depends on affiliation to any racial or religious group. Only persons convicted of crime or those who have committed a misdemeanour are excluded from service in public schools.

Law No. 135 of January 10th, 1945, enumerates the following activities among others which are prohibited to civil servants: commercial or industrial employment, accepting more than one post in the civil service, receiving income from public estates, purchase of movable or immovable property from the state. Punishments are identical for all civil servants, including teachers, and consist of reprimand, cessation of salary, delay of promotion, loss of grade or class, and dismissal. Dismissal is pronounced by the Minister on the recommendation of the council dealing with discipline.

Conditions of Work. According to the regulations of service, the number of hours a week is limited to from twenty to twenty-two for masters of secondary schools, and to thirty-four for teachers in primary schools. Each year the council of school teachers distributes the work among its members. Teachers are not obliged to remain at school beyond their allotted hours. The law allows teachers to belong to professional organisations, but forbids affiliation to any political party or to associations considered dangerous to the public service, and prohibits demonstrations or strikes against public authorities. Teachers enjoy the same vacations as the pupils. Outside the long vacation of three months they are allowed thirty days, of which fifteen are given after the half-yearly examinations.

Leave of absence is allowed for personal reasons for three months, renewable up to six months. It can be prolonged up to a year if it is required for professional studies. During leave of absence for personal reasons the teacher loses his salary and his rights to promotion. Leave of absence for sickness is awarded either by the *Mohafez* or by the Minister. For the first four months the teacher retains his salary, during the next three months he receives only half of his salary, and then retains his post without salary until the end of the year. Maternity leave of absence with full salary is accorded for four months.

School curricula are determined by decree. Textbooks are published by the Ministry. The instructions for teaching different subjects are included in the published programmes, and the teachers are enjoined to follow them strictly as their own personal responsibility.

The law permits the exchange of teachers between schools in different parts of Syria as well as with foreign countries, the latter kind of exchange, however, is very limited at present.

Religious or political organisations have no influence whatsoever in the educational institutions. School regulations prohibit pupils from participating in any organisations outside the school. Parents' committees do not exist in Syria. The director of the school is responsible for the good pedagogical organisation of his institution. The inspector is both a superior officer and an adviser. Teachers are not simply subordinated to directors and inspectors; they collaborate with them for the general benefit of pupils. Directors and inspectors take special care not to discourage individual initiative which may bring favourable results.

The percentage of married women teachers amounts to about 30 per cent. of all women teachers. Although the complete emancipation of women in Syria still meets with obstacles, there is no opposition to the educational activities of women. Marriage between teachers is encouraged by appointing married couples to the same area.

Professional Organisations. Syrian law recognises only trade

unions of industrial, commercial, or agricultural workers. However, teachers form professional associations: there is one for primary teachers and another for secondary teachers. These associations organise conferences and libraries, but otherwise their activities are very limited. They must be approved by the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Education. They may form national associations, but all political activities are prohibited. Special-subject societies are also formed, but they have no influence on the policy of the Ministry.

Social Situation. The social conditions of Syrian teachers are more or less the same for all teachers and areas. They have the same status and the same salaries, they teach the same programmes and they encounter the same difficulties. Thus they develop the same attitudes and the same habits. They frequent the same theatres, take part in the same excursions and sport festivities. As a rule, teachers choose their friends among their colleagues, but as their status rises they also meet lawyers, physicians, officers, and other civil servants. On the whole the teacher's life affords few relaxations, and he finds it well to avoid noisy company and doubtful establishments. His behaviour, his language, his actions, and even his gestures are under constant public supervision. Public opinion in Syria allows men teachers to smoke, to frequent cafés and theatres, but women teachers would be blamed for this and must behave strictly in accordance with accepted traditions. Syrian teachers take part in the social life of the community, and maintain the indispensable contacts with the families of their pupils. They even present themselves as candidates for parliamentary elections, but the number of teachers who are deputies is very small. The table opposite gives a comparison of the status of civil servants in the Ministry of Education and in that of Justice.

One must take into consideration, however, that although judges and teachers may belong to the same grade, they do not possess the same social status. The judge, in view of his closer contact with the population, enjoys more authority than the teacher. On the whole the social status of the teacher of a primary school is lower than that of the master of the *lycée*. The status of the university professor is the highest in the educational service. In comparison with other liberal professions, the status of primary teachers and secondary school masters is lower than that of lawyers, physicians, engineers, bank managers, and directors of industrial and commercial firms. But in spite of an ungrateful and difficult career, the social position of teachers is considered superior to that of officers of the same grade, as well as to that of the clergy or of manual workers.

The civil servants of the Ministry of Education in Syria enjoy the respect of the entire population. They are considered devoted servants, who have to educate and train the *élite* of the nation.

TABLE II

Grade	*Ministry of Education*	*Ministry of Justice*
Exceptional	Rector of the university	President of the Court of Cassation
I	Ordinary professor	President of the Court of Appeal; President of the Tribunal (1st class)
II	Associate professor; master of the *lycée*, 1st degree	President of the Tribunal (2nd class)
III	Assistant professor; master of the *lycée*, 2nd degree	President of the Tribunal (3rd class); judge (1st class)
IV	Senior lecturer; master of the *lycée*, 3rd degree; teacher, 1st degree	Judge (2nd class)
V	Junior lecturer; master of the *lycée*, 4th degree; teacher, 2nd degree	Judge, probationary

Syria is a democratic republic which guarantees equal opportunities of education and culture both to children and to adults. The law has established compulsory primary education and free primary and secondary education. After bread, education is the first need of the people. It is the task of education to train the citizens of the future. The attitude of families towards the teacher reflects the national attitude towards education. It is the sign of Syrian social progress and of the awakening of spiritual life.

DJEMIL SALIBA.

CHAPTER TWO

IRAN

The School System

WHEN we talk of education and the educational system of Iran to-day, we mean the modern system which has developed in the last fifty years. But alongside this there still exists the traditional system, which has diminished in size and importance to relative insignificance.

The modern system is a centralised state system. The Ministry of Education owns and controls all schools, supervises, subsidises, and inspects the few private schools, arranges curricula, organises and carries through the state examinations, employs and pays the teachers in the whole country. Schooling starts at the age of 7 (6+). There is no pre-primary stage, and the primary stage lasts for 6 years, at the end of which there is a state examination. A successful candidate can proceed to secondary school, which lasts for another 6 years and is divided into two cycles of 3 years each. At the end of the first cycle there is a state examination for those who want to terminate their schooling or go to special schools such as primary teachers' colleges or technical schools. There is another state examination at the end of the fifth year of secondary school (eleventh year of schooling). The successful candidates in this examination who wish to go to the university normally spend another year specialising in mathematics, arts, natural sciences, or commerce, and will have to sit for the final twelfth-year secondary school examination which, if successful, admits them to the university.

Teachers, their Position and the Problem of Recruiting

One of the problems facing education in Iran to-day is that of recruiting and keeping teachers in service. This is due to the social position of teachers, since teaching, especially in the lower grades, has little social prestige. This is partly due to the traditional attitude towards primary teaching and partly to other reasons. Traditionally, teaching was regarded as transference of knowledge and the teacher as the depository of knowledge; therefore the lower the grade that he taught, the less was his knowledge and so his prestige. Before the modern system of education grew in Iran, all education was in the hands of *ulema* or, as European writers call it, the clergy. There was no priesthood in Islam originally, and

the *ulema* (meaning the learned) were merely men of knowledge and learning in all branches of knowledge of their time. It was only in later years, especially in Shiite Iran, when knowledge became limited to theology, the Koran, and tradition, that the *ulema* acquired the character of a clergy. However, there was no distinction in rank or degree among the *ulema* except in scholarship and academic attainment. The most learned of them, i.e. the *Mujtahids,* enjoyed a power and prestige almost regal, but the lower groups had an almost opposite status. Higher education was carried on in *Madrassahs* and was in the hands of the upper clergy. Primary education was in the hands of the lower clergy and carried on in the *Maktabs.* There was no intermediary stage between *Maktabs* and *Madrassahs.* Any *Mudarris* (i.e. teacher in a *Madrassah*) enjoyed much honour and prestige, but it was thought that to be a *Maktabdar* was to do a contemptible job. When a *Maktabdar* was a failure in his profession (and there were cases of this), it was assumed that he had not been able to achieve much learning or scholarship.

The modern system of education was originally founded to meet the needs of the times. It was for the education of the *élite* needed to fill the government posts of a government rapidly changing from a mediaeval to a modern form. It started when the government felt the need for people educated in modern science and technology. Therefore as early as 1852 the first modern college was founded in Teheran by that far-sighted and capable minister Amir-Kabir. Work in the secondary and primary level started nearly fifty years later and was looked upon as preparation for higher education. Thus we see that the modern system of education served as the road to the civil service, a character which it took from the start and still retains.

The Teaching Body in the New System

The teaching body in the new system is divided into three levels: higher, secondary, and primary. We mentioned that higher education was the starting-point of the whole system. The subjects taught were mostly modern and they were at first taught by European professors. Gradually these Europeans were replaced by Iranians educated in Europe. This gave to the professors of the schools of higher education a prestige and status higher, perhaps, than anywhere else in the world. In fact, they inherited the prestige and honour of the upper clergy.

As the result of the Constitutional Revolution of 1906, all education at all levels was made the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. But education was not the only thing that the national government of Iran had to organise and develop. Work in all walks of life had to be started. The whole of the government machinery had to be created on modern lines. Therefore modern educated

personnel, not only doctors and engineers but administrators and even people with merely a secondary education and with some knowledge of foreign languages, were urgently needed in all offices, since foreign advisers were employed in nearly all government departments (except the Ministry of Education).

Up to the year 1923, when the Civil Service Law was passed, the employment of government personnel, including teachers, was not regulated by any law. Progress and expansion in other departments than education, especially the Army, were given priority, and funds available to the Ministry of Education were not sufficient to offer as good a salary to the teachers as those paid in other departments. The demand for teachers was of two kinds: (1) teachers to teach the old subjects, such as Persian, Arabic, history, geography, etc.; and (2) teachers to teach new subjects, such as physics, chemistry, and modern languages. The new subjects were the subjects of secondary schools, of which there were not many, and teachers could be recruited only from the new schools. It is evident that with the exception of a few who might teach out of sheer love for teaching, the rest were not the best of the graduates because many better-paid jobs were waiting for them. But for the primary schools the source of supply remained the old *Madrassahs* or theological schools, and the *Maktabdars* who shut down their *Maktabs* and joined the Ministry of Education as primary teachers. Apart from such sources, anybody else who could read and write and was not able to earn a living in any other way might become a primary teacher.

The first big step towards the improvement of the condition of teachers was taken in 1934, when the Teachers Training Act was passed. Until then teachers were divided into three groups: (*a*) higher education—good academic background, good pay, and very good social prestige and honour; (*b*) secondary teacher—academic background below average, salary lower than those paid to corresponding personnel in other government offices, social prestige not good and below that of his opposite number in other offices; (*c*) primary teacher—very poor academic background, appallingly inadequate pay, social prestige extremely low.

Dr. Issa Sadiq wrote as follows in 1930 about the position of teachers:

> The fact that in the past whoever could read and write was considered able to teach has caused the importance of this essential system to be neglected. There are no regulations regarding their service, tenure, promotion, and pension, except for a few who by chance could in 1923 meet the requirements of the Civil Service Law and were placed on its list; all those who have entered the teaching career since (and they form the majority) are appointed by yearly contracts, which according to Article X of the Law cannot provide them with any of the advantages accorded to teachers on the Civil Service List. Their salaries are low, in some parts equal to those of janitors and in some

> parts they are lower than those of office servants. . . . All these factors have been responsible for filling elementary school positions with individuals who were unable to find other work.[1]

In addition, there was very great variety in conditions of employment. The salaries paid to teachers differed from place to place. Those of Teheran, the capital, were the best; a woman teacher was paid less than a man teacher, a village teacher less than a town teacher.

Teachers Training Act of 1934 and the Present Situation

The Teachers Training Act of 1934 did away with the evils in the employment of teachers, so far as was possible through legislation and administrative measures. The Act introduced the following measures:

(1) It established two kinds of teacher training institution: (*a*) of the same level and standard as the secondary schools, for the training of primary school teachers, and (*b*) of university level, for the training of secondary school teachers. The first were called primary teachers' colleges (equivalent to the French *École Normale Primaire*) and the second higher teachers' colleges (*École Normale Supérieure*). Candidates to enter the primary teachers' colleges first had to hold a Certificate of the First Cycle of Secondary Schools. The course of study was two years, and a certificate granted after its completion, apart from its particular privileges, would carry all the legal privileges of the twelfth-year Secondary School Certificate.

Candidates entering the higher teachers' college had to hold a certificate of completion of studies from a primary teachers' college, or a twelfth-year Secondary School Certificate. The course of study in the higher teachers' college was not to be less than three years. After the completion of the course a degree or 'Licence' in teaching was granted.

(2) The teachers graduated from these schools were taken into service as civil servants with a right to benefit from pension regulations and permanent tenure. The primary teacher and secondary teacher had separate salary scales, each divided into ten grades.

(3) The teachers already in the service before the enactment of the Teachers Training Act of 1934 could, by virtue of the provision of the said Act and by passing certain qualifying examinations or by having served for a certain period of time, be recognised as qualified and acquire the same status and salaries as the graduates of the above schools.

(4) The primary teachers' colleges and higher teachers' college

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[1] Sadiq, *Modern Persia and Her Educational System* (New York, 1930, p. 104).

were free and residential. In addition, in some cases the students also received living-allowances.

(5) There was no discrimination either between the sexes or between localities, as far as salary scale and employment were concerned. However, none of the girls' primary teachers' colleges is yet residential, and the higher teachers' college is residential for boys only, so the girl students receive living-allowances only. The higher teachers' college is co-educational, and as for the primary teachers' colleges, of which there were 32 before the Second World War, half were for boys and half for girls.

Further legislation passed in 1943 ('The Compulsory Education Act'), introduced a third category of teachers as an emergency measure to meet the requirements of compulsory education. These were called 'assistant teachers', and their course of study was one year for those having a Certificate of the First Cycle of Secondary School and two years for those having a Certificate of the sixth-year Primary School. The same legislation gave a separate salary scale to the assistant teachers equal to that of the ordinary civil servant, and gave a still better scale to the primary and secondary teachers in place of the one then held—which even so was better than that of ordinary civil servants.

The following comparative tables show the minimum and maximum salaries paid by the government in different scales, and also the shortest time it takes to advance from the minimum to the maximum. In the civil service scale the degree holders are paid a different amount from the non-degree holders, and so in comparing the salaries of the teachers with those of the civil servants the secondary teacher is to be compared with the degree-holder civil servant, and the primary teacher with the non-degree holder.

The figures represent monthly salaries in the local currency of Rials, and they represent the basic salary plus cost-of-living allowance but with pension deducted; in other words, the cash paid at the end of the month. There is no tax on this.

GRADUATE CIVIL SERVANTS

	Ordinary Civil Servant	*Secondary Teacher*	*University Lecturer*	*First-class Medical Doctor*	*University Professor*
Minimum . . .	2,341	3,779	4,880	3,775	5,176
Maximum . . .	6,460	7,006	8,068	7,624	8,770
Shortest number of years required from minimum to maximum .	12	14	14	12	14

NON-GRADUATE CIVIL SERVANTS

	Ordinary Civil Servant	*Assistant Primary Teacher*	*Primary Teacher*	*Assistant Medical Officer*	*Second-class Medical Officer*
Minimum . . .	1,068	1,395	1,760	1,068	1,724
Maximum . . .	6,361	4,460	6,680	4,821	5,441
Years between minimum and maximum . .	16	18	14	18	12

The rate of exchange is almost Rials 100 per £ officially, but within the last year, when there has been acute shortage of exchange due to the sudden stop of oil revenues, the free market rate has risen to about Rials 200 per £.

It is noteworthy that by this arrangement the primary teacher's salary at its maximum is more than the maximum salary of an ordinary civil servant even if the latter holds a degree. The salary of the secondary teacher, too, compares most favourably with that of the civil servant, and is only slightly less than a doctor or university lecturer. The Ministry of Education, in order to attract better candidates to teaching, has had to make other concessions as well, such as the payment of family allowances to teachers (which other civil servants do not receive) and allowing the primary teachers to take part-time jobs in the Ministry and continue their studies in the university for a degree.

The graduates of the teachers' colleges, both primary and higher, on leaving the college are appointed to jobs, in teaching or administration, by the Ministry of Education as civil servants and according to the scales given above. On starting their training courses they have to pledge themselves to serve the Ministry for five years, otherwise they will not be taken into the primary colleges, and in the higher teachers' college they will not receive free board and tuition. If, after completing their courses, they change their minds and do not wish to take up teaching, they have to repay the government the cost of their period of training. When cases like this occur the Ministry does not charge them more than a nominal amount, since it has been discovered that it is better to release such persons than to send reluctant teachers into the classroom. Naturally, the Ministry is more in need of teachers than of administrators. It has therefore made a ruling that new graduates have to work first as teachers and then in administration; first in the provinces and then in Teheran; and first in rural areas and then in urban districts. This is by no means an absolute ruling. Quite a number start work without attention being paid to it; and the rule is modified depending upon the demand for teachers

and the location of vacancies. The main point to remember is that shifting from teaching to administration, from Teheran to the provinces, and from school to school and vice-versa is very frequent, and it is all arranged by the Ministry. As a rule, promotion is regarded as promotion in grade and salary scale and not in job. But shifting from one scale to another (i.e. primary teacher to secondary teacher) is also promotion. It is quite a normal procedure for a teacher of a school to be appointed headmaster of the same or of another school, or as inspector, or to an administrative job in the offices of the Ministry, and after a few years to go back to the same or another school as a classroom teacher. Of course, most people do not like this, but quite a number accept it without complaint—for reasons to be analysed below.

The heads of schools do not play much part in the teaching side of the schools. They are more concerned with administration. The curricula are set and the textbooks approved by the Ministry. The state examinations do not leave any scope for free choice either for the headmaster or for the teacher. Whatever choice there is is that of the teacher. The relation between heads and teachers is that of partnership and not subordination, and it all depends upon grades and personalities. If the head is in the upper grades and has a stronger personality, he will influence his teachers, and perhaps even the Ministry in the choice of his teachers. If the head is of a lower grade than many of his teachers he cannot exert any influence upon them. As a rule, the heads are chosen from more senior teachers, and so in general are the inspectors. The work of the inspectors of the schools mainly concerns the administrative part of the school, and the state examinations rather than the academic part of the programme.

The teachers, according to regulations, are appointed to one or more schools at the same time for only a limited number of hours per week. The number of hours per week that a teacher may be appointed to work is fixed by law and starts with 24 hours per week in the first grade and diminishes to 14 hours per week when he reaches the highest grade. For the rest of his time the teacher is free. He cannot have a second paid job in government offices, but as a rule may teach in private schools or do other work, though theoretically he is expected to spend this time in preparing his lessons. If a teacher is appointed to an administrative job, not purely of clerical nature but of an academic character such as that of inspector, headmaster, etc., where he must spend all his time and cannot like an ordinary teacher earn any extra pay, he is entitled to an allowance which amounts to half his salary up to Grade Six and one-third of it from Grade Six onwards.

All this shows that the teacher is in a very happy situation as regards his equals both in other professions and in some other countries. In fact, his situation has changed enormously from what

it was up to the 1930's, but even now in actual practice the situation is difficult. The problem is still that there are not enough teachers available, especially for primary and for rural areas, and there are too few women teachers. The social prestige of teaching is not yet high and members of the teaching profession do not, on the average (women exempted), belong to the top level of society. The prevalent desire is to move from teaching in the lower forms to the higher, from primary to secondary schools, from teaching jobs to administrative jobs, from the Ministry of Education to other Ministries, since even the different Ministries do not share the same prestige. Had not World War II and its aftermath disturbed the economic condition of Iran to the extent it has done, the improvement in the financial position of teachers might have had its effect and to-day we might have had a different situation. But the rise in the cost of living to ten times what it was only a few months before, with a corresponding rise of salaries to only two or three times their previous amount, put the salaries of all categories of civil servants so much out of balance that the slight advantage possessed by the teachers did nothing to attract the better minds or the more ambitious. On the other hand, the different Ministries had to devise some means other than increased salaries to remunerate their staff, such as the establishment of co-operatives, direct sale of goods from government factories at low prices, and so on, until in one way or another the deficiency in salaries was made up.[2] In such schemes and facilities some Ministries, such as those of War, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Communications, Commerce, and Industry, have better means at their disposal than the Ministry of Education. A stop can be put to the construction of a road and the funds available be put towards better remuneration of staff, but the schools have to be kept open and running. And, as everywhere else, in times of difficulty priority is always given to the army. So not only were the effects of pre-war reforms neutralised, but the teacher found his task far more difficult than did the ordinary civil servant. The number of civil servants in other government departments has grown so much that hundreds, perhaps even thousands, of them receive their salaries without doing much work, while teachers have to work and over-work in order to supplement their salaries. After twenty years of service, the teacher sees his opposite number in other Ministries well off while he is not.

How are the Teachers Recruited, and Why do They Choose to become Teachers?

As this is a social problem it is necessary to say a few words about the social classes in Iran. When we talk about social classes

[2] The doctors have their private clinics, the lawyers, barristers, and judges have their legal advisory bureaux. Thus members of other professions can easily supplement their incomes.

in Europe we immediately think of the aristocracy or upper class, the middle-class *bourgeoisie,* and the working or lower class. Such classification does not, however, quite fit into the class structure in Iran, since our society has not developed quite on the same lines. Yet, as these are rather universal terms, we shall use them, but with caution. First there has never been an aristocracy or nobility of blood in Iran since the days of Islam and, secondly, quick and frequent movement from the lower strata of the society to the top and vice-versa has always been possible (again since Islam). Our society also has a dualistic character rather than a triple structure. We used to make a distinction between *dehati* (country folk) and *shahri* (town folk); between 'ruling class' and the 'ruled class'; between *ahl-il-elm* or *ahl-il-amaim* (i.e. *ulema* or turbaned people), and the non-turban wearers (i.e. the people who were not specifically engaged in learning and teaching). The *dehatis* belong to the ruled class and are settled in villages or live as primitive nomads. These we call the lower class. Their opposite numbers are the big landlords and tribal chiefs who are town dwellers and belong to the 'ruling' class, and we call them the upper class. The upper class, apart from being the big landowners and tribal chiefs, hold high positions in the service of the government (before the Constitutional Revolution this was the Shah and his Court). *Ahl-il-elm* were mainly town dwellers, i.e. formed part of the *shahri* class. Those who had reached the highest degree of scholarship stood high and were considered equal to members of the upper class. Some of them would also own big estates. In the main they exerted religious and spiritual power and could defy the secular power of the Shah and his courtiers. Those of less academic ability belonged to the middle class. The rest of the *shahri* class was composed of artisans, craftsmen, shopkeepers, merchants, etc. They varied from lower to middle and upper class, depending upon their income and position. Most of them would come under the middle class: meaning by this—simply the group between the lower and the upper class in income and social position, and not the European 'middle class'. In any case, social movement was possible, frequent, and a common thing and, as can be seen, the criterion of advancement was not blood and family but scholarship and knowledge, the holding of a high position in the service of the government, or wealth.

Post-constitutional developments have not changed the situation much. The *ahl-il-elm* have decreased considerably as turban wearers and have yielded their place to the modern educated intelligentsia. While previously they represented an independent body they are to-day all in the service of the government; those with higher education in the higher ranks. The high government positions, which were previously limited to the services of the Shah, have now expanded to all Ministries. But the criteria of distinction

in the society still remain—knowledge, a good official job, and wealth. For those who have the third it is easy to get the other two, but for those who have not it is easier to start the other way, i.e. to get the knowledge first and then a good job and then wealth. Knowledge does not necessarily have to be real knowledge since—when it is a matter of social distinction—it is the academic title that matters. The desire to rise in society exists in every country, and in Iran education is a sure means of climbing the social ladder. The Iranian school system is a one-ladder system and extremely democratic. Where it is available all children of all classes, in village and town, go to the same schools. Primary education is free and only a nominal fee is charged at the secondary and higher levels. But the availability of schools does not always mean that everybody benefits. There is a limit of income below which the parents will not be able to afford to feed and clothe the children at school.

The lower class, that is the peasants, tribal nomads, and manual labourers (*dehatis*), are definitely below this line. In some special cases, when they live in a fairly prosperous village, they can afford up to three or four years' schooling.

In the *shahri* class the shopkeepers, artisans, and craftsmen who form the upper lower class can afford primary education. From the lower middle class upwards they can afford to send their children to secondary schools. If they manage to keep their children at a secondary school for at least three years, then a relief outlet is open to the less-well-off parents. This outlet is the primary teachers' college. It is at this stage also that a transfer is possible to technical and agricultural schools, of which there are a few. The primary teachers' colleges not only take the burden of the cost off the shoulders of the parents, but they ensure a civil service job for their sons and daughters, a fact that carries quite a degree of importance for families with small means and few contacts in the government offices.

The remaining section of the population continue their studies up to the end of the secondary school and wish to enter the university. Here, again, there is the possibility for the less-well-to-do students to attend the higher teachers' college. In the university, the Faculty of Theology, the Agricultural College, the Veterinary Medicine College, the Fine Arts School, and the Higher Teachers' College are free and offer boarding facilities. Other faculties charge fees. One would imagine that among the holders of the twelfth-year Secondary School Certificate who wish to go to the university there are enough students, with smaller financial means, who would welcome the facilities offered by the teachers' training college and the other free schools listed above, and that these colleges would be crowded before the others. But this is not the case. The situation is that university fees are so low and the facilities offered by the free faculties so inadequate as compared with the cost of

living that most of the students who complete their secondary education have enough money to choose their university course without regard to fees. There are, nevertheless, a few for whom the financial problem remains decisive and who make their choice on that account. As a rule it is the faculties of medicine, engineering, and law which are filled to the limit, and then the remainder of the candidates find places in the other faculties. The selection is by competitive examination, and therefore the most capable of the students, as far as ability can be determined by examinations, are taken by these faculties. As the date of the competitive examinations in the higher teachers' college is usually later than other faculties, it would be right to assume that, apart from the few candidates who choose the higher teachers' college out of pure love of teaching or out of extreme need, and also those coming from primary teachers' colleges, or primary teachers already in the profession and wishing to take a degree, the rest of the students of the higher teachers' college are from the second or third level of the Secondary Certificate holders of each year. Efforts to fix the date of the competitive examination and the date for closing registration for the teachers' college before those of other faculties have not been successful, because few candidates presented themselves.

It was mentioned above that other sources of students for the higher teachers' college are the primary teachers' colleges and primary teachers. In order to attract more and better students to the primary colleges in the first place, and to make primary teaching attractive, it has been made a ruling that the first two on the pass list of every primary college can pass on to the higher college to get their degree with free board and lodging. These students will then serve as secondary teachers. According to another provision of the regulations, graduates of the primary colleges who show outstanding ability after having served for three years as primary teachers can continue their studies in the higher college, and on attaining a degree be promoted to secondary teaching. Inevitably, the better and more ambitious students take advantage of this opportunity to receive better pay and higher status, and to do this they all want to live in Teheran where the college and other facilities are located. There is thus a constant flow of the cream of the primary teachers to the ranks of the secondary.

It would now seem correct to assume that generally the students of the primary colleges come from 'middle-class' families, in the sense we have used here. In intelligence and ability they are not necessarily either of the best or the worst. They are economically handicapped at home and in society, and have less opportunity for self-culture and widening of their views through access to books, radio, etc., at home. On the other hand, they compare favourably with the average, or even the above-average secondary school boy, though they do not compare with the best.

Students of the higher teachers' college are either the best of the ex-primary college boys and girls or they are those who have failed to get admission to other faculties. In other words, they are either intellectually high and economically low, or economically high and intellectually low. I must, however, emphasise here that the above observations cannot by any means be regarded as absolute. There are many exceptions. Quite a number, especially those in families traditionally in the teaching profession, choose the profession for love of teaching; yet they remain the exception, not the rule.

The Position of Women Teachers

The girl students for the teaching profession are quite apart from the picture just presented. In the higher teachers' college their social and economic background is different, owing to the special position of women in Iran.

The women of Iran wore the veil until the beginning of 1936. Naturally, with the traditional attitude towards their education and towards the place of women in society, they were not at liberty to take part in social functions. After the emancipation of women in 1936, when the veil was cast off and they were officially admitted into society, the social inhibitions were only gradually broken. Teaching is regarded as the most respectable job for women if they have to work at all. Besides, teaching, with its limited number of hours of work per week and a long summer holiday extending for 2½ to 3 months,[3] represents the best job for women who are or will get married sooner or later. Besides, in a less-well-off family where there are many children, the priority in the matter of higher education is always given to boys, since they are to be the real breadwinners. If, therefore, a girl has gone through all the stages of study and is ready to go to the university, she must have come from an enlightened family. Such enlightenment results from closer contact with the European way of life and would not be found among families of lower position.

The same situation would apply to boarding facilities offered by the higher teachers' college. They are limited to boys alone. And as the Iranian families by tradition do not approve of boarding-houses for girls, the girl students from the provinces have to find lodgings with some relative, or else the whole family has to move to Teheran. The first two students on the pass list of primary colleges, as well as primary teachers in the service, can also continue their studies. On these grounds we may assume that the girl students of the higher teachers' college are intellectually and socially of higher standard than the boys.

[3] There is no long break in the academic year in Iran, which lasts from September to May (i.e. 9 months), except one week starting on March 21st for the National Festival of New Year.

As for the girl students in the primary colleges, they are as a rule from middle-class families. When the break after the first cycle of the secondary school comes, the primary colleges are the only means by which a girl of a badly-off family can continue her studies free, with a living-allowance and a sure prospect of a job. This last point is very important for families who see that their daughter must earn a living as soon as possible. The girls of the better-off families continue to study in the ordinary secondary schools. Quite a number of these may at the end of their course join the teaching profession in primary schools or, if they have a degree, in secondary schools as ordinary civil servants.

Maintenance Grants

I have purposely used the term 'living-allowance' or 'maintenance grant' in preference to 'scholarship'. The idea behind giving them was originally not to reward particular talent and ability, but to enable a needy student to continue his or her studies. Of course, such students must be good and capable, but they must first be poor and needy to receive living-allowances. The same idea exists with regard to boarding facilities offered by some colleges. Therefore to receive living-allowance and free lodging does not mean as much as would the winning of a scholarship in England. When such facilities are offered on the basis of competitive examinations, it does not mean that the best students of all social classes are attracted, but only the best of the less-well-off. This is not because of contempt for need, but because of widespread feeling that the rights of the needy students whose chance of study rests upon entering these schools should not be encroached upon.

Why and How do the Teachers leave Teaching?

The reasons for the majority entering the teaching profession are, as we have seen: (1) in order to climb the social ladder by becoming a civil servant (this is the social reason); (2) in order to continue secondary studies cheaply (this is the financial reason). Since love for teaching is seldom the reason for entering the profession, these same two factors cause the new teachers to try to leave teaching as soon as possible.

On the other hand, in order to attract more people to the teaching profession the Ministry of Education was forced to grant them various favours, some of which were possibilities for shifting from teaching to administration and consequently from the Ministry of Education to other Ministries, while retaining the status of civil servant with the teaching years considered as years of service. The other possibility was that of going on to studies in the teachers' training college, and becoming a secondary teacher. We mentioned before how, in accordance with these provisions, the cream of the

primary teachers leave primary teaching to take up secondary work or even leave the profession for good. Some of the graduates of primary colleges do not enter the teaching profession and pay a nominal fee to the government to annul their pledges. Some of the other graduates leave the teaching profession during their service after following up their studies in other schools and institutions of higher studies, such as law.

Teachers and Rural Education

The present system of modern education is a system adapted to towns and for the education of the *élite*. But we have now reached a stage where this system must change its character to that of a system for popular education. The town populations of Iran have, during past years, been under European influence and have acquired a modern outlook, at least to some degree. On the other hand, the rural population (the *dehatis*), which form 70 per cent. to 80 per cent. of the population, has changed little. Thus a wide gap is created in general outlook and attitude of mind between the town folk and the country folk. The task of the teacher in the rural areas is not so much that of giving instruction in class but of providing an integrated education in social habits, agricultural techniques, and the creation of new attitudes of mind. The town teachers at present in the service have been found unable to perform this task. Not only do they resent living in a village, but they have neither the will nor the educational background and training to enter into the peasant's life, to see his problems, and help to solve them.

A still bigger problem is to provide women teachers for these areas, since women, through social inhibition, will not leave their town homes and live alone elsewhere. The Near East Foundation of the U.S.A., in co-operation with the Ministry of Education, is experimenting in recruiting teachers for rural areas from the sons of peasants who, because of their social background, will be able to live in a village and share the peasants' life and become leaders acceptable to the peasants.

MANUCHEHR AFZAL.
ISSA SADIQ.

CHAPTER THREE

PAKISTAN

EACH of the provinces and states of Pakistan has complete autonomy in the field of education. The Ministry of Education of the central government gives financial assistance to these provinces; administers the educational services in Karachi, Baluchistan, and the Tribal Areas; and takes charge of activities such as the promotion of scientific research. Most of the primary, middle, and high schools are managed and financed by private bodies and district boards, though some are maintained by local governments. The primary stage consists of five classes, the secondary of six. The medium of instruction is the mother tongue or the regional language, English being taught, sometimes as a compulsory and sometimes as an optional subject, at the secondary level.

Secondary schools are of three types: general high schools providing an academic course; technical high schools training technicians; vocational high schools preparing office workers and overseers for commercial and industrial concerns. Only a few of these technical and vocational schools have so far been opened.

There is a keen awareness that, both qualitatively and quantitatively, education in Pakistan has failed to meet national needs. Various influential advisory bodies have prepared what, taken altogether, is a comprehensive and integrated six-year plan of educational development, now being implemented. The sheet anchor of policy is the principle that all education should be inspired by the faith of Islam, with its emphasis on universal brotherhood, tolerance, and justice. The plan itself provides free and compulsory education of all children between the ages of 6 and 11 years, the education of illiterates up to the age of 40 years, and the improvement of secondary and higher education on modern lines.

On the assumption that one-eighth of the population is between the ages of 6 and 11 years, the total number of children at school in Pakistan should be about 9½ millions. At the moment only about 3¼ millions attend in the 40,000 primary schools and about 1¼ millions go to the 6,500 middle and secondary schools. It has been estimated that by 1957 there will be opened 24,000 new primary schools for another 3¾ million children, and 721 new middle and secondary schools for 240,000 children.

The plan lays much emphasis on the fact that teachers occupy a pivotal position and that their success or failure depends upon

quality rather than quantity. Teaching should be not only a highly specialised activity but a vocation calling for a deep sense of personal responsibility. At the moment only 46,000 teachers out of a total of 89,000 in primary schools have been trained; while in the secondary schools the proportion is 20,000 trained out of a total of 44,000. But there are only 125 training colleges for primary teachers, with an enrolment of 6,145, and 11 institutions for the preparation of secondary teachers, with an enrolment of 2,350. A powerful effort in this field is evidently called for.

Administration and Finance of Teacher Training

Institutions for the training of teachers are controlled and financed by the provincial or state governments, although in matters of curriculum, examination, and certification, the colleges preparing high school teachers are also controlled by the universities. The central government also sanctions grants to the provincial or state governments for setting up adequate teacher training institutions, particularly to provide teachers for compulsory schooling.

Primary school teachers are trained in primary training institutes in East Bengal and in normal schools (junior course) in other parts of Pakistan. Middle school teachers are trained in the normal schools (senior course). High school teachers are trained in the colleges affiliated to a university. The primary and middle school Teachers' Certificates are awarded by the Director of Public Instruction after a test conducted by him, while the Degree (B.T.), Diploma (D.T.), Licentiate (L.T.), and Certificate (C.T.) in Teaching are awards by the university to which the college is affiliated. The different college courses mentioned above also provide various grades of inspectors of schools, and also teachers for teacher training institutions.

All training institutions are residential, although some of them accept day scholars as well. Charges are levied for tuition and board and lodging, but some of the students in the colleges and most of the students in the normal schools and institutes receive stipends from local governments, which fully cover these charges. Stipends are generally awarded to three categories of students: meritorious; belonging to backward communities; coming from rural areas. All students receiving stipends from local governments have to execute a bond whereby they agree to serve as teachers for a specified period after the completion of training.

The colleges, with a few exceptions, are co-educational, but there are separate normal schools and primary training institutes for men and women. The period of training in the colleges for B.T., D.T., L.T., and C.T. courses is one academic year. The minimum qualification for entry into the primary training institutes is matriculation, and the period of training is one year. Normal schools admit candidates to the one-year senior course from among those who

have read at least up to Class X of the high school, and to the junior course lasting two years those who have at least completed middle school education. Training colleges admit only graduates for the degree and diploma courses and holders of intermediate qualification for the certificate and licentiate courses. Admission to the schools and colleges, however, is controlled by a selection test, both written and oral, on a competitive basis, with the result that it is difficult for boys to enter one of the normal schools without having reached matriculation standard. Even for girls competition is gradually getting keener, and candidates with minimum qualifications generally fail to secure admission. Boys and girls from backward communities, however, have not yet reached the competition standard and special seats have been reserved for them subject to their achieving the minimum standard in the selection test. The medium of instruction in the normal schools and primary training institutes is the mother tongue or the regional language, and in the training colleges, English.

In some provinces, such as East Bengal, special training colleges have also been set up, for men and women separately, to train teachers for the primary training institutes. These colleges provide a one-year university diploma course for graduates, covering the syllabus of the degree course in teaching but having greater emphasis on activity methods and practice teaching, including the use of various media of education.

Provision has also been made in the plan for the retraining of the large number of teachers already serving in the schools, to acquaint them with modern techniques and the educational ideology of Pakistan. For this purpose, 261 training centres will be set up in all provinces and states to provide a comprehensive refresher course of three months duration. It is hoped that by 1957 approximately 30,000 teachers (men and women) will have passed through the refresher course; the total cost will be rupees 481·120 recurring and rupees 1,331·090 non-recurring.[1]

Due attention has also been given to provision of training for physical instructors for schools. A college of physical education recently started in the Punjab is being expanded to accommodate trainees from the whole of West Pakistan, numbering 700 men and 100 women. A similar college is also being set up in East Bengal to accommodate 200 students. The total cost involved in the above will be Rs.648·700 recurring and Rs.1,562·150 non-recurring.

Curriculum of Teacher Training

The contents of the teacher training courses are closely related to, and indeed have to be based on, the contents of the primary and secondary school courses. Hence, with the reorganisation of

[1] R. 1 = 2*s.* 2*d.*

primary and secondary school courses in Pakistan, as indicated earlier, teacher training courses are also being reorganised suitably.

Approximately the same scheme of studies is used, according to the standard required at different levels, in primary training institutes, normal schools, and training colleges, although there are slight variations in the emphasis placed on, and names given to, certain subjects from province to province and university to university.

There is, however, one remarkable difference between the training college courses on the one hand, and the normal school and primary training institute courses on the other, in all parts of Pakistan: the former do not provide instruction in tool subjects, in which trainees are expected to have already acquired a sufficiently high standard during their previous school and college education, while the latter pay considerable attention to instruction in tool subjects in order to raise the knowledge of the trainees to the required standard, and also give a more practical bias to the teaching of subjects covering educational principles and practices than the former.

In fact, instruction for primary and middle school teachers is modelled in such a way that trainees may be initiated into the practice of preparing their own teaching materials and of devising their own methods of teaching. This is considered important, as in a poor country like Pakistan about 90 per cent. of the present primary and middle schools are not, and indeed cannot be, even reasonably equipped with teaching materials. Besides, it is beyond the means of about 95 per cent. of the parents to provide their children with the necessary books and stationery. Teaching has to be so related to the needs of the children and the atmosphere in their homes and community as to hold the pupils' interest and earn the goodwill of the parents, as otherwise the present wastage, due to the dropping-off of school attendances, cannot be arrested, and the enforcement of compulsion would be a difficult problem.

The scheme of studies for the training of primary, middle, and high school teachers has gradually tended to conform to a general pattern, but the essential difference in the training given at different levels is the approach to each subject in accordance with the standard of the trainees and the syllabuses of the respective school course which they will teach. For instance, a primary school teacher has to be sufficiently equipped to make teaching functional and to ensure that children who have completed primary schooling have acquired permanent literacy, an ability to improve their satisfaction in living, an understanding of moral values and the capacity to be useful citizens. The middle school teacher has to have sufficient background to know the technique of teaching languages, including foreign and classical languages, and tool subjects in such a way as to discern children's aptitudes, guide them into proper

channels, and encourage a taste for higher studies. He also has to give education a scientific and technical bias based on the activity method as far as possible. The high school teacher has to be equipped to initiate children to specialist studies, to develop their personality and character, and to provide a good general education which will fit them to become useful parents, workers, and citizens in a free society.

Status of School Teachers

Primary school teachers in public schools are mostly controlled by the district board authorities of different provinces and states through their own education boards. But in those areas of East Bengal where compulsory schooling has been introduced, primary school teachers are controlled directly by the provincial government. Teachers in primary schools attached to public secondary schools are also controlled by provincial governments. Teachers in private primary schools receiving no grants-in-aid either from the district board or from the provincial government are more or less independent, subject to regulations laid down by the local government. Teachers in private primary schools receiving aid are subject to a certain amount of control from the district board and local government authorities. Teachers in public secondary schools are controlled by the provincial or state government, which also exercises a certain amount of control over the teachers in aided private secondary schools. Teachers in other private secondary schools are controlled by their own school authorities, subject to regulations laid down by the local government.

Teachers working in schools controlled by district boards or provincial or state governments enjoy security of tenure, leave and sickness benefits, pension or provident fund rights, etc., although the rules governing them vary from province to province. Schools receiving grants-in-aid have to extend certain benefits to the teachers such as leave, provident fund, etc., but on a smaller scale than those applicable to teachers in public schools, and varying from school to school. Teachers employed in purely private schools are completely at the mercy of the school authorities, and generally do not enjoy either security of tenure or provident fund benefits, and in some cases, particularly in single-teacher schools, do not even enjoy any earned or casual leave with full pay.

There are different categories of teachers in primary and secondary schools, each category having its own scale of pay. Minimum qualifications for the various categories of teachers vary from province to province; they are laid down by local governments for all categories of teachers and are rather flexible, owing to an acute shortage of qualified people to fill the posts. On an average, however, the minimum qualification expected for teachers of primary schools is middle school education, preferably with two

years of teacher training; for teachers of middle schools, education up to Class X of the high school, preferably with one year of teacher training; and for teachers of high schools, university education up to the intermediate standard, preferably with one year of teacher training. These qualifications have often to be relaxed in favour of private schools, particularly in the rural areas. Observance of the general rule regarding minimum qualifications of teachers is enforced by the local governments through their inspecting staff, but in actual practice the position regarding enforcement of rules is far from satisfactory, particularly in non-aided private schools.

Scales of pay for all categories of teachers are lower, in spite of recent increases, than those obtaining for other comparable occupations such as clerical work, semi-skilled labour, etc., and vary from province to province. Each local government lays down the minimum scales of pay for different categories of teachers, which are rigidly followed in public schools, and expects that private schools will as far as possible conform to these scales of pay. In practice, however, teachers in private schools are paid less than those working in public schools, and teachers in private schools in rural areas receive lower remuneration than the teachers in private schools in other areas.

The method of selection and appointment of teachers varies in different stages of educational systems and also from province to province and between public and private schools. Teachers for the public secondary schools are selected on the recommendation of the Director of Public Instruction, either from the lower service or from outside. Posts in public primary schools are filled by the inspectors of schools with the formal approval of the Director of Public Instruction. In the case of local boards or aided private schools, posts are filled by the boards concerned or by the managing committee of the school, in consultation with the local inspectors of schools, who are associated with the local boards and managing committees of schools, as ex-officio members. In purely private schools, the school authorities are completely free to make their own appointments, subject to the prescribed minimum qualifications, as far as possible. In single-teacher schools, which are often started by a teacher himself, the question of minimum qualifications seldom arises, unless there is an application for affiliation or grants-in-aid.

The depressing effects of the poverty of school teachers are heightened by several other factors: the hard life usually led in rural areas, lack of proper cultural environment, general neglect by the public, and lack of proper status in society. Moreover, as a result of the low economic and social status of school teachers, people joining the teaching profession represent only those who have not been able to make good in other walks of life, with the possible exception of a few idealists. All the same, there is no

denying the fact that teachers still enjoy a certain amount of respect from the people, particularly in the rural areas. This is because education is considered to be the noblest profession in Islam, and this traditional belief still persists amongst the people, particularly the village folk. Teachers also enjoy the confidence of the people because of their honesty and integrity, and are frequently utilised as poll clerks for the elections to the Provincial Legislative Assembly and District Boards. They play a prominent part in community activities in rural areas, and the people usually gather in their houses in the evenings to learn the day's news and to seek advice about their own affairs.

A. F. M. K. RAHMAN.

CHAPTER FOUR

INDIAN UNION

IN the past, the teaching profession in India drew its personnel largely from amongst persons who attached great value to education as a form of religious and social service and were not mainly swayed by considerations of making money. For them it was primarily a *calling* and not merely a *career*. Following the introduction of modern education, with English as the medium of instruction at the secondary and higher stages, and the establishment of what came to be known as 'Anglo-Vernacular' schools, the earlier relationship between education and culture was inevitably weakened or severed, and the traditional type of teacher was gradually replaced by the modern teacher brought up and educated in a different environment. As the new type of education was diffused more widely and new colleges and universities were established, the demand for such teachers increased, involving recruitment from a wider field, and whoever chose to enter the profession could find ready access to it. This led not only to the employment of those who had real aptitude for the profession—always a minority—but also of many who, for lack of other openings, entered this profession as a temporary stopgap. Of those who entered in this spirit, some did manage to get out by joining the legal profession or getting clerical or administrative posts or jobs in industry and commerce, but the rest stayed on without being able to find in the profession either adequate material reward or a sense of fulfilment. Moreover, the growing 'commercialism' in the nineteenth century, which evaluated the worth and status of persons in terms of their financial position, had its impact on India also, and the teaching profession could not remain immune to it. It was, therefore, a vital factor in bringing about a change for the worse in the social standing of teachers. It would not be correct to say that teachers of outstanding character and ability did not enjoy social esteem, but the average teacher tended to lose the status which he had traditionally enjoyed.

Teachers' Qualifications and Training

In discussing this question it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that in India, as in most other countries, there is not one *single* teachers' profession covering all grades of teachers, but they are sharply divided into categories depending on whether they are

working in primary schools or secondary schools or colleges and universities. And their qualifications, salaries, and social status vary accordingly. Moreover, the question of their training is also viewed differently at different levels. It took educational administrators a long time to realise that education is a profession for which intensive preparation is as necessary as it is in the case of any other profession. Even now there is a belief, which persists in some quarters, that while it is necessary to train primary school teachers, a graduate can teach any subject without undergoing special training. But on the whole there is now a clearer recognition of the place of training in the case of secondary school teachers.

Different qualifications are prescribed for the teachers to be recruited at different levels. Generally speaking, a teacher who has undergone training for a period of two years after completing seven to eight years of school education is considered qualified for a teacher's post at the primary stage. A 'secondary'-grade training, usually covering about two years, is the minimum qualification for employment in a 'middle' (or lower secondary) school, admissions being normally open to those who have passed their Matriculation or the Secondary School Leaving Certificate or other equivalent examination. Trained graduate teachers are expected to be appointed in high schools for the training of upper grades but, on account of the non-availability of such teachers in sufficient numbers, or for financial reasons, this is not always possible.

In the case of secondary-grade training, the courses consist of general educational theory and principles, psychology, methods of teaching, school organisation, and hygiene. The teachers under training have also to observe 'model' lessons, and to give a prescribed number of criticism lessons. Records of these lessons are maintained and evaluated by the staff at the completion of the course.

At the post-graduate training stage the course usually covers principles of education, educational psychology, school organisation and hygiene, history of education (in some cases), and methods of teaching various school subjects. Among the electives, methods of adult education, drawing and handwork, domestic science (in the case of women teachers), and craft are included, candidates taking one or more subjects from this group. In addition to these, blackboard illustration, general handwork, physical training, and gardening are provided among the non-examination subjects. While there is not much difference as far as the written papers are concerned, there is considerable variation as regards the scope and amount of practical work. Some universities insist on at least sixty supervised lessons being given by each candidate before he is allowed to appear for the examination, while others are satisfied with a much smaller number. The main criticism of the existing courses is that too little time or weight is given to school practice in assessing the students'

performance, and conditions of school practice are often quite unsatisfactory. If, however, training is well organised and serves its real purpose, the teachers *can* be led to realise that though " teaching is the worst paid it can yet be the most rewarding of the professions ". It is, however, quite impossible for this sense of vocation to be instilled by a staff that has no adequate experience of teaching in a school. Hence the need for the bulk of the staff to be able to discuss school problems on the basis of first-hand experience of school teaching.

So far as 'mass education' is concerned, the government has approved what has come to be known as 'basic education' as the pattern to be implemented. A gradual change is, therefore, under way to replace the present organisation of primary education by converting the existing primary schools into basic schools, and opening new basic schools in connection with the schemes for the expansion and introduction of compulsory primary education. In the light of these new trends, the teachers' training courses are also being reorientated, and basic training schools are being established in all the states. In addition to work being done by the state education departments, well-known non-official organisations like the Hindustani Talimi Sangh of Wardha, the Jamia Millia of Delhi, the Visvabharati University of Shantiniketan and the Vidya Bhavan at Udaipur have developed progressive training centres for training teachers of basic schools and primary training colleges. The new training schools, unlike the traditional type, are being developed as centres where theoretical work is integrally related with social and practical training, and education is imparted in selected basic crafts. Community service and community living have been made an essential part of teachers' education. These new trends, with their far-reaching social implications, are slowly helping teachers to regain their status as leaders of local community groups.

Another factor which has contributed to raise the efficiency of the teachers during the last two decades is the institution of higher degrees in education, i.e. the Master's and Doctor's Degrees in Education. The requirements for the Master's Degree in Education vary from university to university, but a piece of original work, prepared under supervision, forms a compulsory part of the course in almost all the universities. There are a few special centres for advanced work in education and educational psychology, e.g. at Bombay, Allahabad, Delhi, and Patna.

In some states, where professional diplomas and degrees are equated with general academic degrees for purposes of employment and scales of pay, there is not sufficient inducement to teachers to join the training colleges.

During the period of training, teachers who are already in service are usually paid half the salary and sometimes the full salary. In

the case of fresh candidates the position differs from state to state —in some a small stipend is paid, while in others it has been discontinued, which has had a somewhat adverse effect on the number and quality of candidates available for the purpose. This makes it difficult for many intending teachers to join training colleges, and rules out, to some extent, the possibility of educational authorities 'scouting' for talent and recruiting men and women of requisite calibre. The teaching profession, through its various organisations at the state and national level, has been pressing for payment of full salary in the case of all permanent employees, and a stipend which should cover all the reasonable expenses of a student during the period of training.

There is a growing awareness on the part of the government as well as the public of the need for providing refresher courses and adopting other devices which will contribute to teachers' professional efficiency. In addition to state departments of education, the teachers' organisations have also been taking a hand in it through their periodical conferences, which discuss educational problems at all levels and organise seminars and discussion groups, etc., where teachers meet and exchange ideas and experiences. Thus, in the first Conference of the Training Colleges, held at Baroda in 1950, they discussed various problems connected with training for the B.T. and M.Ed. degrees—medium of instruction, educational terminology, psychological tests, educational and vocational guidance, research in basic education, and the general organisation and administration of the training colleges.

Scales of Pay and Conditions of Service

Teachers in India are employed and paid on the basis of the posts they hold, for which minimum qualifications are prescribed at different stages of education. In primary schools, the object is to employ trained teachers, but actually it has been found necessary to make use of a large proportion of untrained teachers. In multi-teacher schools, the head teachers' posts are usually held by persons who have received secondary-grade training. In the middle schools and junior high schools, secondary-grade training is the minimum qualification, and in the senior high schools or upper standards of high schools trained graduate teachers are employed. The head master's post is usually a selection post and does not, as a rule, go by seniority. In fact, recruitment is often done directly for the purpose. The minimum qualification for a headmastership in the high schools is a university degree followed by professional training and, if possible, higher qualifications, e.g. research degrees like Master of Education.

For the lecturer's post in the universities, the minimum qualification is a first- or second-class Master's degree. For readers and professors, a research degree of a recognised university is the normal

qualification required but, in practice, holders of such degrees from well-known foreign universities get preference, except where a teacher has already won recognition through outstanding work in his field of study.

Education is not entirely a state responsibility. In fact, several agencies—government, district boards, municipalities, and private-aided managements—have been running schools and colleges. Government aid and recognition are based upon certain stipulated conditions, like the possession of the necessary qualifications by the personnel employed and the provision of suitable building accommodation, laboratory and library equipment, and other educational aids and teaching materials. As far as the service conditions are concerned, it has not been possible to ensure uniformity of policy and of conditions in aided institutions. The scales of pay are not uniform, and vary considerably according to the agency under which a teacher is serving. There is a good deal of disparity between the government scales, the scales offered by district boards and municipalities which are subsidised by the government, and between the aided school grades and the government grades. Some state governments have issued certain directives to deal with this situation. Thus it has been laid down, for instance, that the pay scales offered by non-government agencies should not in any case be less than two-thirds of the government scales. While this does mark some improvement and is meant to encourage upgrading, it is generally felt that this kind of distinction between teachers possessing the same qualification and doing the same work is invidious, and should be abolished as soon as possible. Then there is the further difficulty that even the scales in government service are not fixed at a uniform national level—they vary considerably from state to state, depending on its financial resources and situation. In a recent publication brought out by the Bureau of Education of the Central Ministry dealing with scales of pay of primary and secondary school teachers, it has been pointed out that "there is great disparity in the salary scales of teachers. Not only do the scales differ from state to state, but even in the same state there is considerable disparity in the salaries offered by schools under different managements, with the result that sometimes for the same type of work we have different rates of payment." Thus a trained teacher working in a government primary school starts on a monthly basic salary of Rs.25 [1] in one state, Rs.30 in another state, Rs.40 in a third, and Rs.55 in a fourth, while the maximum which he can reach ranges between Rs.45 and Rs.130. The initial monthly salary of a trained graduate in a government secondary school

[1] The exchange value of the rupee is about 13 to the £ or 4·5 to the $, but the purchasing power is considerably higher than these figures indicate. —EDITORS.

varies from Rs.70 in one state to Rs.154 in another. The lowest and the highest maximum salaries in this scale are Rs.125 and Rs.300 respectively. The rates of annual increment and the number of years required to reach the maximum are also different. It is true that, for various reasons, it is not feasible to introduce immediately the same salary grades for all teachers, with similar qualifications, throughout the country. But there is no doubt that the existing variations are too wide and need careful and urgent reconsideration.

Amongst the schools conducted by 'local boards' there is a similar disparity in the scales of pay, and the government scales have not yet been fully adopted. In the case of aided high schools, which far exceed the government and local authority schools in number, the disparity is even more marked. Teachers' organisations at all levels—local, state, and national—have been pressing for the adoption of a uniform scale of pay. In some cases, e.g. in states where, on account of financial stringency, it has not been possible to up-grade sufficiently the salaries of primary school teachers so as to meet the rapidly increasing cost of living, there is evidence of great discontent. While there has been, all along, *some* improvement in salaries, and cost-of-living allowances are also being given, they cannot be regarded as commensurate with the abnormal rise of prices since 1940. Consequently, there is a growing tendency among the teachers to conduct their professional organisations somewhat on the lines of trade unions. It would not, however, be quite correct to regard it as representing the normal approach of the Indian teacher to this problem, for there is still a strong tradition of belief in the dignity of this calling, and a reluctance—at least in some quarters—to assess the teacher's social status and position in terms of his emoluments. The following observations made by Dr. Amarnath Jha, President of the All-India Federation of Educational Associations, in a recent address, provides a fairly good clue to the mind of the profession:

> In order, however, that this academic freedom should flourish, it is of the utmost importance that teachers should be free from financial worries. Hunger drives one to subservience and then to despair. Love of knowledge and dedication to truth will fade in the presence of want. Idealism and destitution go ill together. . . . A discontented teacher, almost always on the verge of want, is a grave menace to the community—a greater menace than an inefficient teacher. The well-being of teachers should be a matter of national concern. Their work is crucial in the attempt to maintain peace and security. It should cause anxiety to watch the reluctance of able persons to join the teaching profession, and the readiness with which they seize any opportunity to leave it.

He also draws attention to the well-known fact that, in view of the inadequacy of their salaries, many teachers are compelled to supplement them by seeking additional employment, mostly in the form of 'private tuitions', which naturally affects their total efficiency.

He goes on further to point out that this is, to some extent, an international problem, and quotes from the Report on "International Study of Teachers' Salaries" submitted to the last Delegate Assembly of the World Organisation of the Teaching Profession, by Dr. Eugene Hammer:

> We must face the fact that only by paying adequate salaries can we guarantee a good future for education. . . . A teacher who heads a family of three and has no other source of income is unable to support his family on a level comparable to that enjoyed by the average family. A conservative goal to strive for would be a salary average at least three times that of the *per capita* income.

In this connection he sounds a due note of warning for those who sometimes talk of teachers as if they were a race apart from the rest of the community, and not subject to the same economic needs and urges as the latter.

> It is all very well to preach the ideal of plain living and high thinking. But too often it amounts to living in want and no leisure for any thinking at all. Until such time as the states can effect a general revision of teachers' salaries there should be provision at least for benefits such as reduced house rent, medical care, free tuition for children, widows' and orphans' insurance schemes, and suitable retirement plans. . . .

The governments, both central and state, have been aware of, and sensitive to, this situation in the country, and the Report of the Board of Education Central Advisory Committee on "Post-War Educational Reconstruction" (known as the *Sargent Report*) recommended uniform scales of pay for teachers under all agencies, subject to such variations as may be necessary on account of local or regional circumstances. Since then departments of education have been giving anxious thought to the economic position of the teacher and, if it continues to be difficult—as is undoubtedly the case—it is due not to lack of sympathetic understanding or forceful advocacy, but to financial and other reasons beyond their control. Recently, the Central Ministry of Education has invited the attention of all the states to the urgent need for the adoption of reasonable scales of pay for the teachers, in order to ensure for them a decent standard of living consistent with the dignity of their work and the importance of the service they render to the community. In the words of the Board of Education publication referred to above:

> The success of a national system of education in a country depends to a large extent on the efficiency of the teaching personnel. In order, therefore, to ensure an adequate supply of teachers of the right quality, it is essential that the salaries of the teaching profession should not only offer a reasonable standard of life but should, generally speaking, be comparable with those obtaining in other professions and services requiring comparable qualifications.

As far as administrative posts and inspecting agencies are concerned, the scales of pay offered are, on the whole, more attractive. The subordinate posts have generally the same scales of pay as are offered to graduate trained teachers. The higher administrative personnel consists of officers like the director, the deputy and assistant directors of education, the divisional and district education officers. The status of the head of the Education Department is usually the same as that of heads of other civil departments. Thus the pay of the Director of Education varies from Rs.1,000–Rs.1,500 to Rs.2,000–Rs.2,500, according to the size of the state. Transfers from administrative and executive posts to colleges and schools are not uncommon in government service, and there is provision for old-age pensions. In the case of teachers serving in local boards and aided schools, provision is generally made for a provident fund, the teacher contributing one-sixteenth part of his salary, and the employing agency a similar, or sometimes larger, contribution.

In the matter of appointment, selection, and promotion, the teachers do not always get a fair deal. So far as recruitment at the lowest level is concerned, there is not much room for complaint. But in the case of posts such as that of headmaster, and in the matter of promotions in aided and local board schools, the special selection committees are sometimes swayed by favouritism and other extraneous influences, and merit and suitability are not the only criteria considered by the local boards and managements, particularly when authority rests in one or two persons. In the Report of the Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education which surveyed the conditions of service in 1945 occurs this revealing observation:

> Different provinces follow different principles in regard to the selection and appointment of teachers. The conditions generally, and particularly those which obtain in schools managed by district boards, municipalities, and in private institutions leave much to be desired. In many cases the managements of recognised schools or the office-bearers of the local boards do not possess the experience in educational matters which would enable them to select people of the right type and, apart from this, their judgment is prone to be influenced by extraneous circumstances.

Though several measures have been taken by the education departments since, the position has not materially altered. Another committee, which considered the question of the training, recruitment, and conditions of service of teachers in the university and other institutions of higher education, had expressed the view that:

> no system or scheme can be either effective or efficient unless it provides for sufficient number of properly qualified teachers selected on grounds of merit alone, and unless those teachers are adequately remunerated, have a recognised status, adequate leisure, as well as oppor-

tunities of research, self-improvement, and security of tenure, and enjoy such other conditions of service as may preserve their independence and self-respect.

The committee regretfully admitted that the teaching profession was far from possessing all these things; it did not, generally speaking, enjoy the status which it ought to have, and by reason of its undue subordination, in some instances, to bodies of laymen ignorant of educational matters—who regarded the teachers as their servants and employees rather than as partners in the common cause of education—it had lost that intellectual and academic freedom without which it could not give of its best. Although this report is now several years old and in many universities conditions of service have improved, it cannot be said that the position has been radically altered. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that the profession has often been unable to attract recruits of the proper quality.

The period of 'probation' varies, from state to state and from agency to agency, from six months to two years. In the case of private institutions, security of service is not always guaranteed, and service is in fact often terminated without adequate justification. The normal agreement executed stipulates a three-months' notice on either side and, in some cases, six months' salary. Government as well as teachers' organisations have been trying to safeguard and protect teachers from the unscrupulous treatment meted out to them by some managements. During the annual sessions of various teachers' conferences, resolutions have been passed demanding that private aided agencies should give proper representation to teachers on the governing bodies of schools and on the committees appointed by the government for purposes of recognition and grant. In the matter of termination of services or dismissal, professional opinion has favoured the appointment of impartial tribunals. The following resolution was passed in this connection at the annual session of the All-India Federation of Educational Associations held in October 1951:

> This Conference views with great concern the growing discontent of teachers of primary and secondary schools in most of the states with reference to the salaries and service conditions, and urges upon the government to revise the grant-in-aid Code by paying the difference between the teachers' salary bill and the tuition fee income at standard rates. This Conference further understands that there have been several instances where the services of teachers of primary and secondary schools have been dispensed with. In view of the fact that teachers have the right of appeal to government, the Conference strongly urges that, in all instances, government should appoint an independent tribunal, the decision of which shall be abiding on the management as well as the teachers.

It is a matter of satisfaction that many state governments have made provision for the appointment of such tribunals, and teachers

are being given representation on governing bodies and school committees. Due representation is also given to them on educational boards, textbook committees, and committees of courses, e.g. the All-India Federation of Educational Associations is entitled to send its nominees to bodies like the Central Advisory Board of Education and the National Commission for Co-operation with Unesco. So far as teachers' participation in local and national politics is concerned, those working in aided institutions are eligible to take part in them. Some have entered municipalities and district boards through elections and, in the bigger states, a special constituency is provided for electing teachers to the council of states. Teachers have also contested general elections in state assemblies. The right of the teacher to make his contribution to national life in various ways has won considerable recognition, and he is coming to be looked upon as a vital factor in the attempt to revitalise national life and train citizens for an emerging democracy. There is also reason to believe that the teaching profession is becoming more alive to its new responsibilities. As someone has remarked: "A country is free just as much and just as long as its education enables it to be." Education is being gradually remodelled to suit the new demands of the social order as well as the age, ability, and aptitude of the students. Thus, on the one hand, it is proposed that basic education for a period of eight years be made universal and compulsory as soon as finances make it possible, and, on the other, there is an attempt at the secondary education stage to divert students of different abilities and aptitudes to suitable types of vocational, technical, and academic schools. If the teachers are anxious to win genuine social esteem, they must accept the exacting challenge of this new situation, and work not only to improve schools as teaching institutions but also to make them vital instruments of social service. In the great national task ahead the profession has a crucial duty to discharge and, as a distinguished Indian educationist, Dr. Zakir Husain, observed in his Presidential Address to the All-India Educational Conference held in December 1950:

> The [true] teacher feels that, given the chance, he can help men to grow who will walk together with joy and work together with unflagging zeal for ends beyond themselves. He works incessantly for freedom of development and opportunity of growth. He seeks to eradicate weakness, chasten strength, and give to each a type of freedom he needs. He seeks to transform his educational institution from a place of individual self-seeking to one of devotion to social work, from a seat of theoretical-intellectual one-sidedness into one of practical, human many-sidedness, from a centre of mere acquisition of information to that of its right and fruitful use, from a place of passive book-learning to a seat of active, purposeful work—work seriously planned, honestly executed, unsparingly criticised, and generously appreciated. He does not only wish to do it to his school, but would bring about the corresponding changes in the society around. Education trans-

formed into disciplined, creative activity will imply, in the life around, the ennoblement of work from a tedious imposition into a serious pleasure, an exhilarating exercise in self-expression and social usefulness.

In this age of growing commercialism, when most things are measured in terms of their monetary value, we cannot expect teachers to be indifferent to their economic interests, nor can we justify social indifference to their needs. In fact, lip-reference to the importance of the teacher and a failure to improve his material lot and social position go ill together, and we must make every effort to see that reasonable material and cultural amenities are made available for him. But eventually, it is only when he can successfully approximate to the ideal of what a teacher, as defined in the preceding quotation, should be and should do that he can achieve the social status that is his rightful due.

K. G. SAIYIDAIN.
M. S. KOTISWARAN.

CHAPTER FIVE

CEYLON

Introduction

CEYLON is in a state of transition, newly independent, a meeting-place of East and West, a crucible from which democracy is emerging against a background of a traditionally hierarchic social structure. The Ceylonese, subdivided on linguistic, ethnic, and religious grounds, are not yet unified into a nation. Education itself, by leading to the formation of an English-speaking *élite* in the past, has been an instrument of division rather than of unification. Even in the future it may again divide people into an academic *élite* and those in manual occupations, as the result of a too narrowly conceived practical education of a vocational type.

The importance of education is generally realised, but in individual rather than in social terms, and there has been a vast expansion of educational provision in the past five years. The position of the teacher, however, has altered little, and it is to-day one of the fundamental problems yet to be solved. To provide a picture of the teacher's position which will be true in general principles and not be distorted with regard to details is, however, far from easy. Firstly, because of the difficulties of finding a frame of reference; secondly, because of the complexity of the social situation; and thirdly, because the data necessary for such a study is not yet available, owing to the lack of research.

The picture drawn here must therefore be taken as an approximation. In order to make it as accurate as possible such data as are available are presented but, while this may illuminate the outlines, it also exposes the many areas where investigation has yet to be carried out.

The General Attitude to Education

Ceylon is predominantly a country of villages and small towns in which most of the population is rural and in which the urban drift is more apparent than real. Successive overlordship by Portuguese, Dutch, and British initiated the process of Westernisation, of which the rate is accelerating. Despite this the rural areas, though using the material things of Western life, remain basically Oriental. English is spoken by only 6 per cent. of a population in which the literacy level is 58 per cent. (1951). In a rural country with few industries and an undiversified economy, opportunities to

break away from the ancestral conditions are few, yet the urge to do so is considerable, because the rural population, though enjoying some advantages in virtue of being rural, is economically poor, its birth-rate high, and the system of land tenure such that individual reward is low. In such conditions education is seen as the key to those employments which will offer social mobility leading to greater economic reward. Economic reward has two aspects, the wage return and the dowry given with a wife to her husband. These are related in the sense that the higher the former, the greater the latter. The processes of ruler-identification in the past, and the fact that at present the government is the largest employer of labour, at all levels above mere subsistence as labourers, have given to government jobs an overwhelming appeal. In the past entirely, and at present to a very considerable extent (despite the national-language policy), the first requisite for government appointment was a knowledge of English. This could be obtained only from the schools, at first in the metropolis and smaller towns and, during the past two decades, in the rural areas through the government central schools. Education was thus the means of escape from poverty and became, not a search for learning or culture, but a search for status.

Education is the most widely sought after of the social services of Ceylon. The under-privileged see it as the road to individual progress, the privileged use it as the road to individual power. Education is thus a matter of concern at all levels of the social front, as may be seen objectively in three ways. Table I shows the increase of expenditure on education in the past years; Table II shows the

TABLE I

INCREASE OF EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN CEYLON

Year	*Cost (Rupees)*	*Year*	*Cost (Rupees)*
1950	90,162,000	1890	474,000
1940	22,394,000	1880	492,000
1930	11,754,000	1870	206,000
1920	4,067,000	1860	133,000
1910	2,215,000	1850	73,000
1900	820,000		

TABLE II

INCREASE IN SCHOOL AND GENERAL POPULATION

Year	*School Pupils*	*Year*	*School Pupils*
1950	1,366,742	1890	146,452
1940	819,297	1880	90,234
1930	578,999	1870	41,490
1920	399,076	1860	28,951
1910	336,374	1850	18,000
1900	208,533		

In 1891 the total population was 3,008,000. In 1951 it was estimated at 7,147,000.

increase in the number of pupils; and Table III shows the number of schools.

In Ceylon, as elsewhere, the teacher is told from platform, press, and radio that, as the key figure in the country's most important social service, the future lies in his hands. How far his economic reward and social prestige are in keeping with the responsibilities he is asked to accept must be judged from the data presented below.

TABLE III

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF SCHOOLS

Year	*Number*	*Year*	*Number*
1950	6,447	1890	4,037
1940	5,817	1880	1,901
1930	5,219	1870	1,978
1920	4,414	1860	1,269
1910	4,215	1850	1,160
1900	3,924		

The General Social Status of the Teacher

Teaching in Ceylon is both a vocation and an occupation, the former mostly through the age-old connection of religion and education, the latter because it is a means of livelihood in a money economy offering restricted opportunities. Teaching thus has not a single status, but two, according to the viewpoint adopted.

In the major indigenous religions, Hinduism and Buddhism, and especially in the latter, teaching was, from the earliest times, the function of the priest. This *guru* tradition still survives widely among the less sophisticated rural people, and is by no means unknown among the town dwellers; it is customary for the priest to be called to teach the young child 'his first letter' at an auspicious time determined by astrological horoscope. That veneration expected towards the priest extends, in some degree, to the teacher, so that children are expected to worship their teacher, as they do their parents, by Buddhist custom. This veneration is shown to-day by the offering of flowers or betel leaves, by the bringing of gifts of vegetables and fruit, and by the performance of personal service to the teacher. The continued existence of the *pirivena* schools (temple schools) which, after considerable neglect under colonial administration, are now again receiving state support, ensures the continuance of this type of attitude to the teacher as one to be blindly obeyed, and he consequently enjoys, in this frame of reference, a considerable prestige.

The teacher in rural communities, however, enjoys prestige also by virtue of his knowledge and skills, which confer power on him among those who are illiterate or semi-literate. Despite an elaborate system of local government in rural areas and the existence of village headmen and other more senior officials, the teacher is often

the only readily available person who is well informed and literate in Tamil or Sinhalese and to some degree also in English. Thus he is called upon to read, translate, and explain documents, write petitions, act as witness and adviser. As many village schools have only a morning session it is possible for teachers to engage in other pursuits, although this is not officially permitted. To gifts received in kind may be added money gifts, as unofficial fees for services rendered. Thus prestige and power lead to economic advancement, and the teacher may become a local capitalist and businessman, postmaster, or the like.

The rural teacher, despite a low salary and few qualifications, may enjoy a considerable social status *in his own setting.* A study of the vocational attitudes of pupils shows that these various factors result in teaching being ranked second in a scale of occupational status. The position is, however, different when seen from the standpoint of graduate teachers, who are influenced not merely by their greater maturity, but by economic considerations. This fact is seen from Table IV.

The operation of other factors must not be overlooked, though it is not possible to demonstrate their action in quantitative terms. Caste is still operative, and this undoubtedly affects the status of particular individuals. Family origin acts in the same way, so that a teacher whose father held a local government appointment, or enjoyed a minor civil distinction and title, has enhanced status and prestige himself. Similarly, a teacher who is prominent in community activities is given a position of greater prestige.

In urban conditions there is less general recognition of the social status of the teacher, though, as is common elsewhere, no little lip service is paid to it. Evidence of the urban position is seen in the fact that few university entrants give teaching as their proposed profession. Moreover, of those who ultimately do, most are using it as a stopgap while seeking a post with higher status and salary. There are, of course, individuals who enjoy considerable prestige, in a few cases among a wide public, in other cases within a selected group. Thus the principal of one of the older public schools may be a public figure because he is an outstanding man—such recognition rarely comes to women in Ceylon. Others enjoy prestige because they are principals of some of the largest schools of a particular religious group. A few are eminent figures in their own right, as men and women who would be leaders in almost any company.

In general it will be seen that the teaching profession in Ceylon does not enjoy status, prestige, and reward on a scale commensurate with the social significance of education. This significance is made the greater by the generally under-developed state of a society which seeks social progress through welfare and technological schemes of many kinds, the ultimate success of which depends upon

TABLE IV

RANK ORDER POSITIONS [COLUMN A: PRESTIGE STATUS; COLUMN B: ECONOMIC STATUS (BASED ON FINAL SALARY)] OF SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	*A*	*B*
Government doctor	1	6
Civil servant (member Ceylon Civil Service)	2	1
Judge	3	2
Education officer of a province	4	6
Superintendent of police	5	4
Stipendiary magistrate	6	3
Assistant superintendent of police	7	11
Chief accountant	8	4
Member of Parliament	9	15
Income-tax assessor	10	6
Assistant government analyst	11	10
Principal, government central school	12	12
Tea research worker	13	6
Inspector of schools	14	16
Postmaster	14	21
Registrar of lands	16	16
Inspector of police	17	16
Teacher in English school	18	25
Engine driver, government railway	19	20
Inspector, valuation department	20	21
Railway stationmaster	21	12
Government clerk	22	19
Apothecary	23	21
Teacher in vernacular school	24	28
Sanitary inspector	25	25
Government translator	26	12
Railway guard, government railway	27	21
Food inspector	28	27
Prison guard	29	31
Telephone operator (switchboard)	30	30
Railway signalman	31	29
Police constable	32	32
Hospital attendant	33	34
Peon (messenger, office boy)	34	35
Postman	35	35
Watcher (caretaker)	36	36
Labourer (coolie)	37	37

improved education, because such schemes demand not only new knowledge but new attitudes.

The position may be summarised by saying that teaching in Ceylon has no real professional status. This is because so large a proportion of teachers lacks professional qualifications of high standard, as may be seen in Table V.

What Society Expects from the Teacher

Though society fails to reward the teacher in economic terms, such social status as is conferred is made the basis for a demand that the teacher shall " live up to his position ". In Tamil society,

TABLE V

PERCENTAGES OF TEACHERS WITH VARIOUS LEVELS OF PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

Professional Status	*English Schools*	*Vernacular Schools*
University graduates	15·3	nil
Trained teachers	31·6	28·3
Certificated teachers	22·1	50·4
Uncertificated teachers	24·3	20·5
Others	6·7	0·8

and especially in the more conservative Hindu circles, teachers are expected to follow accepted codes with regard to dress, manners, and behaviour. Among Buddhist and Hindu women smoking is non-existent. Burgher women are more free, but a woman would not smoke in public. The Burgher women may cycle to school, among Buddhist Sinhalese a few may, but in Jaffna no Tamil (especially no Hindu) woman would dare to cycle. Dancing of Western style is common among Burghers, accepted by Sinhalese, but deplored by most Tamils. All teachers are expected to be abstemious, in keeping with religious views, and departure from accepted codes with regard to sex and marital relationships is not only not countenanced, but quickly becomes a matter of official action, usually a punitive transfer, less often of dismissal. The mission schools are far more conservative than the government service in these matters.

Restricted finances and the isolated situation of many of the rural stations restrict social life to what, in many places, must be a dull and low level. Thus the wider experiences in art, drama, and cinema, themselves limited in Ceylon, are further limited as far as teachers are concerned. To some extent this is counterbalanced by the existence of teachers' associations, of which there are many, and by the teachers' guilds, which exist in most schools of secondary type. Such organisations act as social centres, arrange expeditions and meetings and, for many teachers, are the only available club.

Participation in the local political and local governmental activities is limited in fact, though not always restricted in theory—except, perhaps, with regard to communism. Lack of finances and difficulties of travel are inhibitory and 'transfer' is always a ready answer to those who are thought troublesome, whether by governmental or by voluntary agency. In practice, teachers in government schools play little active part in local affairs in this sense, though in rural areas and small towns the prestige of a principal may have a considerable indirect effect. In the assisted (voluntary, non-governmental) schools, direct activity in this field is present and increasing. In some cases this is welcomed, but in none is it tolerated beyond a point where the local school manager finds himself differing from his staff.

Conditions of Service

(1) *Salary.* A general picture of the position of the teacher in relation to other government servants is given in Table VI, but a large number of different salary scales exist, in which qualifications and type of school appear to be determinants, and the position is too complicated to allow detailed examination. Scales for men and women are the same, and there is no form of marriage or child allowance.

TABLE VI

COMPARATIVE SALARY SCALES IN CEYLON, 1952[1]

	Annual Salary in Rupees	
Non-educational Appointments	*Initial*	*Final*
Civil service	4,800	20,400
District judge	12,240	18,000
Stipendiary magistrate	9,000	16,200
Superintendent of police	8,400	15,000
Assistant analyst	3,000	10,800
Government translator	1,440	7,680
Government clerical service	840	6,240
Stationmaster	840	7,680
Engine driver	1,560	5,040
Police constable	540	1,032
Labourer	480	1,540
Educational Administration		
Permanent secretary	21,600	24,000
Director of education	18,600	20,400
Deputy directors	15,000	16,200
Chief inspector	13,200	15,000
Education officers—head office	8,040	12,720
Education officers—provincial	5,520	9,360
Inspector of schools	3,210	6,480
University Teachers		
Professors	14,400	18,000
Readers	10,000	13,200
Lecturers—Grade I	8,400	12,000
Lecturers—Grade II	6,000	8,160
Assistant lecturers	4,800	4,800
Training Colleges		
Principal—English T.C.	13,200	15,000
Principal—vernacular colleges	4,800	7,680
Lecturers—English T.C.	4,800	7,680
Lecturers—vernacular colleges	2,400	4,500
Schools		
Principal, Royal College for Boys	13,200	15,000
Headmaster, government central schools	4,800	7,680
Graduate teacher—trained	3,120	5,040
Graduate teacher—untrained	2,160	4,320
Vernacular teacher—trained	828	2,424
Vernacular teacher—untrained	576	1,800

[1] R1 = 1s. 7d.; R4·7 = $1.

Within any particular scale there appears to be no provision for increments for improved qualification; thus no graduate, for example, will teach in the primary levels because there would be no recognition of graduate status in financial terms. An attempt has been made to meet this in the secondary schools by the award of two grades of special posts, at higher salaries. In government service the higher grade is found in the central schools and special posts of both grades are often awarded to the principal and deputy principal. In voluntary schools such posts are used mainly for the assistant staff. All salaries are paid by the state, and no differentiation is made between different races except that in some missionary schools European staff receive higher salaries.

In general, teachers in Ceylon are poorly paid in both absolute and relative terms, and the fact that some without any academic qualification reach higher maxima than the graduate is a very sore point. It is common for teachers to seek supplementary income, as already noted in the case of rural teachers. Another source of income, especially for the urban teacher, lies in tuition work. This may be in one of the many tutorial and correspondence colleges which exist as a mushroom growth all over Ceylon, providing evidence of three conditions:

(*a*) the low economic level of the teacher;

(*b*) the intense competition to obtain educational qualification (failure to get promotion to the next class, or in the School Certificate Examination, sometimes leads to suicide);

(*c*) the inadequacy of existing educational opportunity, despite the vast increase of the past five years.

Tuition may also be privately arranged, especially with regard to School Certificate and the period of selection for secondary education. It is regrettable that some degree of exploitation undoubtedly exists.

Despite many requests and not a few half-promises over a long period, there exists no negotiating machinery to deal with salaries. A Salaries Commission was set up before the recent General Election. Even if this was not a political gesture there is little chance that it will have much effect on teachers' salaries. The country's finances are falling, and recent economic problems have led to the emergency application of import control, increased duties, and a 10 per cent. rise in income-tax.

(2) *Pensions.* Teachers, whether in government or in assisted schools, now enjoy the benefits of a pension scheme by contributing 4 per cent. of their salary. By recent provisions an extra 2 per cent. entitles married men to benefit from a Widows and Orphans Fund. No pension can be claimed until after ten completed years of service. The maximum pension payable is two-thirds of the last salary drawn.

Tenure

(1) *Appointment.* Entry into the teaching profession is open to those with a vernacular School Certificate who enter the primary school service. Possession of an English School Certificate gives entry to the English schools, which are mainly of the secondary type. In upper forms it is common to expect teachers to possess a Higher School Certificate, an Intermediate or a Final Degree. Those who have acquired experience and qualification in other walks of life may enter teaching, but, desirable though this is, it is not common because the Code makes no provision for a late entrant to receive a salary above the minimum in recognition of other service. Late entry, just as leaving teaching to enter another profession, is bound up with financial considerations.

After entry, teachers are considered to be on probation for two years, when it becomes possible to enter a training college, though this may often be deferred and there are many untrained teachers in the service.

Retirement is compulsory at the age of 55 years. With special sanction men may continue until 60 years of age.

(2) *Recruitment.* Vacancies in government schools may be advertised in the public press, the *Government Gazette*, or the *Ceylon Education Journal,* which is primarily a gazette for teachers. Assistant teachers in government schools are appointed by the education officer of the province. More senior appointments are made by the Central Office, though principalships, posts of inspector, and the like are made by the Public Service Commission on which the Director of Education is represented.

Vacancies in voluntary schools may be advertised, but there is a tendency for the management to appoint from among old pupils of the school, usually of the same denomination.

Ceylonese candidates are appointed in preference to non-Ceylonese, for whom a special labour permit is necessary. This is usually valid for two or three years but may be renewed, and some (e.g. Indian) teachers are finally registered in permanent appointments.

(3) *Security.* Security of tenure is one of the features which makes teaching attractive, despite the low salary. Dismissal, for grave offence, lies in the hands of the Director of Education and the school manager in government and voluntary schools respectively.

All government posts, including principalships, are transferable, and punitive transfer is a frequently used and much criticised government sanction against the individual.

Teachers have the right of appeal in all disciplinary matters. Government teachers, especially graduates, feel strongly critical of a rule which prohibits them from applying for posts outside the

service, and which prevents them from accepting such appointment when offered, in many cases, by insisting on the abandonment of pension rights.

Conditions of Work

The *school year* is divided into three terms separated by three vacations of thirteen weeks' total duration. The *school week* consists of five working days, nominally of five working hours. In rural areas, and in a few cases in urban areas, there are one-session schools meeting in the morning or afternoon only. Teachers are required to do a minimum of twenty hours a week, and all, other than specialist visiting teachers, are expected to be in the school all day. In rural areas, where the schools are often isolated and the staff may be only a single teacher living on the school premises, the teacher may not leave his station during term time, except by official permission.

Leave, apart from normal vacations, is given for contingencies up to a total period of fourteen days, and for sickness up to six weeks, on full pay with a further two weeks on half-pay. After inquiry and in special circumstances longer sick leave may be granted, especially in T.B. cases.

School authority resides in the hands of the principal, subject to the Code of Regulations and syllabus. The manager of a voluntary school enjoys considerable power. Freedom to experiment or initiate progressive methods exists in theory, but is subject to the approval of the principal. In fact it is little evident in virtue of the general authoritarian nature of society, the formal attitudes of teachers and still more of parents, and by the undue importance given to 'covering the syllabus'.

Study-leave provisions have always existed and are on a more considerable scale since the war. Such leave is not open to vernacular teachers but, with the implementation of the national-language policy and the gradual arrival of graduates for whom English is a second language, there may be improved study-leave conditions for vernacular teachers. Of such graduates those with Tamil could study in South India, but those speaking Sinhalese would be restricted to Ceylon. At present, English-speaking graduates have wide opportunities for overseas study.

Long leave, for one or two years, is usually not granted until the applicant has had five years' experience, which may be in either government or voluntary school service. There is no travelling allowance, and full salary is paid for one year only. Study leave of this type is granted to about ten teachers a year. Not more than one can have leave from one school at any one time.

National and international agencies have made scholarships available on a large scale, though they tend to be for shorter periods and to be concerned with restricted single topics, rather than allow-

ing the candidates to acquire a general post-graduate qualification.

Study leave is much sought after, and the 'England returned' teacher enjoys enhanced status and is very often quickly promoted to the inspectorate or administrative service. Not enough is done to ensure that the benefits of experience obtained by the individual are made available to the profession as a whole.

Teachers' Associations

In most schools there exist guilds, membership of which is optional, but to which principals and all the staff usually belong. The guilds arrange social functions and provide a forum for discussion. Parent-teacher associations are not numerous, and some have a tendency to act as elements competing for power in school affairs, rather than as devices to ensure co-operation between school and society.

Teachers' associations, with membership extending beyond a single school, are numerous, and have territorial or categorical bases. In 1920 many of these united to form the All Ceylon Union of Teachers, which now has 2,600 members, representing some 25 per cent. of those eligible. Because this union is concerned with teachers' politics, as well as educational matters, government teachers are debarred from membership under Public Service Regulations. All teachers, however, are eligible to join the recently formed National Education Society of Ceylon, which came into being very largely as the result of the efforts of staff and past students of the University Department of Education. Working through sub-committees and in collaboration with the university and the state Department of Education, the National Society is engaged in research projects likely to be of considerable value in the present social setting of the country.

Two bodies enjoying considerable prestige are the Headmasters' Conference, representing the boys' public schools of Ceylon, and the Association of Headmistresses, representing the major girls' schools.

The general social climate of Ceylon is authoritarian but, despite this, good relationships between principals and staff members are fairly common. However, the competitive nature of society, deeply involved in the search for status and with a consequently heavy emphasis upon the right inter-personal connections, forms a background in which factions develop with rapidity. The many sub-cultural divisions in Ceylon, already noted, accentuate the tendency towards internecine faction in a closed society. One result of this is the tendency for organisations to fragment into competitive units for reasons which are apparent only to those with some psychological insight into the structure of Ceylonese personality. Thus there exists a multiplicity of teachers' organisations which appears to be in excess of the needs of territorial and other categories. This multiplicity is a stumbling-block to progress, because there are too

few organisations of a truly representative character—a fact pointed out and deplored by the Director of Education when seeking joint discussions with teachers on administrative and financial problems.

The Background of Teaching

Ceylon is no exception to the general condition that teachers suffer from conditions which are not only annoyances, but which both detract from the status of the profession and act as deterrents to entry. In some countries, for example the U.S.A., studies have been made of these conditions in order to provide guidance for their rectification. A similar study in Ceylon has disclosed the conditions shown in Table VII, which is based on a representative sample of 100 graduate teachers.

TABLE VII

RANK ORDER OF MAJOR ANNOYANCES AND DISADVANTAGES AS REPORTED BY CEYLONESE TEACHERS

Condition	*Rank Order*
Salary too low	1
Little appreciation of the real value of the teacher	2
Social prestige too low	3
Promotion too slow	4
Unfavourable working conditions (e.g. poor buildings)	5
Too much supervision by others, often not qualified	6
Too many petty restrictions and routine clerical jobs	7
Considerable nervous strain	8
Too little opportunity for creative work	9
Too much monotonous repetition	10
Teachers cut off from normal social life	11
Too frequent liability to transfer	12
Teaching a difficult job	13
Pupils not respectful to teachers	14

While some of these conditions are unavoidable (e.g. poor buildings in a country with limited finances and many demands), some could be removed by more imaginative administration. Others, however, appear to be criticisms of teachers rather than of teaching as a profession. Teachers in Ceylon, for reasons which are to some extent understandable, have not yet, in general, developed that spirit of willing effort in a vocation which is necessary, not merely for the betterment of education, but also for the enhanced prestige and reward of teachers themselves.

It might be noted here that the Headmasters' Conference, the Association of Headmistresses, and the All Ceylon Union of Teachers nominate representatives to the Senate, Council, and Court of the University of Ceylon. Such representation fulfils a useful function, but there is need for a closer and more effective relationship, particularly with regard to the syllabus and examination procedures relating to entrance to the university.

It is characteristic of universities that they should be concerned with the attainment and preservation of academic standards. Ceylon is no exception to this, and to the University of Ceylon must go much of the credit for the high standards in the schools of Ceylon.

There is, however, a germ of danger not to be ignored. University education tends to be formal and must be academic, with the result that, despite representation of the teaching profession on university bodies, there is an emphasis on university requirements not entirely in keeping with the more liberal and progressive outlook of education elsewhere. The influence of the university is seen not only in this way, but also in another way. Many of those who have just graduated in Ceylon enter teaching for 'stopgap' purposes while they seek further qualification for another post. Of these, many are out of sympathy with teaching and children, and all lack training as teachers. They tend to form a continuously renewed barrier towards the acceptance in the schools of more progressive and liberal attitudes in the various aspects of education.

Co-operation between Teachers and Authority

Although there is an appearance of co-operation between teachers and their associations and the central authorities (Ministry and Department of Education), this is often an imaginary, rather than a real, image. While this condition is partly due to the lack of one, or of a few, representative organisations, it is undoubtedly much more due to the authoritarian social structure of Ceylon. Despite appearances, authority often continues to ignore what are not only teachers' wishes, but deep social needs.

In a country with a rapidly expanding population (at present about 7 millions, with an annual increase of 200,000) and falling financial resources based on an economy which is not self-sufficient and which is tied to world markets, the limitations of finance must always be operative. After allowing for this—and the teachers of Ceylon have always taken a realistic view of the matter—there remains much which could be done, by both teachers and authorities, to promote greater harmony and satisfaction.

The setting-up of the recently formed Central Advisory Council on Education is one step which should facilitate consultation and dispassionate inquiry. Further needs are for a much more representative teachers' organisation and for more extensive and more accurate information on the problems involved. The existence of a council for educational research would be valuable in this respect, but the idea has yet to be implemented. There are signs that this may happen in the near future, and it is a noteworthy point that teachers, as individuals and through their organisations, have shown great readiness to co-operate in the conduct of research

work which has been, so far, organised entirely by the Department of Education of the University of Ceylon.

Learned Societies Open to Teachers

The fact that teachers belong to learned societies is known elsewhere to have a beneficial result upon academic life and the general attitudes and satisfactions of the teachers. While the opportunity exists in Ceylon the question of cost, coupled with the fact that most of such organisations are located in the capital city, makes it difficult for more than a few to enjoy such membership. Among these few are those who render considerable service to the continuance of Ceylon's learned societies.

Ceylon, as befits the most Westernised and probably the most developed country of S.E. Asia, has a relatively large number of learned societies. Some of specialist professional type, such as the Ceylon Branch of the British Medical Association, are of course closed to teachers. Typical of those open to teachers are:

The Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.
The Geographical Society of Ceylon.
The Ceylon Historical Society.
The Classical Association of Ceylon.
The Ceylon Mental Hygiene Society.

In addition, there are many local and regional bodies, such as the Kandyan Arts Society and a number of societies devoted to Oriental studies, Oriental arts, dancing, literature, and the like.

Apart from membership of learned societies, cultural contact and experience are available in other ways. This is most true in Colombo, but the major towns are not lacking in enterprise. Thus the Y.W.C.A. and the Y.M.C.A. sponsor lectures and discussions, as do the Young Men's Buddhist and Hindu Societies. The British Council, the United States Information Service, and other such organisations provide cultural opportunities, and in particular arrange film-shows and visits by noted personalities which are not restricted to the capital. Radio Ceylon, apart from the Schools' Programme and the Teachers' House, also provides a Third Programme of intellectual type. Dramatic societies are numerous and widespread. Associations devoted to Oriental culture exist in most places, and the school also acts as a cultural centre to some extent.

The university arranges a small number of public lectures, usually by distinguished visitors, and has for long been a leader in amateur dramatics. It has, however, so far failed to make provision in the field of extra-mural work, except in relation to education in a professional sense. Here the University Department of Education has voluntarily arranged one-day conferences in Colombo, and in out-stations (in conjunction with teachers' associations in this case) lecture courses for teachers and, on one occasion only, a residential course in Jaffna.

The university is the guiding hand in the Ceylon Association for the Advancement of Science. Teachers belong to some of its sections, and a new section, devoted to education and the social sciences, has now been formed.

Teachers are able to make use of a number of journals, mostly produced by the various learned societies. The state department sponsors *The Ceylon Journal of Education,* which is primarily a gazette, and the All Ceylon Union of Teachers publishes *The Ceylon Teacher.* The overseas educational magazines are available in embassies, and many read the better-known English journals. There is need for a journal devoted to research and reviews and for the publication, by the state authority, of educational handbooks and teachers' guides on a more liberal scale and from a more progressive angle.

Selection and Training

There is in Ceylon little to represent 'selection' in the sense of, say, the Emergency Scheme Selection Boards or the Interviewing Boards of the training colleges in England. Entry into teaching depends first upon a low minimal qualification, and afterwards, according to somewhat cynical critics, inability to obtain any other post. Probably no male undergraduate has ever entered the university with the original intention of becoming a teacher, and of those who enter teaching on graduation most do so as a stepping-stone to another profession. Among women, teaching is more sought after, because it is still one of the few occupations open to them which is free of social stigma and which possesses some degree of prestige.

Elsewhere many studies have been made of the reasons for choosing, not choosing, or leaving teaching. One such study has been made in Ceylon, and some of the results are given in Table VIII.

It is perhaps to be expected that teachers would indulge in some degree of rationalisation in order to put the best possible construction on their motives. For this reason some kinds of correction must be applied to the picture provided by Table VIII. One such correction lies in the fact that 67 per cent. of these teachers expressed a desire for some other kind of job, and that an increased salary was the most frequently cited motive. A further correction is available through an exploration of the reasons for not entering some other occupation, which are given in Table IX.

Such selection as does operate occurs after the teacher has completed the two-year probationary period and when he seeks entry to a training college. For primary and vernacular teachers the School Certificate forms a first qualification, and is followed by a competitive selective examination for entry to the college. For this the syllabus and the examination are controlled by the State Department of Education. In theory, the Higher School Certifi-

TABLE VIII

RANK ORDER OF REASONS FOR CHOOSING TEACHING OF 100 GRADUATE TEACHERS

Rank Order	*Reason*
1	Opportunity to serve society.
2	Education an important social service.
3	Offers chance to continue learning.
4	Opportunity for creative work.
5	Have a real interest in children.
6	Like to work with people rather than things.
7	Offers chance to follow up personal interests.
8	Can work with congenial companions.
9	Long holidays are attractive.
10	Good training for parenthood.
11	Favourable working conditions.
12	Steady income with security.
13	Could get no other job.
14	No other way of using my abilities.
15	Teaching a good, safe job.
16	Gives a chance of working in town.
17	A good stepping-stone to a better job.
18	Parents wanted me to be a teacher.
19	Good job to fall back on in case of difficulty.
20	Like to have control of others.
21	Requires less preparation than other jobs.

TABLE IX

RANK ORDERS OF REASONS FOR NOT ENTERING AN OCCUPATION OTHER THAN TEACHING, GIVEN BY 100 GRADUATE TEACHERS

Rank Order	*Reason*
1	Could not afford any other training.
2	Other training courses too lengthy.
3	No other available.
4	Persuaded not to choose another job.
5	Parents wished me to stay at home (i.e. teach on home location).
6	No qualifications for any other job.
7	Job I would have taken not important enough.
8	Did not feel able to do any other job.
9	Other jobs did not offer steady employment.

cate is required for entry to the Secondary Training College; in practice, this is not observed because those with this qualification seldom seek entry to teaching. The fact that the academic levels at entry to the training colleges are low has received frequent notice, as it means that too much time has to be devoted to providing an education in the basic tool subjects.

The government supports training colleges for primary school teachers and one for secondary teachers, while voluntary bodies, such as the Buddhist Theosophical Society, the Catholic and Protestant churches, support a small number of such institutions also. The statistical picture is given in Table X.

TABLE X

TRAINING PROVISIONS FOR TEACHERS IN CEYLON

Government sponsored		
Secondary training colleges, English medium	1	
Junior and primary training colleges—Sinhalese	6	
Junior and primary training colleges—Tamil	5	
	—	12
Voluntary		
Junior and primary—Sinhalese	4	
Junior and primary—Tamil	3	
	—	7
Total		19

It appears doubtful if the opportunities for training are sufficient to meet either the demand or the need, a condition which has much to do with perpetuating the relatively low status of teaching as compared with other occupations.

A point which causes concern is that practical education has been given a narrow, vocational meaning, and the training of handwork teachers has been put into the hands of vocational rather than educational instructors. There will thus be a tendency for practical education to observe the social divisions already existing and to do little to bring about new attitudes towards manual work.

The syllabus of training is prescribed by the State Department of Education, and includes both academic and professional subjects and teaching practice, usually in a practising school attached to a college. The most recently printed edition is several years old and, although various attempts have been made to improve it, teacher training in the training colleges is not, in general, progressive in outlook. It must, however, be pointed out that improvements are taking place, and the whole matter of teacher training is under consideration by the Advisory Council of Education.

One of the greatest needs is for training college staff with better qualifications, wider experience, and a more progressive outlook. Staff is recruited from the ranks of teachers, and not until recently have many graduates been attracted to training college work, except in the single English (secondary) training college. Ceylon has yet to develop the social conception of education now characteristic of the West. The first step towards this lies in the selection of more appropriate staff in the training colleges. At present the college teaching methods are somewhat rigid and formal, and the position is made worse by the inadequate library resources, a condition to some extent bound up with language problems. There is little modern material, for training college level, available in Sinhalese, though there is much more in Tamil.

Training college work is the subject of a special branch of the

administrative service, and is inspected by senior members of the inspectorate. There is some feeling that attention is given to the administrative rather than to the educational aspects of the problem.

Graduate Training

For a period of three years, graduate teachers, selected by competitive examination, were trained in the government English training college. In 1949 the Department of Education of the University of Ceylon was opened, offering a one-year course for the University Diploma in Education to graduates with five years' teaching experience. From thirty, the student number has reached sixty. The staff has grown, but is still insufficient. Accommodation is insufficient, but other amenities are fairly good, including a workshop, projection facilities, tape recording, film-strip making, and a library well provided with world periodicals which has, as its nucleus, the private library of the late Professor Hamley, of London.

The training course follows the pattern familiar elsewhere and includes a three-month period of practice teaching. The main theme of the course is education in a social setting, and its intention is to arouse new attitudes. Courses on educational sociology (including field survey work), child development (including a case study), rural education (with field work at the rural training centres of the Rural Development Department), and workshop practice are included. All students are assigned to tutors, and much of the department's teaching is carried out in tutorial and seminar meetings. Considerable use is made of audio-visual aids, and visits to places of educational interest are common.

Research in Education

The fact that all candidates in university training are experienced teachers—some being training college staff or inspectors of schools—has made it more possible for them to engage in studies of research type. Many have continued this interest after leaving the university. This spread of interest in research is having beneficial effects, and will be of value in connection with the work of the Council for Educational Research when it starts work.

The departmental staff are engaged, both individually and collectively, in research, and a comprehensive programme has been worked out which receives financial support from the university. The introduction of the degree of M.A. in Education will be a further step in forwarding research.

Area Training Schemes

There is no area training organisation in Ceylon. This has not prevented a considerable amount of co-operation between the university and the training colleges, but such a scheme, which

would have a beneficial value, is greatly needed. In particular, it might greatly help to increase the supply of teachers, which at present lags far behind the demand resulting from a scheme of education which is free from kindergarten and through the university.

Conclusion

The general position of the teacher in Ceylon, though it may well be better than in most other Asian countries, is far from satisfactory. A main step in improving it lies in the economic field, but the costs of increased salaries is a very considerable item. If the benefits of the vast expenditures in other fields, such as public health, social welfare, industrialisation, and the like, are to be reaped, the quality of teaching must be improved. This can come only along two lines: attracting better material into the profession and providing more adequate training. Such long-term programmes tend always to be neglected because the problems are seen only as short-term ones of increased expenditure. To avoid present expenditure the country is jeopardising the results of a vastly greater expenditure.

On teachers themselves must rest some of the responsibility for re-orientating attitudes towards their profession. In view of the growth in interest in educational problems, research, and training among teachers in the past five years or so, it can be said that they are beginning to accept the challenge of the social situation—and by doing so demonstrating their importance in Ceylon's social progress.

Within education itself the relationship between teacher and taught is the focal point on which much, if not all, depends. On a broader canvas it may well be said that on the teachers' readiness to understand, sympathise, and co-operate with every kind of worker in every other sphere of social service depends the whole possibility of social progress. The degree to which such a relationship is achieved depends on the teachers' ability to accept it—and this must remain dependent upon a sufficient financial reward and a socially orientated training. From improvements in these will come greater efficiency and a higher status in the estimation of society.

T. L. GREEN.

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CHAPTER SIX

THE PHILIPPINES

LIKE that of France, the Philippine educational system is highly centralised, although in recent years, particularly in the last three, there has been a significant tendency towards giving teachers and local school officials increasing freedom and participation in the formulation of school policies, in developing better curricula, and in experimenting with newer methods of teaching and administration. The system is headed by a Secretary of Education, who is a member of the President's cabinet. Under him are the Directors of Public and Private Schools, who are responsible for the control and supervision of nearly twenty-four thousand schools and over one hundred thousand teachers in fifty provinces and fifteen chartered cities.

Celebrating its golden anniversary in December 1951, the Philippine Educational System started fifty years ago with an enrolment of 6,900 pupils. In 1951, the total enrolment was nearly 5 million. Whereas at the beginning of the century only 1 of every 1,500 inhabitants was privileged to go to school, at the present time 1 of every 4 of the nearly 20 million inhabitants goes to one school or another. The increase in enrolment by more than 1,500 per cent. in so short period of time may be considered significant at this time, when more than half the population of the earth are doomed to illiteracy. While half the countries of the world are still struggling with the problem of compulsory education, the Philippines has succeeded in so universalising education that everyone who wishes to go to school can do so without fear of discrimination because of sex, race, economic and social status, or any other factor.

The latest school figures are given on the next page.[1]

Compulsory Education in Reverse

Unlike in most countries, compulsory education operates in reverse in the Philippines. Instead of the government compelling the parents to send their children to school, the latter compel the former to provide school accommodation for their children. Every year since the beginning there has been what is popularly called a 'yearly school crisis', when there are thousands of school-age

[1] Public school figures, 1950–51, include (state) University of the Philippines; private school figures, December 15th, 1952.

	Pre-School	*Elementary*	*Secondary*	*Special Vocational*	*Higher*	*Total*
No. of Schools	*128*	*22,016*	*1,591*	*397*	*426*	*25,558*
Public .	—	20,766	346	—	16	21,128
Private .	128	1,250	1,245	397	410	3,430
No. of Teachers	*145*	*79,582*	*16,977*	*952*	*6,706*	*104,362*
Public .	—	76,027	6,724	—	678	83,429
Private .	145	3,555	10,253	952	6,028	20,933
Enrolment	*8,413*	*4,077,334*	*578,076*	*32,989*	*183,085*	*4,879,979*
Public .	—	3,941,365	215,607	—	13,096	4,170,068
Private .	8,413	735,969	362,469	32,989	169,989	709,829

children who cannot be accommodated in existing school facilities. Every year the Congress and President of the Philippines are compelled to find a solution to this problem by voting additional funds for the salaries of extension teachers. Then all is well again until the beginning of the next school year. Because of this, the percentage of the national budget devoted to education has increased steadily. In 1950–51, according to President Elpidio Quirino, it was in fact " 38 per cent. of the total expenditure ".[2] Corresponding figures in other countries rarely exceed 20 per cent., and they are in fact, for the most part, from 1 to 15 per cent.

Teachers Respected and Trusted

No other group of public servants enjoys the respect and confidence of the public to the same extent as teachers. School teachers are invariably appointed election inspectors and poll clerks, and they have always acquitted themselves with both honesty and accuracy. It is very seldom that they are questioned; on the contrary, their testimony in court carries much weight. In the last election the teachers of the Philippines, protected by the Army, supervised the voting and counted the votes in an election which proved to be the greatest upset in Philippine politics. Before the election the nine Senatorial candidates of the Liberal Party, the party in power, felt certain of election, and in fact their opponents in the Nationalist Party did not hope to get even one seat. However, the election turned out just the opposite to what had generally been predicted—all the candidates of the opposition were elected. It was an exciting experience to see a truly free and democratic election which was made possible by the combination of the ' might of the sword ' and the ' power of the pen ', of the strength of the Philippine Army and the incorruptibility of the Filipino teachers.

[2] The President's Budget Message, *Philippine Journal of Education*, February 1951, p. 504.

In one of the provinces, the losing candidate for governor contested the election, and his witnesses were eight teachers who later testified in court, unafraid of consequences, that irregularities had been committed by the non-teacher inspectors and poll clerks who had been appointed by the candidate who had been declared elected. It was the testimony of the teachers that led to the recounting of the votes and the subsequent righting of the wrong that was committed. For fifty years the schools have been teaching the rights and duties of citizenship and the way to hold free elections. It is fitting and proper that the teachers be entrusted with the difficult task of ensuring the honesty of the ballot. It is to their credit that they have done their job without fear or favour.

Teachers' Salaries Improving

Before the war the minimum salary of elementary school teachers was 40 pesos a month.[3] In 1948 a new salary scale was put into effect which raised this to 100 pesos. This scale is in effect at the present time. While the new rate is apparently more than twice the pre-war rate, it is in fact only two-thirds as much in purchasing value. This is because the 1952 peso is only one-third of the value of the 1941 peso in terms of goods and services. It was for this reason that a new salary scale was drawn up, and was in fact passed by the two Houses of Congress in 1952, but it failed to go through the Conference Committee. Its passage and enactment into law during 1953 is, however, held certain, especially since 1953 is a Presidential election year and the anonymous Teachers' Party has been very strong since the establishment of the Republic in 1946. This new scale provides a minimum entrance salary, for normal graduates, of 140 pesos a month, which, being about three times the minimum rate in 1941, would be in keeping with the decline in the purchasing value of the peso and the corresponding rise in the cost of living.

Teachers' Economic Position Stable

The salary of elementary school teachers is comparable to that of clerks in government offices and to the wages of semi-skilled workers. But there are significant differences which make the economic and social position of the teachers higher and more stable than those of these groups. Teachers enjoy three months of vacation and one month's sick leave with pay, whereas ordinary clerks and other civil servants have only one month of paid vacation and one month of sick leave a year. Industrial workers do not have such privileges, and they are paid daily wages. Teachers also work five days a week, except for teachers' meetings on Saturdays once a month. Teachers assigned to the villages, who constitute three-

[3] The official rate of exchange is 1 U.S. dollar = 2 pesos.

fourths of the teaching staff of the country, are often the most economically well-off persons in their community. It is not infrequent that both husband and wife, and sometimes one or more of their children, hold teaching positions in the same school or in neighbouring schools. As a group, teachers are thrifty and industrious, and during vacations, at week-ends, and outside their school hours they engage in other occupations that do not interfere with their work. They have their own rice land, and they plant vegetables and raise poultry and pigs in their yards. Some operate small stores. Seldom transferred, teachers settle down and become members of their community. In recent years, as a result of the widespread acceptance of the community school programme, teachers all over the country have been enjoying positions of leadership in their own communities which no other professional group, not even doctors, lawyers, dentists, or priests, have enjoyed to the same degree. Being the most dependable persons in any community, teachers are looked to for guidance and inspiration by the parents of the school children. There is not a school community without its parent-teacher association, and always the teachers are its leaders.

The Merit System

Promotion to executive positions is not easy to get, but there is a merit system that governs advancement all along the line up to the positions of supervisors, superintendents of schools, division chiefs in the central office, director and assistant director, and Secretary of Education. The appointment of non-school men to responsible positions in the educational system is almost certain to be rejected by the Commission on Appointments and the Committees on Education in both Houses of Congress, which include ex-teachers or are headed by ex-teachers. Also, it is now the policy of the government to consult the Executive Board of the Philippine Public School Teachers' Association, which includes in its membership nearly three-fourths of the public school teachers of the country, on matters pertaining to the appointment of national education officials. The present Secretary of Education, as well as all the directors under him, are products of the public school system.

Within each grade the promotion has, for the most part, depended upon the availability of funds, and for this reason it was most difficult to advance. The prosposed salary scale, however, includes, for the first time, a provision for automatic salary increases as follows:

> After school personnel have been adjusted in salary, increases for regular personnel shall be automatically effected until the maximum rates have been attained, in accordance with any or both of the criteria in the following schedule:
>
> (*a*) For every five years of service rendered prior to or after the

approval of this Act with a general average efficiency rating of Above Average for the five-year period. . . . (*b*) For qualifying in the next higher civil service examination. . . .

The salaries range from about 1,700 pesos for the lowest grade to 7,200 pesos for the superintendent of a large division or province.

Supply and Demand in the Teaching Profession

Partly because of the stability of the teaching profession, the prestige enjoyed by teachers, the improvement and standardisation of salaries of teachers, and other attractions of the teaching service, the Philippines is somewhat unusual among the countries of the world in having an over-supply of graduates of teacher-training institutions. The situation in May 1951 was that "of the 12,383 who qualified in the Bureau of Public Schools examination . . . 5,947 or 48·02 per cent., could not be employed because of lack of vacancies in the public elementary schools." [4] This does not, however, tell the whole story of the large number of normal school and college of education graduates who failed in the examinations. The situation in 1952–3 has been conservatively estimated as follows [5]:

That approximately 27,165 public and private normal school students will probably graduate in April 1952, and 20,652 in April 1953. These figures, added to the number of candidates [who failed in previous Bureau of Public Schools teacher-selection test], will yield a total of 40,324 candidates for the examination in May 1952, and a total of 31,125 candidates for the examination in May 1953. Of the total number of examinees in May 1952, 16,957 will probably pass and be available for appointment as elementary classroom teachers; and of those who will take the test in May 1953, 13,330 will probably pass and be eligible for appointment.

These figures, conservative as I said they are, do not include the very large number of students in 263 colleges of education where the enrolment in 1952 was, according to the Director of Private Schools, 36,441 students. Of these not less than 8,500 graduated in April 1952, not 1,000 of whom could be absorbed in public and private secondary schools. The remaining 7,000 would be forced to seek entrance into the already overcrowded public elementary schools, and would have to take the Bureau of Public Schools elementary school selection examination. All in all, the present writer estimated that the supply of normal school and college of education graduates is four or more times the normal replacement needs of the public and private schools.[6]

The situation alarmed the authorities, and it led to the

[4] *A Study of Teacher Supply and Demand in the Elementary Grades* (Bureau of Public Schools, Bulletin No. 13, March 1952, p. 27).

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[6] Pedro T. Orata, "Teacher Training Abroad and at Home", *Philippine Journal of Education*, July 1952, pp. 11–12 and 38.

Director of Private Schools issuing an order limiting the admission in private teacher training courses "to high school graduates who shall qualify in a test to be given by the Bureau of Private Schools and the Bureau of Public Schools and who shall belong to the upper one-half of the graduates of both public and private high schools". The order was, however, subsequently declared invalid and illegal by the Secretary of Justice of the Philippines. According to the Secretary, such an order would be contrary to the spirit and letter of the existing law, "which guarantees to graduates of any recognised course in a private school the freedom to enter, should they so desire, under the same benefits and privileges as graduates from the same course in government schools, 'the next higher course in a government school'." [7]

Intending Teachers drawn from All Classes

What the next move will be, it is hard to tell. The fact remains that, because of attractive features of the teaching service, as already described, a much larger number of young people want to become teachers than can possibly be employed in the public and private schools. These young people come from all strata of society and economic levels. The ideal of social service which has, from the beginning of the Philippine public school system, motivated the entrance into the teaching profession by any and all who had qualifications, is still a factor that contributes towards the glamour of the teaching profession. Under old Spain, the *maestro* was next to the *padre* in prestige; and under the American regime and since the establishment of the Republic, the old *padre* has been gradually overshadowed by the *maestro* in prestige and influence. With the advent of the community school and its widespread acceptance all over the country, especially in villages and rural communities, teachers will be in still greater demand and the teaching profession will gain further in its appeal to the young people of the Philippines.

Selection of Students

Private normal schools and colleges of education admit any graduate of public and recognised private secondary schools. Entrance into the public normal schools, the Philippine Normal College, and the College of Education of the University of the Philippines is, however, by competitive examination and follows the practice in European training.[8]

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[7] *Filipino Teacher*, July 1952, pp. 27–8.

[8] *Regulations Governing the Selection of Students for Admission to Normal Schools, to the Teachers' Curriculum of the National Schools of Arts and Trades, and to the Philippine School of Commerce* (Bureau of Education, Circular No. 9, s. 1947).

The selection and admission of students in the government normal schools are governed by strict rules and regulations. The same regulations are observed in the teachers' curriculum of national schools of arts and trades and in the Philippine School of Commerce. In all these teacher-training schools, especially in the Philippine Normal College, admission is based on the results of a competitive examination given once a year to applicants recommended by the Division Superintendent of Schools. Before an application for the examination is approved an interview is given the applicant to make sure that he has no such personality or physical handicaps as deafness, conspicuous physical or facial defects, and speech defects like stuttering and lisping. Any graduate of a public or private secondary school is eligible for admission to the examination on the following conditions: (*a*) he must fall within the upper 50 per cent. of the class in which he graduated or is graduating; (*b*) he must not have failed in any year or subject in his secondary school work; and (*c*) he must be at least 16 years of age.[9]

Teacher Training Curricula and Standards

The following table shows the number of teacher-training institutions in the Philippines, and the corresponding enrolment of each kind in the years indicated:

Type of Institution	*No. of Schools*	*Enrolment*
Normal Schools:		
Public Normal Schools		
Secondary (1950)	1	340
2-year collegiate (1950)	8	5,809
4-year Philippine Normal College (1950)	1	1,930
Private Normal Schools (1952)	244	43,807
Colleges of Education:		
U.P. College of Education (1952)	1	1,126
Private Colleges of Education (1952)	263	36,441
Total [10]	518	89,453

Standards differ widely in different institutions. Generally speaking, standards in public teacher-training institutions are higher than in the private schools, both in the calibre of the students and in staffs and facilities. Private schools have been the object of attack, especially in recent years, and many of them should not have been allowed to continue. But there are a number of such institutions which compare favourably in standards with state institutions, and since the latter can supply only about one-third of the replacement needs of the public schools, private teacher-training institutions of requisite standards must be welcomed and encouraged.

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[9] Antonio Isidro, *The Philippine Educational System* (Manila, Philippines, Bookman, Inc., 1949, pp. 262–3).

[10] P. T. Orata, *op. cit.*

Graduate Courses in Education

The degree of Master of Arts or Master of Science in Education is awarded to qualified graduate students—those possessing the degree of Bachelor of Science in Education or its equivalent—after one year of full-time study in a university or college of recognised standing, including the University of the Philippines and the Philippine Normal College, both state institutions. The requirements are similar to those in standard institutions in the United States, including a thesis and an oral examination on the thesis. The degree of Doctor of Philosophy is offered in three institutions —University of Santo Tomás, University of the Philippines, and Centro Escolar University; the degree of Doctor of Education is given at the University of the Philippines and the Centro Escolar University. Two years of full-time study after the Master's degree, or three years after the Bachelor's degree, a dissertation, and a written and oral examination are required. The dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy must be a scholarly contribution to the literature of education. The Doctor of Education degree is especially for persons who have exceptional experience in the field of administration and who have done something original in the application of new ideas or theories or principles of education. The dissertation takes the form of a comprehensive presentation of the work already accomplished and a further extension of it, which may include a plan of evaluating the results of the project or experiment.

Teachers under Civil Service

Because the supply of graduates is larger than can possibly be absorbed in the teaching service, and in order to select the best-qualified applicants for vacancies in the public elementary schools —and incidentally to discourage students from attending low-standard institutions—the Bureau of Public Schools conducts each year a comprehensive competitive examination for normal and college of education graduates for the selection of elementary school teachers. The requirements and standards for such examination are as follows [11]:

> Effective July 1951, and every school year thereafter, the selection of elementary school teachers who are graduates of normal schools will be determined on the basis of a mean score for all the candidates competing in the test all over the Philippines. Only those whose scores fall at or above the mean score for the Philippines will be selected to fill the vacant teaching positions. . . . An exception to this rule may be allowed only in case the demand for normal school graduates is bigger than the supply, or where the teaching assignment will involve special qualifications. . . .
>
> The Division Superintendent shall not approve any application to

[11] *Competitive Examinations for the Selection of Elementary School Teachers* (Bureau of Public Schools, Circular No. 10, s. 1951).

take any of these competitive examinations if the applicant has any of the physical disqualifications which would prevent him from enrolling in a public normal school. For this reason, the Division Superintendent or the Academic Supervisor should arrange personal interviews with the applicants before the examination takes place. In this interview, the Division Office shall also determine whether or not the applicant (1) possesses a good teaching personality and (2) speaks English satisfactorily. Only those who qualify in the personal interview shall be allowed to take the competitive examination. Public normal graduates are exempted from the interview.

After appointment to the teaching service as a temporary teacher and remaining for a requisite probationary period of one year or longer, the teacher, before being given a regular or permanent status, should pass a civil service examination.

In-service and Continuing Education of Teachers

One of the strong features of the Philippine educational system is the variety of schemes designed for the in-service education of teachers, together with the ever-present desire of teachers to keep improving themselves. It has been found necessary to issue regulations to limit the number of hours and courses that teachers can take during vacation and after school hours during the year. In their desire to keep up and to advance their standing, teachers go to limits to make sacrifices financially in order not to be behind in their methods. Among the achievements of the Philippine Public School Teachers' Association on behalf of its members are as follows [12]:

(1) The PPSTA has worked for revision of regulations in order to allow teachers to carry more subjects in colleges and universities during their off-duty hours, on Saturdays, and during the long vacation period.

(2) Teachers have not been allowed to enrol in subjects which "have no reasonable connection with the improvement of the teacher's professional competence". The PPSTA has advocated the revocation of this regulation.

(3) Teachers were not formerly allowed to travel more than one hour a day to attend afternoon or evening classes in colleges of education. This regulation has been recalled due to representations made by the Association.

(4) The PPSTA maintains four local summer scholarships for deserving teachers who wish to improve their qualifications.

(5) The PPSTA participates actively in local workshops for the discussion of educational topics, especially the working principles of the community schools.

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[12] World Organisation of the Teaching Profession: *Proceedings of the Fifth Delegate Assembly*, Valetta, Malta, July 20th–26th, 1951, pp. 43–4 (Educational Service of the Philippine Public School Teachers' Association).

Every one of the fifty school divisions has its scheme of in-service training of teachers, including seminars, workshops, demonstration classes, inter-school and inter-class visitation, conferences, Saturday classes for non-normal graduates, and similar means. There are summer courses and vacation classes offered by government schools and private colleges and universities. A large number of teachers attend vacation normal schools. In 1950, 8,014 attended such schools, and in 1951, 4,157. In 1952, 5 normal schools, 3 schools of arts and trades, and 1 agricultural school—all state institutions—were made available for teachers.

Teachers and Curriculum Development

One of the high-lights of the recent developments in Philippine education is the policy of giving teachers the opportunity to develop school curricula. The revised *Service Manual* for teachers makes the following significant provision, for the first time since the establishment of the system [13]:

> While the field is thus supplied with courses of study, teachers' manuals, and other curricular aids and sources of information that will be helpful to supervisors, principals and teachers in planning and organising instruction, the task of developing the curriculum, which in this case refers to the organised experiences through which children learn and grow, will be mainly the teacher's responsibility. He will have to use his training and experience, his initiative and resourcefulness, and all available materials and resources in order to provide children with abundant, interesting, and profitable learning experiences. The best possible type of curriculum can be developed if teachers in the same school, district, or division teaching the same subject, courses, or grades as the case may be, pool their talents and resources and, with the leadership and guidance of the principal and the district supervisor and the technical assistance of the specialist, such as the division or general office supervisor, undertake the development or revision of the curriculum in a co-operative manner, laying stress on the use of local resources or materials. Lay persons who can make a contribution to the task of curriculum development or evaluation should be encouraged and asked to do so.

Even before this provision was made, a number of divisions had already done much to encourage and guide teachers in the development of curricula and other teaching materials through workshops and similar methods. Mr. Juan C. Laya, as Division Superintendent of Schools of Bataan, is one of the pioneers of the community school movement. His division was a workshop in which the 388 teachers and large numbers of parents and community leaders participated to survey the needs of their communities, to study problems together, to develop pilot and demonstration projects, to establish co-operatives, to improve sanitation, to teach

[13] Chapter II of revised *Service Manual* (Bureau of Public Schools, Memorandum No. 77, s. 1951).

farmers better methods of cultivation, to name only a few of the many activities engaged in by them. The experience provided a rich source of material for arithmetic, reading, language, geography and civics, health and sanitation, history, physiology, literature, and the other school subjects.

Sufficiently provided with what money can buy—food, clothes, houses, furniture, medical and dental treatment—teachers of the Philippines are the richest group in what money cannot buy—the respect and confidence of the public and, lately, the freedom to develop their own teaching materials and to experiment with more effective methods of teaching and administration. Under them and working with them are 5 million school children and 6 million parents who are happier because they, too, have a chance to determine what is to be taught to them or their children. This is not to say that there are no more problems to be solved, for, as a matter of fact, the new educational approach—the community school approach—is many times more complicated and time-consuming than the textbook and recitation method. But it is much more satisfying to everybody—teachers, taught, and parents. If normal schools and colleges of education are overcrowded, the reason is obvious enough. Teaching is the most exalted, respected, and personally satisfying profession in the Philippines to-day.

PEDRO T. ORATA.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

JAPAN

Improvement of Teachers' Status in Japan

JAPAN is now in process of reorganisation as a democratic nation, and, partly as a result, the status of teachers has been improved compared with that of government personnel generally. This is partly because of the activities of the teachers' unions, but mainly owing to the fact that people in general have come to understand how much they may hope from education in the revival of Japan.

Soon after the war ended, Japanese teachers were screened more strictly and more widely than other government personnel in order to remove and exclude those who had militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideas. This was of course a natural outcome of the acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration, and was the first step towards the democratisation of education.

Formerly teachers in elementary and secondary schools were treated as were all government officials, but they were not regarded as such—accordingly they were always in a disadvantageous position. However, since 1946, the principals and teachers of elementary and lower secondary schools, as well as the principals, teachers, and assistant teachers of upper secondary schools, have achieved the status of government officials. This has helped them to get a favourable standing with regard to their salaries. Later, through the enactment of the Board of Education Law and the Law for Special Regulations Concerning Educational Public Service, all teachers in schools other than national and private schools became the official personnel of the prefectures, cities, towns, or villages which controlled those schools. And as a result of the enforcement of the laws, all the principals and teachers have come to have a higher status than other government personnel.

Salaries and Allowances

Prior to 1940 the salaries and allowances of teachers were less than those of other civil servants. It was the custom for the salaries and allowances of the teachers in public schools to be paid wholly by the cities, towns, and villages concerned, and consequently their level was far lower than that of government officials generally, according to the financial position of the area controlling the schools. After 1940 the salaries of these teachers came to be paid half by the state and half by the prefecture concerned, and salary

scales were greatly improved though they were still paid about 10 per cent. less than civil servants. In 1945 the average salary of a teacher was 64 yen, while that of a government official was 72 yen. However, with the reversion to the 2,920-yen salary base in 1948, following its adoption in 1946, a system of classification by position was introduced to some extent into the payment of teachers; at the same time sex discrimination was abolished. In addition, a special revision was made for teachers in view of the nature of the teaching profession. Overtime rates were discontinued, though school clerks continued to draw overtime pay as before. There have been salary base changes since then—the 3,791-yen base, the 6,307-yen base, the 8,000-yen base, and the 10,000-yen base (in 1951)—in keeping with the rise in the cost of living, but there has been no further change in the principle of the system of payment.

The remuneration which teachers receive includes salary and allowances.

Salaries

A teacher's maximum starting salary is decided on appointment: for example, an old-system university graduate who has been teaching in an elementary school for five years will receive 9,250 yen per month. But, in addition, 'area allowances' are paid at the following rates:

1st-class area, 5 per cent. of salary and family allowances.
2nd-class area, 10 per cent. of salary and family allowances.
3rd-class area, 15 per cent. of salary and family allowances.
4th-class area, 20 per cent. of salary and family allowances.
5th-class area, 25 per cent. of salary and family allowances.

'Family allowances' are paid as follows:

(i) For wife and first child—per month, per head, 600 yen.
(ii) For other dependants—per month, per head, 400 yen.

Total Pay

The total monthly pay for a full-time teacher in 1952 is approximately as follows:

TABLE I

TOTAL PAY

	Salary	*Family Allowances*	*Area Allowances*	*Total*
	Yen	Yen	Yen	Yen
Elementary school . .	9,982	659	723	11,364
Lower secondary school .	10,640	932	651	12,223
Upper secondary school .	12,193	1,167	1,132	14,492

Teachers' pay, however, is not always the same in all prefectures. The difference at present amounts to 2,000 yen or more,[1] exclusive of allowances. This is caused by differentiation in local finance, by the general enthusiasm, or lack of it, for education, and by the labour opposition—all of which greatly influence teachers' salaries. This inequality of salaries among localities will remain a problem which cannot be solved except by the wholehearted operation of the local finance equalisation fund system.

Income Compared with that in Other Professions

Though the position of teachers has been much improved it cannot be said to be satisfactory when compared with that of other professions. In 1934, when converted into current money value, the elementary school teacher's average pay was 15,391 yen, while mining employees earned 11,517 yen, and manufacturing employees earned 12,093 yen. By 1950, however, their respective salaries had practically been reversed, and teachers' pay had become the lowest of all, as shown in Table II.

TABLE II

TOTAL PAY OF VARIOUS PROFESSIONS

Primary school teacher	7,027 yen
Lower secondary school teacher	7,160 yen
Upper secondary school teacher	9,160 yen
Average pay of all teachers	7,926 yen
Financial employees	14,201 yen
Commercial employees	11,326 yen
Mining employees	9,787 yen
Manufacturing employees	9,133 yen

Welfare

Sanatoria are being established in each prefecture, with subsidies from the national treasury, to protect teachers from tuberculosis. Houses for teachers are being built in cities, towns, and villages. Their welfare programme is thus gradually being carried out, but it is far from satisfactory.

The largest organisation for teachers' welfare is the Public School Personnel's Mutual Aid Association, which was instituted on July 1st, 1948. This association, with its main office in the Ministry of Education and with its branch offices set up in all prefectural boards of education, is a nation-wide association with 650,000 members. Its executive council consists of the representatives of teachers' unions and the superintendents of education of prefectural boards of education. Its expenses are met by the membership fees together with an amount paid by local public bodies

[1] In 1952 the £ sterling had an exchange value of about 1,000 yen; the dollar about 400 yen.

equal to the membership fees (the total of these is 2,930 million yen), and in addition the government grants about half as much as the local bodies. Members are granted medical expenses and child-birth expenses. As regards pensions for public school teachers, the Pension Láw applies to all who have been in the teaching profession for seventeen years or more and who are eligible to receive a disability pension, a widow's pension, etc. Those who have less than seventeen years' continuous service are given a lump sum on retirement, varying according to their length of service. Very often cities, towns, and villages fall short in their capacity to grant these retiring allowances, and this is a serious problem for teachers in schools established by them.

Mobility and Promotion

Transference of teachers generally takes place within three separate spheres—that of elementary and lower secondary schools, that of upper secondary schools, and that of the universities. Among elementary and secondary schools teachers are transferred rather frequently, but among universities transference is rare. Teachers in elementary and lower secondary schools are transferred from one school to another in the same prefecture, but those in upper secondary schools are sometimes transferred to different prefectures. In elementary and secondary schools promotion consists of appointment as principals or headmasters or teacher-consultants. The average age at which a teacher is promoted to a principalship is 40 or above. Retiring ages in these schools are not prescribed by any law, but roughly speaking 55 is retiring age for elementary and secondary school teachers, though it is 60 for university professors. In most cases the pension is not sufficient to live on, so after retirement most teachers secure jobs in farming or commerce to support their families.

Qualifications

In the financial year 1949 unqualified elementary school teachers in Japan made up 25·9 per cent. of the total number, and teachers in lower secondary schools made up 12 per cent. Classified according to prefectures, the percentage of unqualified teachers in elementary schools ranges from 48·6 per cent. to 7·3 per cent.; in secondary schools from 26·8 per cent. to 2·9 per cent.

Classified according to courses of study completed, the percentage of middle-grade school graduates is large in both elementary and lower secondary schools, as shown in Table III.

Years of Service

As regards years of service, the number of those who are teachers for less than three years is very large in lower secondary schools.

TABLE III

THE BACKGROUND OF TEACHERS (EXPRESSED IN PERCENTAGES)

	Teacher Training Schools	*Middle Grade Schools*	*New Upper Secondary Schools*	*Colleges*	*Universities*	*Schools of Other Types*
Elementary schools	46·9	41·8	3·3	3·2	0·3	4·5
Lower secondary schools . .	50·4	15·3	1·9	23·5	4·5	4·4
Upper secondary schools . .	23·6	5·7	—	45·4	21·5	3·8

This fact is mainly due to the replenishment of teachers in lower secondary schools through the reformation of the school system. Nevertheless, the general trend is for the number of teachers with less than five years' service to be very large (see Fig. 1).

PERCENTAGE NUMBER OF FULL-TIME TEACHERS CLASSIFIED BY YEARS OF SERVICE (1950)

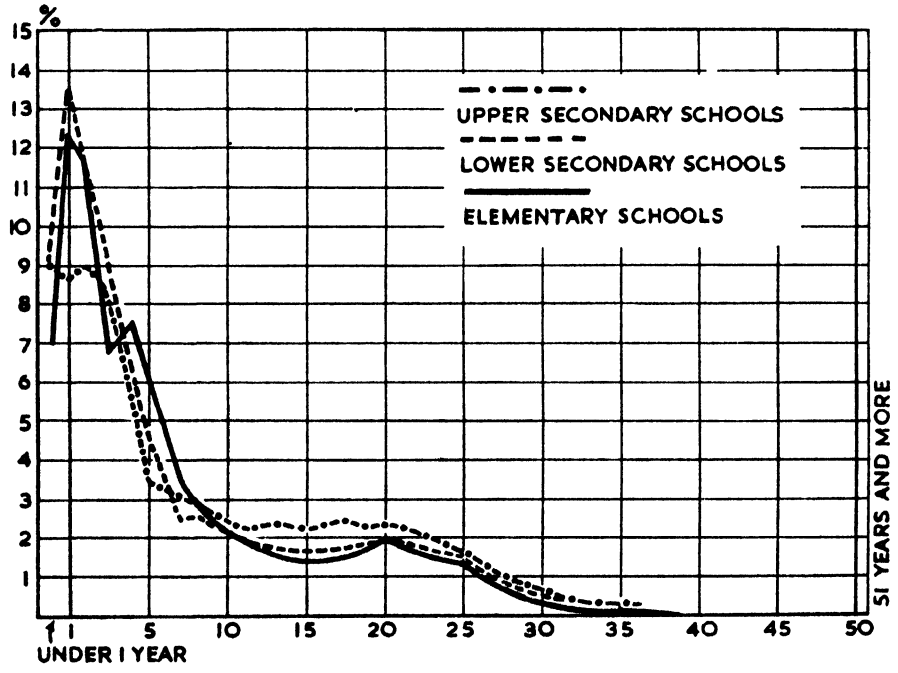


FIG. 1

When we consider the age and number of teachers, we find a striking trend in their age-distribution (see Fig. 2). In upper secondary schools most of the teachers are about 25 years of age; in elementary and lower secondary schools most are about 21 years of age. In upper secondary schools the 42-year age-group is the second largest. What is remarkable in all schools is that teachers between 26 and 36 years of age, who should be the backbone of the teaching profession, are very few in number. This may be a natural result of the small population between these ages. This frail backbone of education may be said to have been caused on the one hand by the war, in which a great many young men were killed, and on the other hand by the insufficient salaries paid to teachers, which tend to drive the young generation to other fields of occupation.

PERCENTAGE NUMBER OF FULL-TIME TEACHERS CLASSIFIED BY AGE

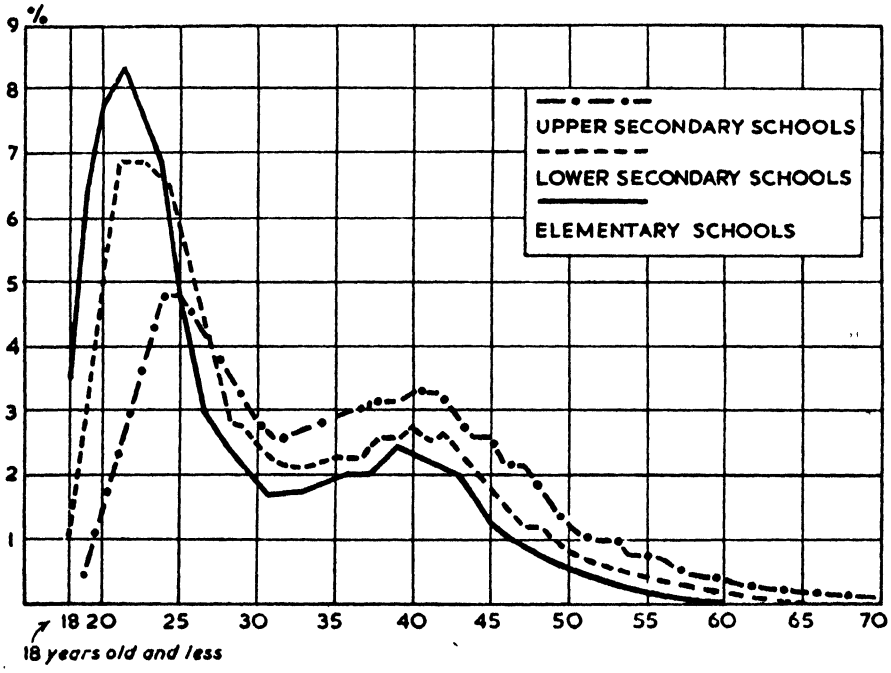


FIG. 2

Roughly speaking, in elementary schools female teachers outnumber male teachers; in lower secondary schools the proportion of female teachers is 22 per cent. of the whole, and in upper secondary schools the proportion is probably the same. In elementary schools the average age of the men is 32·4 years; the average age of the women is 26·1 years. In lower secondary

schools that of the men is 31·9 years and that of the women 26·3 years. In upper secondary schools the average ages may be a little higher, though the exact figures are not available.

Selection, Recruitment, and Training

Teacher Certification. It is difficult to discuss teacher selection, recruitment, and training apart from teacher certification, since teacher training is now planned and organised on the basis of certification requirements. Before the certification system was established, or when the procedure of certification was still very complicated and ill-organised, teachers' qualifications were fixed by Imperial Order according to kinds of schools. But the establishment of the new school system necessitated prescribing teachers' qualifications and establishing a certificate system, and in 1949 the new Law for Certification of Educational Personnel was issued.

The characteristics of the New Certificate System are as follows:

(*a*) *Universality.* The certificate system applies to all types of teacher, and those who must have certificates include not only the teacher, assistant teacher, school nurse, assistant school nurse, the assistant in elementary schools, in lower and upper secondary schools, teachers in schools for the blind, the deaf, and the handicapped, and in the kindergarten, but also the principal, the superintendent of the Board of Education, and the teacher-consultant. The latter group, of course, must also have knowledge and experience.

(*b*) *Different Kinds of Certificate.* There are four kinds of certificate: the Ordinary First Class Certificate, the Ordinary Second Class Certificate, the Temporary, and the Emergency, Certificate. The aim of these certificates is to facilitate the appointment of teachers and to improve their quality.

(*c*) *Validity.* Ordinary certificates are valid indefinitely anywhere in Japan, while temporary certificates are valid only for five years and cannot be renewed more than once. Emergency certificates are valid for one year, and only in the prefecture which issued them.

(*d*) *Procedure.* Certificates are granted to those who have completed regular courses at universities or colleges and acquired the necessary credits, and also to those who have reached the standard required in in-service training—this includes passing an academic examination and a medical examination, doing teaching practice, and so on. Now, moreover, certificates are to be issued to those holding corresponding *old* certificates and to holders of qualifications, such as the graduates of old-system universities.

With a view to making the new school system more successful, the in-service training programme was organised in accordance with the suggestions of the U.S. Education Mission and the recommendations of the Education Reform Council. The chief institu-

tions for teacher training used to be normal schools and higher normal schools, but these were reformed into new-system universities. Each prefecture has to establish at least one national new-system university with a faculty of education for training teachers. The education faculty runs two-year and four-year courses for the training of elementary and lower secondary school teachers, but barely 24,000 students can be admitted annually by all the education faculties, and this is only about half the number required. It is hoped that graduates of other universities—whether national, public, or private—will help to remedy the shortage. But judging from the present situation in elementary and lower secondary schools, the educational background of teachers is far from satisfactory, as can be seen from Table III. Teachers in upper secondary schools are usually graduates of higher normal schools or of other departments of national, public, and private universities. According to the present law, those who intend to enter the teaching profession must gain the prescribed credits in certain educational subjects, such as pedagogy, educational psychology, teaching methods, teaching practice, etc., as well as in their own special subjects.

There is no specific doctorate in education, but anyone who has done outstanding scholastic research work in the educational field may be made a Doctor of Literature.

There has recently been an increased tendency to emphasise the practical side of professional education, and child-growth and development, audio-visual aids and the like have come to be regarded as being of great importance. In addition, extra-curricular activities and vocational guidance are gradually acquiring a definite function in education.

Professors in the national university in each prefecture are expected to have the qualifications required by other universities. In all prefectures the education faculties are under government control, though the power to grant licences and certificates authorising graduates to teach remains with the prefectural Boards of Education.

It used to be very easy for graduates of teacher-training institutions, such as normal schools and higher normal schools, to secure positions at the end of their training. On this account, and because the training at these schools cost the student nothing, large numbers of applicants (especially from the countryside) applied at these institutions to enter the teaching profession. But since the new conditions for teacher training have been set out it has become increasingly difficult for them to get positions. This is because a number of graduates from education faculties become teachers by passing an examination set by the prefectural Board of Education, as is the case with graduates from other faculties.

There are two more points which must be mentioned in connec-

tion with teacher training: these concern the re-education of teachers and their in-service training. With the advance of educational reform the need arose for re-educating teachers themselves for a short time, so that they might meet the demands of the changed situation. Accordingly various plans were considered, such as holding transmitting conferences, study conferences, issuing booklets for guidance, and so on. During the three years from 1947 to 1949, about 600,000 teachers from elementary schools, lower and upper secondary schools, schools for the blind and the deaf, etc., throughout the country underwent re-education courses. Study conferences on new educational ideas were held for the benefit of educational leaders in the prefectures, as well as short courses and conferences for teacher-consultants, while workshops were set up for normal school teachers. Numerous publications were distributed to teachers to give them an understanding of what this new education should mean.

After this transition period was over, emphasis was laid upon the concrete studies based upon the new educational principles and on the improvement in the quality of the teachers. The following are some of the important features of the in-service training system.

The Ministry of Education initiated in-service education courses at teacher-training and other universities for some 50,000 teachers in 1950, and another 50,000 teachers in 1951. For those unable to attend these or other authorised courses because they teach in out-of-the-way places, a system of correspondence-course education has been provided. In every prefecture authorised courses are in operation under the guidance and recognition of the universities in the areas concerned. In these courses 177,073 teachers were expected to complete eight units in 1950–51, and 51,256 teachers in 1951–2.

The purpose of all these courses is to make it possible for people who have been in the teaching profession for some time to obtain the higher grade certificate demanded by the newly enforced system of certification, and at the same time to give them the opportunity of improving their own standard.

Workshops are a recent addition to the re-education scheme. The Ministry of Education has been sponsoring them for teachers in both elementary and lower secondary schools since 1949, and to do so has divided the country into eight areas. In addition, the schools which are attached to teacher-training universities are every year playing an important part in in-service education by sponsoring workshops to deal with various problems of educational practice.

The Institute for Educational Leadership was established under the guidance of United States educationists with the aim of producing competent lecturers.

Some teachers, though these are few in number, are now given opportunities to enjoy university study for an extended period, without any change of status. A large number of teachers has also gone abroad to study in the United States and in Britain.

Appointment and Dismissal

Teachers in national schools are appointed by the Ministry of Education, though in public schools they are appointed by the prefectural Board of Education. The Board of Education, which is invested with various kinds of administrative power, takes charge of the selection and appointment of applicants in accordance with the requirements of the Law for the Certification of Teachers. All applicants must pass an examination under the direction of the Screening Committee for Teachers.

It is seldom that teachers are dismissed from the profession. Most of the dismissals which do take place, however, are caused by continuous neglect of duties, by prolonged illness, or by the necessity for reducing the regular staff.

Conditions of Work

Teachers' hours are not prescribed so strictly as those of other public officials, who work a regular eight hours a day. Teachers are obliged to remain in school more than eight hours a day, largely because of the lack of school clerks. Elementary and lower secondary school teachers are harassed by various duties, such as the payment of teachers' salaries, reports to the Board of Education, receiving and paying their school budget, or the business of school lunch. All these actually oblige them to neglect to a certain extent their proper duty—teaching itself. As for the number of teachers per class, the national average is 1·22 persons in elementary schools and 1·59 persons in lower secondary schools. According to the survey made by the Japanese Teachers' Union in 1949, most of the male teachers in elementary schools in Tokyo worked nine hours a day, and 22 per cent. of all the male teachers worked ten hours a day. Among female teachers circumstances were a little better. Because of those jobs additional to their proper duties, teachers have hardly any leisure. Moreover, teachers in country districts are expected to organise youth associations, girls' clubs, and the like. Thus they are often compelled to bring home their class work. The result is that they are taken ill, and they are especially apt to succumb to tuberculosis. According to the close examination made by the Ministry of Education in 1949, of more than 120,000 teachers in fifteen prefectures, 4 per cent. were found to be suffering from tuberculosis. The statistical table shown overleaf (Table IV) was published by the Japanese Tuberculosis Prevention Association, and shows that 12 per cent. of teachers suffer from tuberculosis.

Once they are found to be suffering from tuberculosis, teachers

TABLE IV

INCIDENCE OF TUBERCULOSIS

Kinds of Work	*Incidence of Tuberculosis* (%)
Teachers	12·0
Typewriter manufacturing company	9·1
Machine manufacturing company	6·9
Newspaper publishing company	6·1
Aluminium utensil manufacturing company	3·7
Chemical industry	3·7
General industry	3·6

are freed from their jobs for two years, in accordance with the present Educational Public Service Law.

The number of school days worked is 235 or more, so teachers have quite long holidays, but generally they are compelled to attend in-service education courses.

Ninety-eight per cent. of elementary and lower and upper secondary schools have parent-teacher associations, and there are some 37,000 of these, with about fifteen million members. There is continual improvement in the distribution of funds by the parent-teacher associations (see Table V), but there is still room for further improvement.

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION OF PARENT-TEACHER ASSOCIATION REVENUE
(Expressed as a percentage)

	P.T.A. Activities	*Aid to School*	*Subsidies to Teachers*
Elementary schools	45·3	38·4	16·3
Lower secondary schools	47·7	38·7	13·6
Upper secondary schools	38·8	41·1	20·1

Principals

Before the war principals of schools were generally regarded as supervisors, and were actually lacking in a sense of co-operation and fellowship with the other teachers, as was the case with school inspectors (now called teacher-consultants). Principals now regard themselves—and are regarded by others—as part of the teaching staff.

The Position of Women

Female teachers are now making sincere efforts towards the democratisation of education. They now form 38 per cent. of the total staff in elementary schools, while married female teachers form 48 per cent. of the total female staffs. Though the status of women in the teaching profession has been much improved, a great

many problems remain. Effort is being concentrated upon that of removing the discriminating treatment which is deeply rooted in the educational world, and upon improving the conditions of work. Female principals are very few; in all, female teacher-consultants number ninety-three throughout public elementary and secondary schools. A sixteen-week period of leave for childbirth is supposed to be recognised for female teachers, but in reality it is not in force in all prefectures. Only eleven out of the total number of forty-six prefectures have subsidies of this kind. Generally speaking, it cannot be said that female teachers have fewer opportunities for marriage than other women, though the unmarried form a considerable number.

Professional Organisations

The activities of these organisations may be divided by character into two major groups: one consists of the professional organisations aiming at the promotion of teachers' educational and cultural interests, and the other of the teachers' unions as labour unions.

The Japanese Educational Corporation belongs to the former. It started in 1882 as the Japanese Educational Association, and was intended to act as a means of liaison between the local educational associations which had already come into being in many prefectures with the aim of raising the quality of teachers and of defending the interests of the teaching profession. In 1949 it was reorganised. In addition there are associations which are not directed by the government. Many are merely study-groups. But the most important, both in size and in the scale of their activities, are the teachers' labour unions. Before the war labour union movements were prohibited in any shape or form, but after the war a definite policy of stimulating the formation of labour unions was followed, as a step towards the democratisation of Japan, and teachers' unions sprang into existence in various parts of the country. In the course of time, the behaviour of various labour unions during their campaigns became so offensive that in 1948 General MacArthur issued a letter which prohibited collective bargaining and acts of sabotage for unions of public officials. Since then teachers' unions of national (or government) schools have not been recognised as labour unions, and only the social and welfare activities of the teachers' association are legally recognised. Teachers' unions for public as well as private schools still remain legal, but those unions also will be treated in the same way as national school teachers' unions in the future, because the Local Public Service Personnel Law is expected to be put into effect in the near future.

Social Status of Teachers in General

It can hardly be said that teachers in general are making sufficient money to live well, though their living conditions have been

much improved compared with immediately after the war. They cannot afford to go to the theatre or to a concert very often. A teacher's social life, moreover, varies considerably according to his locality. In the country he will have hardly any opportunity of entertainment; instead he will organise cultural activities within the community, as stated before. But in towns a teacher's social circle is generally very limited, and seldom does he come into contact with members of other professions.

Teachers have traditionally been regarded as models of morality, and as a result their private life is always subject to criticism. For these and for economic reasons, they seldom go to public-houses or bars.

Though highly esteemed by their own profession, very few teachers hold important positions in society or in public life, such as that of a member of parliament. It may fairly be said that only those in secondary schools and universities rank with lawyers, doctors, and bankers in social status. It is quite true that the teaching profession is considered to be a most important one, but the teachers themselves do not really get sufficiently good treatment.

Conclusion

The status, qualifications, training, and so on of teachers have been considered from various angles. Teachers are equipped with higher and more numerous academic qualifications than ever before, in accordance with the fundamental principle that teachers in any kind of school should have academic attainments of or beyond university graduation level. But still the number of teachers well enough qualified is very small, and this insufficiency, both in number and in quality, is endangering the foundation of the new education. Every effort will be made towards raising the level of a teacher's standing, both academically and socially, so that many more promising youths can devote their lives to the teaching profession without being worried about their livelihood. Teachers should never be satisfied with their honest poverty, because the future of the new Japan will rest upon their shoulders.

HIDEO NAKAHARA.
GENJI TAKAHASHI.

SECTION VI

LATIN AMERICA

CHAPTER ONE

THE ARGENTINE

In the Argentine, the only requirement for the exercise of the teaching profession is the diploma of '*maestro*' (master); however, only those who teach in primary schools are actually called '*maestros*'. There is a large number of '*maestros*' who teach adults, especially in evening courses, and of '*maestras*' (mistresses) working in infant schools; but as they are not engaged in the education of the majority of the school population, i.e. of pupils in primary schools, they are not, socially speaking, looked upon as instructors and educators of the people, that is to say, as '*maestros*' in the current sense of the word.

Consequently, this article refers to those teachers who work in the state primary schools, which are attended by the bulk of the population of school age (6 to 14 years). These teachers constitute what is known as the '*magisterio nacional*', i.e. the national body of teachers.

The formation of the earliest '*magisterio nacional*' is closely bound up with the formation and development of Argentine society during its period of transition from a pure cattle-breeding economy to a partly cattle-breeding, partly agricultural type of economy. This transition took place in the middle of the nineteenth century. A cattle-breeding economy has no need for teachers; in order to look after animals, one does not have to be able to read and write: everything worth knowing can be learned through the direct observation of others. The rural worker in such an economy is completely illiterate; he does not have the vaguest idea of the meaning of education and culture; he lives in the open country, far away from the town; he has never opened a paper or a book, not even a missal, for his beliefs are based on orally transmitted teachings and superstitions. The cattle-breeding economy forms two classes, the rich and the poor; there is no middle class. The rich seek to refine their manners, dress, food habits, and buildings. They are very fond of decorating their homes with a certain type of works of art. The women read very little; they prefer to do needle-

work, go to church, cultivate their social life, and, in some cases, learn to paint or play the piano. Among cattle-breeders there is no clientele for the teacher: he completely lacks a social role and social significance.

However, a change is brought about by the development of agriculture and the mass immigration of Europeans. Large stretches of land are tilled; villages and towns are founded; roads and railways are built; commerce expands; primary and secondary schools are set up; popular education, scientific, cultural, technical, and sanitary improvements, and judicial and administrative organisation are beginning to attract public attention. A middle class comes into being, constituted by the agricultural workers in the country and the employees in the town. It is in this middle class, and especially in the employee group, that the '*magisterio nacional*'. has its beginnings.

The agricultural worker, although still largely illiterate, soon becomes aware of the advantages of schooling and education in a rapidly advancing environment. To a greater extent than the cattle-breeder, he is in touch with city life; he sees posters and advertisements, he is interested in the price of fruit and merchandise, he seeks to improve the management of his business affairs and to raise his family status; he is therefore interested in the education of his children.

These new social and economic trends find their interpreter and leader in the person of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, our greatest educator. The number of teachers and schools increases. In the small villages, where before there had been only a police agent, one now also meets the teacher. There comes the moment when some government officials proudly declare that the country has more teachers than soldiers; the 'golden era' of our education has started.

These are the beginnings of the educative and social personality of the teacher in Argentina. It constitutes the result of progress, of a new phase in the life of the nation. An increasing proportion of the country's profits are 'invested' in education. Agriculture fixates thousands of families with large numbers of children; so schools are set up. The teacher now finds a society desirous of sending its children to school. In the rural zones this trend becomes particularly marked in the settlements of progressive farmers who, in addition to growing wheat, maize, oats, etc., for sale, also plant vegetables and fruit to improve their level of nutrition and thereby their cultural level.

The teacher has come to play an important social role. He is on friendly terms with his prominent neighbour as well as with the humble one; he functions as a centre of communication among all social classes, for he belongs to a 'middle-of-the-road class'—the middle class. In this phase of its organisation, the nation needs a

climate of peace, progress, and security, which constitute precisely the normal conditions for the development of a middle class. The teacher becomes the adviser and leader; he makes it possible for the children of the three social classes that make up the school population to mix freely; in the school setting, children of rich families easily learn to associate with the children of the middle classes and the proletariat. The teacher cannot alter the economic and social stratification of the community, but he smooths over the conflicts and takes advantage of every possibility to make the primary school the school of the people. He harbours no social resentment; his educative work constitutes a great and effective lesson in social cohesion.

As a group, the Argentine teachers have always been artisans of education rather than revolutionaries; the conditions characteristic of the life of the country, and of their social class in particular, prepared them for patient achievement rather than fighting. Their intervention in political struggles has been negligible and insignificant; they believe in education and instruction as effective means for the cure of social evils.

After the sudden transition from a cattle-breeding to an agricultural economy, and from the illiterate cowboy to a farmer spurred on by progress, teaching ceases to be an inferior or degrading occupation; nobody is lowered by being forced to take up teaching. Schools and teachers multiply in answer to the felt needs of the environment; in cases, however, where a school is opened without there being a demand for it, it is bound to become ineffective or to be closed altogether. So while the teacher is successful in the progressive areas, he fails in the backward ones.

In the progressive areas the teacher is held in high esteem; his advice is sought, and he proves an excellent social organiser. In the backward rural zones, on the other hand, he receives but little consideration; in some cases, he is tolerated; in others, his life becomes all but unbearable. The poorest and least educated among the peasants are unable to grasp the usefulness of a teacher who makes their lives difficult by forcing them to send their children to school when these children are needed to help with the farm work; and moreover—the peasant argues—his children are not taught anything that might help them with their work in the house or on the land—which are the only things they have and all they are ever going to own. Others, with a vested interest in maintaining the low educational level of the community, fear the teacher or even look upon him as an enemy.

In spite of his difficult position in the midst of a hostile environment, the teacher has never preached rebellion; for the middle class, to which he belongs body and soul, is not a rebellious class. Instead, he has sought to give an example of constancy, integrity, and sacrifice. Whenever the brutality and backwardness of the

environment proved too strong, he had no other solution but to flee to the town. Only in this way was it possible for him to remain at peace with his conscience. However, flight has been the exception rather than the rule.

The growing development of agriculture, commerce, and industry, and the increasing number of towns, gradually did away with the tensions between the backward environment and the teacher. Progress kept ahead of the school, and mastery of reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic was spreading fast.

There was a rapid decrease in illiteracy, and within a few decades Argentina's illiteracy rate had become the lowest in South America. The teacher no longer had to advertise the advantages of literacy and the benefits of schooling; public opinion had already been won over by the very momentum of the nation's progress. But instead of realising that the triumph of the school was due to a progressive environment, he believed the reverse to be true. He failed to see the relationship of direct subordination that always exists between the school and the conditions of its environment. He was convinced of the 'miracle' of the school, and attributed to it alone the victorious outcome of the 'war' against illiteracy and ignorance. Instead of taking into consideration the problems of his environment, as, e.g., the conservation of natural resources, he felt that in order to be a good teacher he should devote himself to the improvement of his educational tools by means of the application of new pedagogical interpretations and techniques.

In the city, the teacher was unaware of the danger of estrangement between environment and school, for the level of the urban community is always above the level of its schools. In every town, the child is taught more by his environment than by the school. The rural teacher, on the other hand, was well aware of the threatened break; and it was among the teachers in rural areas that the reaction against this estrangement started. The progressive teacher in the Argentine has been, and still is, almost invariably a rural or semi-rural teacher; and if anything has been saved from the break between school and environment it is thanks to his efforts.

In Argentina, both the urban and the rural teacher belong to the same social class; they both attend the same type of normal school and undergo the same training; they are both awarded the same diploma. There are special normal schools which prepare teachers to work in rural areas and in cities where the population is rather small, but these, however, do not exert any influence on the composition of the national teaching body. The city teacher is not required to start his career in a rural area. The rural teacher's initial qualifications are the same as the city teacher's; but the former has the added advantage of a better understanding of the importance of schooling and education in their relation to the pattern of living conditions in the country. The environment has required but little

effort and tension of the city teacher; on the rural teacher, on the other hand, these demands have been heavy; thus he has been able to keep in touch with the fundamental problems of the life of his community. This fact accounts for differences that exist between the urban and the rural teacher. The latter has played a more important social role than the former, especially during the last decades. In meetings called for the discussion of educational and pedagogical problems, he has shown himself to be more clearly aware of the main problems and the most adequate solutions.

As a profession, teaching has always been considered more suitable for women than for men. In 1947, e.g., the figures for active teachers were 14,220 men as against 73,753 women. The numerical superiority of women teachers has always been great and continues on the increase. Apart from a consideration of the biological, psychological, and social factors that qualify women rather than men for the education and upbringing of children, the teaching career has made it possible for a whole social class—the middle class—and, in particular, for women, to improve their educational, economic, and social status at a small cost in time, effort, and money. The teacher's diploma could be obtained after four years of study in addition to the six years of the primary school course; and as the national policy was to 'strew' the country with schools, it was not very difficult to secure employment, although there were more qualified teachers than jobs available. But this did not lead to the formation of what would nowadays be called a 'teacher proletariat', because many took up teaching only to get away from the routine of domestic work, to widen their social contacts beyond the circle of neighbours and relatives, to acquire new social skills, to marry above the parents' social level, etc. The teaching career was preferred by and for women because it offered a more pleasant and varied environment than the home and better conditions than domestic employment; even after marriage the woman could still keep her job. These conditions still prevail, although nowadays women have a wider choice of occupations in business, industry, the liberal professions, etc.

The teacher's salary is—and has been—insufficient for the support of a family. Marriage between teachers has been frequent because with two salaries the cost of a household can be covered. A teacher earns as much as a second-class employee and less than a skilled labourer; however, his needs are greater, for, in addition to the common necessities such as housing, clothing, and food, there are those created by his higher educational level as, e.g., his recreation and the education of his children. For this reason, teachers are forced to supplement their income by accepting other jobs during the remainder of the day and in the evening, such as teaching in night schools, etc. One of the severe shortcomings of the teaching profession is the impossibility of exclusive devotion to the job

owing to the inadequacy of remuneration. However, although the number of candidates for the teaching profession is decreasing noticeably, those who already are teachers refuse to give up their profession because of the advantages of only four hours' work per day (either in the morning or in the afternoon) and four months of holidays with full pay.

Salary scales are national and uniform throughout the republic. A teacher's salary does not depend on his age but on the length of his service.

Generally speaking, the teacher no longer enjoys the prestige in national life he had half a century ago, when the new 'agricultural society' and the immigration of Europeans were changing the social structure and even the physiognomy of the 'big village' that was Buenos Aires. In a society founded on agriculture and organised on the basis of a powerful middle class, the teacher functioned as the interpreter, the man of action, the intellectual leader of his community. He commanded the 'magic wand' of the alphabet and arithmetic, which was easily applied in a community ready to accept its beneficial effects. But he can no longer play this role in a society in which industry is struggling to displace cattle-breeding and agriculture from their position of social predominance. This new society is oriented towards the technician. The teacher continues to do his duty as devotedly as ever; however, parents no longer hope that their children may take up teaching as a career but expect them to become technicians, businessmen, or industrialists, or at least to find employment in one of these branches which offer better conditions of advancement and a higher economic level than the teaching profession.

Nowadays there are fewer people wanting to become teachers than there were fifty years ago. The reasons for this lie in the wider and more varied choice of occupations, the increased discrepancy between the teacher's salary and the earnings offered in other professions or in equivalent employment; the diminishing prestige of cultural knowledge in relation to technical knowledge; the weakening of the teacher's effectiveness as an active participant in national organisation and social life.

From the professional point of view, the teacher still enjoys the same consideration he received fifty years ago, when his role as a builder of national life was at its apogee; but he has lost his glamour and social personality. His status has fallen: e.g., during the sixty years of the predominance of the lay school (1884–1944), the priest and the teacher were competing for social ascendancy in their community; now the priest has come to dominate the teacher socially. The teacher feels that the principles underlying his training and the traditional ideals of his class do not belong to the educational world in which he now has to live. He has, above all, become a civil servant. To an ever-increasing extent,

the school is turning into a government agency where the teacher is expected to obey regulations rather than to interpret and apply an educational plan. His personal initiative has become severely restricted or has disappeared altogether. He has never been a rebel; and he is now further from being one than ever before. He no longer thinks of himself as an interpreter of new trends in education. As a group, the teachers of Argentina have been trained to work in a school that is free from dogma and political strife, in an atmosphere of ample tolerance at once national and universal. Yet, actions and attitudes expected of him may often run counter to such a type of preparation; and he will then try, as far as he can, to remain loyal to his principles.

LUIS REISSIG.

CHAPTER TWO

BRAZIL

YOUNG Brazilians who have gone to the United States as students have been surprised at the fact that the most important leaders of a typical Anglo-American community are its businessmen, with university professors and high school teachers as secondary or even socially insignificant elements of the same community. The surprise comes from the fact that Brazil has been used to a classification of social values in which university and high school professors, and even the so-called 'First Letters' (*Primeiras Letras*) teachers, are considered of higher value in an urban community than great or prosperous or energetic business leaders, merchants, or industrialists. This is certainly the traditional Brazilian table of social values for urban communities, though, in recent years, intellectual or academic prestige has suffered a depression, and the prestige of businessmen, industrialists, and merchants has increased in a somewhat Anglo-American, or Anglo-Saxon, way.

Why that situation in Brazil? Until some twenty or thirty years ago, it was so definite that one had the impression that the only Portuguese-speaking republic of America was a sort of American East India, with a caste of Brahmins who, reverently addressed as Reverend Masters (*Padres Mestres*), Doctors, and Professors, were of the highest social value in a typical community. Why this situation, and the disregard or disdain for business as a career for young men of distinguished families? Why this Brazilian cult of the professor, the doctor, the learned man?

A number of explanations may be given for such a situation. Even the intimate contact of Portugal with East India and China may be given as a remote cause. Another explanation may be the influence of Sephardic Jews in Portuguese culture and society: an influence that contributed to the idealisation of the learned man, the intellectual master, the doctor, the professor. Brazil received from Portugal a number of semi-European, semi-Oriental values, among them the great importance given by Eastern peoples to their learned men or masters of arts and professors.

At the end of the eighteenth century and during the first half of the nineteenth century, an academic career or profession became, in Brazil, the means for young *Mestizos*, or the sons of modest urban families, to rise socially so as to compete with the sons of the landed aristocracy in intellectual and political activities. As

bachelors of arts, lawyers, medical doctors, young men of non-aristocratic origin had the opportunity of becoming a new aristocracy: that of cap and gown. And in this new aristocracy, it was natural for professors in law and medical schools to become very important academic dukes or princes: they were not only graduates of universities but professors or masters. No important lawyer was complete in his prestige if he was not a professor in a law school; no medical doctor was considered a really learned man in medicine if he was not a professor in a medical school. It should be mentioned that the Brazilian George Washington—the greatest leader of the Independence movement in Brazil—José Bonifacio—was himself a scholar, a *savant*, and, in his own way, a teacher.

Such was the idealisation of the teaching profession—though most of the lawyers and medical doctors who taught in universities delivered there only a few brilliant or eloquent and, in some cases, even bombastic, lectures, without giving themselves intensely or systematically to pedagogical activities—that the man who for half a century was the Emperor of Brazil—Dom Pedro II—is said to have dreamed all his life of being a college professor or a schoolmaster. He would gladly have exchanged his crown and his royal mantle—he was a Bourbon, a Hapsburg, and a Bragança—for a cap and gown. A learned man himself—a humanist who knew some Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and astronomy, besides ancient history and French literature—he found a special delight in attending final examinations in schools, in being present at academic celebrations, in playing the role of a professor or a school teacher as much as his duties of Constitutional Emperor allowed him. By doing so he contributed notably to the increase of the prestige of professors and teachers in Brazil. He felt happy when the members of his cabinet or the political leaders in the National Parliament were professors or teachers like João Alfredo or Zacarias de Goes. He even was particularly tolerant of Republicans who, like Benjamin Constant Botelho de Magalhães—an officer in the Brazilian Army—taught mathematics to young men in the Military School of Rio and were noted for their talent as teachers.

Because the teaching profession has this background in Brazil, it is easy to understand why even to-day businessmen are so eager for academic honours. Roberto Simonsen, who died a few years ago as leader of the Brazilian Federation of Industries, took a special delight in lecturing to young men as a professor of economics, and was a very happy man when his name was chosen for one of the chairs in the Brazilian Academy of Letters. Some of the most important political leaders of Republican Brazil have been men noted as university professors or teachers in secondary schools; a large number of members of the National Congress also. Only recently, businessmen have begun to be proud of the fact that they are practical and have nothing to do with academic institutions

or activities. This is an Americanism or an Anglo-Saxonism in Brazilian life. Perhaps it had to develop under the pressure of industrialisation.

With the large increase of primary schools in Brazil during the last thirty or forty years, primary teachers no longer have the same prestige they had some years ago. Not even secondary and university teachers now belong to a closed caste, as they did until the beginning of this century, though their social position remains one of considerable intellectual and social prestige, and many still delight in giving as their titles that of 'Professor' or 'Doctor'.

As to the economic situation of university and secondary teachers, one should remember that they have not been occupied full-time, but have been free to engage in other activities such as the practice of medicine, law, engineering, journalism, and so on. Most of the lawyers or medical doctors or engineers who are professors have found a definite economic advantage in this fact. Social prestige has meant, to a large number of them, economic advantage. It should also be pointed out that most of them have been men, though the number of women teachers in secondary, normal, and even universities is increasing.

It is also significant that normal schools, in present-day Brazil, are schools whose students are, in a large majority, girls and not young men. Most of the primary school teachers in Brazil are, at present, women, not men: a tendency that has increased during the last half-century. Until the end of the nineteenth century, women were rare in this as well as in other branches of the teaching profession. Now it is rare to find a man as a regular teacher in a primary school in the most advanced or progressive regions of Brazil. Men school teachers are to be found in a considerable number only in primary schools of backward areas; or as inspectors of primary schools—very seldom as teachers—in semi-progressive or progressive areas.

Teachers in primary schools have to complete a five-year course in their elementary school, four years in their secondary school and three years in a training college. So they usually enter teaching at the age of 18 or 19.

It was only with the foundation of Schools or Faculties of Philosophy in São Paulo and Rio that the training of secondary school teachers became systematic. Until then (1934), this preparation was largely an individual adventure: there was practically no opportunity for the candidate for this type of teaching position to prepare himself methodically or systematically. Secondary teachers were chosen from amongst lawyers, medical doctors, priests, engineers, with little or no specific training for teaching. With such lack of systematic training it is easy to associate lack of really pedagogical quality in most of the secondary teaching in Brazil during the Empire (1822–89) and the so-called 'First Republic' (1889–

1930), though one should not forget that among this old type of high school teachers in Brazil there were a considerable number of men notable not only for their scholarship but for their pedagogical virtues. Some of them were the authors of didactic books that remain good examples of such virtues and expressions of real scholarship—for example, textbooks for the study of Latin, Portuguese, history, geography, literature, mathematics.

But it is also true that a larger number of secondary teachers at that time were extremely rhetorical in their teaching. They did nothing but deliver speeches to adolescents, who were influenced in a bad way by this cult of oratory or eloquence, even as students of chemistry and physics or natural history. Museums or laboratories were rare and deficient.

More modern methods are, however, being developed. The School or Faculty of Philosophy of São Paulo, as well as the Schools or Faculties of Philosophy, Economics, Law, and Sciences in the University of Rio de Janeiro (Federal District), when this university was founded, organised and led by men like Professor Anisio Teixeira, Professor Miguel Osorio de Almeida, Alfonso Pena, Junior, and the late Alfranio Peixoto, did a splendid and courageous work of reorganisation of teaching methods for secondary and university studies in Brazil. Not only did they attract to their staffs Brazilians with a systematic university training in Europe or the United States, but they had the courage to invite, as founders of fundamental chairs, foreign scholars and scientists of high standing in their own countries. These scholars and scientists were the instruments in a real revolution in methodology, and their stay in Brazil was highly beneficial to an honest beginning of a genuine university system in our country. It was also a great thing in Brazil to see the University of Rio de Janeiro, with Professor Teixeira as its organiser, with a free hand to do what he pleased, go after the best Brazilian talent, the best Brazilian scientists and scholars, and insistently ask them to stay for some time as teachers or founders of chairs in that university.

Unfortunately this good example given by the organisers of the University of São Paulo and the University of Rio de Janeiro (Federal District) has not been followed by other universities or faculties or schools of philosophy in Brazil. Some of them have organised themselves with a few competent Brazilian professors and a large number of immature or even incompetent ones. Politics has been allowed to interfere with appointments that should be made on a non-political basis. Organisers of new schools of philosophy in Brazil—they are now so numerous that some critics consider them a plague—have lacked the courage to invite, for certain fundamental chairs, competent European and American professors, whose young Brazilian assistants would become their successors and the regular occupants of chairs established in this

way. As a consequence of this, there are to-day in Brazil, schools and faculties of philosophy and universities, which some critics consider nothing but caricatures. The consequences of such a policy of pedagogical nationalism will be felt in the lowering of the standards of university culture in Brazil, established by Professor Teixeira in Rio, and by Governor Sales de Oliveira, with the technical assistance of Professor Fernando de Azenedo, in São Paulo, as well as in the lowering of standards in secondary teaching in Brazilian schools. It is a pity, because if the example of the Universities of Rio de Janeiro (Federal District) and São Paulo had been followed, university and secondary teaching in Brazil would to-day be in full development, with the chairs of professors and high school teachers occupied, as a rule and not merely as an exception, by really well-prepared men or women. . As conditions have developed, there is a need in present-day Brazil for a reaction against the bad 'nationalism'—if 'nationalism' is the proper word to designate this phenomenon—of Brazilians who feel that they have no need for European or United States technical help in the preparation of professors or teachers: a need distinctly felt in connection with some of the modern sciences and of philosophy itself, as taught in secondary schools (*colegios*) and universities.

Another interesting aspect of the status of teachers in Brazil is the economic one: the salary of university professors, secondary school and primary teachers. In all federal schools of university standing a professor's salary is always 8,400 *Cruzeiros* a month.[1] He is allowed to teach in two institutions, on correlated subjects. He is also allowed to be a professor and at the same time to engage in research (on a subject related with his chair) in some research institution. This is a wise law, for a previous decree enforced as a law by the National Government in 1937—when Brazil became a 'strong state', to remain as such until 1945—prohibiting professors from having more than one chair or engaging in research activities for such institutions as the Biological Institute of Manguinhos, was far from being beneficial to Brazilian culture.

As to the salaries of state or official secondary teachers in Brazil, there is no national uniformity in regard to them. In some areas, like the State of São Paulo or the Federal District, a secondary professor is paid nearly as much as a university professor: 8,000 *Cruzeiros* a month. In small states, a secondary teacher is badly paid: there are cases of a teacher being paid only 900 *Cruzeiros* a month. This applies to secondary schools maintained by the different states of the Brazilian Union, a federal union similar to that of the United States of America.

In private secondary schools, the teacher's situation is sometimes a critical one, for in some states or regions he is poorly paid, though

[1] Equivalent to roughly U.S. $250.—Ed.

free to teach in two, three, and more schools. He is paid for lectures or '*aulas*': and this payment varies from twelve to forty *Cruzeiros* for each *aula*, according to what the students of each particular school pay annually for their tuition. A secondary teacher has, in some areas, to give as many as ten *aulas* or lectures every day in order to earn a salary of 8,000 *Cruzeiros* a month. According to some critics of this system this is an anti-pedagogical arrangement. The poor teacher has to go from one school to another, and to add considerable physical mobility to his intellectual effort of giving or repeating eight or ten *aulas* a day. This type of secondary teacher is vividly described by Professor Aderbal Jurema, of the University of Recife, as a 'taxi-teacher'.

There are two vacations for teachers as well as for students—university, secondary, and primary—in Brazil from the beginning or the middle of December until the end of February or the end of March, and in the middle of the year, for nearly one month. Primary and secondary teachers have the right to be socially protected by the *Instituto de Assisténcia e Previdéncia dos Comerciários*. A special institute or department for the social assistance or security of teachers is expected to be organized soon in Brazil. When invalided or when he reaches his age-limit, the secondary or primary teacher in Brazil, who is a member of that institute (*Comerciários*), has a right to receive two-thirds of 2,000 *Cruzeiros*: the 2,000 *Cruzeiros* he has to pay gradually to the same institute. In case of death, his widow will receive 1,200 *Cruzeiros*. As to the university professor in a federal university, he is entitled to the same assistance as other federal employees in his category. When he reaches the age limit (70) or becomes an invalid by professional accident, if he has thirty years of activity as a professor, he receives his full salary. If he has taught for less than thirty years, he receives a monthly sum proportional to his period of activity.

These notes, though incomplete, give a general idea of the *status* of the teacher in Brazil: the university professor, the secondary teacher, the primary teacher. I owe to Professor Aderbal Jurema, of the University of Recife and for some time director of a secondary school in the city of Recife, some valuable information concerning the economic conditions under which professors and teachers work in modern Brazil. He dealt with some aspects of the subject in an illuminating lecture, "O Ensino Secundário no Brasil", delivered at the Faculty of Philosophy of Recife and published in *Nordeste* (Recife), January 1948. Other aspects of the subject have been dealt with, in recent publications, by other Brazilian specialists in pedagogical subjects, and any foreign student of the same subjects would find a wealth of valuable information in the recent *Encéclopidia da Legislação do Ensino* (Rio de Janeiro, 1952), edited by Professor Vandick Londres da Nobrega. Other interesting publications in connection with the subject of this paper

are: *O Ensino Superior e Médio no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1951), an official publication of the Ministry of Education and Health; *Oportunidades de Preparação no Ensino Superior* (Rio de Janeiro, 1950), also a publication of the same Ministry. One should add the São Paulo periodical called *Atualidades Pedagogicas*.

GILBERTO FREYRE.

CHAPTER THREE

CHILE

Education and Training

(*a*) *Pre-School.* In September 1944 the University of Chile opened a school for teachers of the very young (*Educadoras de Párvulos*), admitting girls who had spent five years in the secondary school (*Liceo*). Later, this entrance requirement was raised and now only those who have completed their secondary education are admitted. The course lasts two years, at the end of which a certificate is granted. In 1946 the Department of Primary Education decided to open similar courses based on those pursued in ordinary training colleges, and as a specialisation of these. Further details are given in the *Plan y Programas de Estudio para la Educación Primaria* (Santiago, Chile, 1949).

(*b*) *Primary Education.* Teachers for this level are prepared in thirteen colleges (*Escuelas normales*) [1] situated in various parts of the republic—six for men, six for women, and one mixed. To be admitted, pupils, whether men or women, must hold a certificate proving completion of the primary school course or the first or second year of humanistic studies; which means that they are between 14 and 16 years of age, and hence their vocational intentions are not yet either well defined or mature. These normal schools are free and provide board and lodgings, although Normal School No. 2 in Santiago, as well as one which has just been founded in Viña del Mar, are exceptions: in these, the pupils are only day-boarders. These courses last six years, of which the first three are, to all intents and purposes, identical with those of the grammar schools (*Liceos humanísticos*). In spite of this the colleges do not normally base their programmes on the completion of that particular cycle of studies in the grammar schools. They prefer to offer their own courses in their own buildings. Those in charge of primary education maintain that spending six years as students in a boarding establishment gives to future teachers a stronger and more homogeneous sentiment of solidarity. The system deserves and has drawn much criticism. Is it not possible that to live, and especially at this period of adolescence, in

[1] These 'colleges' are essentially secondary schools and should not be confused with the colleges in the United States or the United Kingdom.—EDITORS.

narrow ruts shaped by professional intentions to some degree misshapes the individual instead of fully developing his personality? This tradition of training teachers in boarding establishments is already more than a century old in Chile, and its long life may be the main reason for maintaining the existence of such vocational boarding schools rather than trying out new ideas. Such practices were justified during the last century, when the grammar school was open almost exclusively to the moneyed classes. The normal school then gave an opportunity of raising the social and cultural levels of young and gifted people coming from the working or peasant classes. But this is no longer the situation to-day. The schools of our country have become more democratic. In them are brought closely together both the middle and the working classes. One might select, and with greater chances of success, those with special gifts or talents at the end of the first cycle of the *Liceo*—that is, pupils at the age of 16 or 17 years.

In 1947 the total number of pupils in normal schools was 3,244, of whom 1,344 were men and 1,900 were women. At the same date the number of teachers was 13,282, of whom 2,472 were men and 10,810 women.

TEACHERS IN SERVICE, 1947

	Men	*Women*	*Total*
Normal school training	713	5,449	6,162
University graduates .	609	1,182	1,791
Propietarios . .	642	2,965	3,607
Probationary teachers .	323	822	1,145
Special qualifications .	185	392	577
	2,472	10,810	13,282

If we compare the numbers of men and women students at the normal school level (1,344 men and 1,900 women) with the corresponding numbers of teachers in service, it will be obvious that the proportions are very different: while the ratio in the colleges is 1 to 1·26, for the teachers in service it is 1 to 8. One might deduce that a great number of men trained in normal schools abandon the profession, while women remain in it—and this would support the thesis that a boarding establishment providing a six-year course starting at the age of 14 is not the most satisfactory instrument for decisively influencing professional intentions.

In addition, persons who have not attended normal schools do become teachers, especially in isolated rural districts which do not attract graduates. Since they have not completed the required pedagogical studies, they are called probationary teachers (*Interinos*), and, when later they complete the examinations and tests to which they are submitted by the Ministry of Education, they become what are called *Propietarios*.

Those employed in primary education are divided into six cate-

gories, the sixth being the lowest. It comprises those who teach in ordinary schools and the heads of rural schools. All those who have completed their normal school course enter the service at this stage. Only after five years of experience is it possible to move to the next category, and all those who do rise must have completed the courses and passed the examinations imposed by the regulations. The General Administration in the Ministry each year names a number of teachers who may take post-graduate courses, which then allow them to pass the examinations needed to rise from grade to grade. Such studies may be pursued in certain normal schools both in Santiago and in the provinces. The most important is the higher section of the normal school *José Abelardo Nuñez* which, for such purposes, is considered as a section of university status controlled by the Department of Primary Education. Persons selected to pursue these courses receive, during their studies, the cost of board, lodgings, and travelling expenses in addition to their usual salaries.

The influence of this organisation, based on courses and examinations, has been manifold. On the one hand it has stimulated eagerness to pursue courses and it has raised the technical and pedagogical level of teachers; on the other it has influenced the organisations of teachers which, during the decades from 1920 to 1940, maintained an intense activity aimed at raising the status of the profession and at speeding up technical progress in education. Now, however, its ardour has weakened somewhat and it tends to limit itself to a struggle for the economic betterment of its members.

(*c*) *Secondary Education.* The fact that the responsibility for secondary education is divided between two departments of the Ministry of Education, namely that for humanistic and scientific education given in the *liceos* for boys or girls and that for vocational and technical education given in technical, industrial, and commercial schools, creates a major difference in the preparation of teachers for these establishments.

As regards the first—that is to say, those who will work in the *liceos*—they have been educated since 1889 in the Pedagogical Institute of the Faculty of Philosophy and Sciences of Education of the University of Chile, or else in similar schools which have been opened in recent years by other Chilean universities. All of them insist on their students holding the degree of B.A.[2] (*Bachiller en Humanidades*) before entering. Thus the courses are of university status. They comprise five years of specialised study of the subjects which will be taught, as well as some general subjects like philosophy, psychology, the theory of teaching, etc. During the last year, teaching practice is provided in the *liceos* of

[2] Note that this Bachelor's degree, like the French *baccalauréat*, is awarded at the successful completion of a full secondary school course.—EDITORS.

Santiago or of the provinces, which practice is always supervised by the lecturers in the Pedagogical Institute. The title which is granted at the end of the whole course is State Teacher (*Profesor de Estado*).

Turning now to secondary schools of the vocational type, there was not in existence until 1946 a single establishment in which teachers for these could be prepared. There were special courses for teachers of commercial subjects which were given in the Higher Institute of Commerce, while for teachers of arts and crafts courses were provided in the Higher Technical School for Women. In 1946 the Technical Pedagogical Institute was created which, since then, has taken charge of the preparation of the teaching staffs for those establishments. Its requirements for entry are lower than those of the pedagogical institutes of the universities. During the few years that they have been running it has become clear that they are going through a stage of trial and experimentation.

(*d*) *University Teachers.* A good proportion of gifted students in the university become assistants to the professors. At the end of their professional or academic studies a few continue as auxiliary or assistant professors. When a chair becomes vacant they have the opportunity of presenting their candidature. As yet, there are no formal requirements for such appointment. Occasionally, State Teachers who have distinguished themselves by their teaching or research are made university professors. In the University of Chile there exists yet one more possibility of moving into higher education, namely by taking the public examination on the strength of which the title of *Profesor Extraordinario* is granted.

Legal and Social Position [3]

Some of the general regulations applicable to the entire civil service are also applicable to teachers. As for those which deal with their promotion, salary scales, etc., the norms are established by Decree No. 227 of January 1951. The principal clauses of these statutes are the following:

(*a*) *Leaves, Holidays, etc.*

Civil servants with fewer than twenty years' service are granted fifteen working days' leave annually, a number which rises to twenty-five when the years of service are in excess of twenty. This applies to all administrative civil service personnel. Teachers, as a general rule, have to work for a minimum of 235 days a year, but in certain technical services, such as departments of vocational guidance, of educational research, etc., the regulations require twelve hundred hours of work a year, while in others, such as rural

[3] I am greatly indebted for this material to the research work of Mr. Waldo Suarez.

schools, farm schools, etc., teachers have the right to forty-five days' holiday a year.

The statutes also ensure for teachers the following rights:

(i) Six days' leave each semester for private business on full salary, which may be granted at the discretion of the chief of their department.

(ii) Indefinite leave on full salary when the National Medical Service for Civil Servants orders preventive rest. In such cases the salary is paid by the medical service itself in order to facilitate the nomination of a substitute. This rest is ordered in cases of disease of the heart, blood, or lungs (which are considered temporary), and of conditions which predispose to cancer or are in fact cancer. The civil servant or teacher thus keeps the right to his employment and all the prerogatives of his status. In addition he cannot be dismissed until six months after having returned to full employment.

(iii) Indefinite leave on full salary during the whole time which is indicated by the medical service.

(iv) Leave without pay up to two months every year for private reasons.

(v) Indefinite leave without salary when the civil servant leaves the country; permission to do so must, however, be renewed every six months.

It is well to draw attention to the fact that when a teacher receives a scholarship or fellowship abroad, he is allowed to leave his work for the necessary period of time and meanwhile draws his full salary.

(*b*) *Dismissal and Retirement*

Any teacher who retires from the service on grounds of age or for any other reason except dismissal receives a special grant amounting to one month's salary for each year of service, with a maximum of twenty-four months of salary, the amount being based upon the last salary received. The Social-Security Fund for Civil Servants (a name which is given to the accumulated moneys gathered for these purposes) is maintained by the teachers themselves as well as by other civil servants through a compulsory withholding of salary amounting to 6 per cent.

Retirement may be the result of any of the following causes: (i) age; (ii) mental or physical incapacity; (iii) long service; (iv) termination of the post held. In the first and second cases a teacher may retire if he is 62 years of age and has at least ten years of service. The same thing is true of those who have suffered accident or contracted sickness in the discharge of their functions.

Retirement on the grounds of long service may be claimed after thirty years of payment into the National Fund for Public Servants. Since this was only created in 1925 there have been so far no claims, but for years of service before 1925 the costs are borne by

the state. Retirement pay may be granted, as well as the previously mentioned money grants, and should be equal to the average amount of the pay during the last thirty-six months of service. Nevertheless, regulations are frequently passed allowing retirement on the pay last received. Demands by teachers that retirement should be obligatory have not met with success.

Retirement on the grounds of "the obligatory ending of the functions to be discharged" applies when a teacher resigns, or when he refuses to move to another post because it does not suit his own interests, or when some administrative measure makes redundant the position which he holds.

(*c*) *Legal Status for the Professional Career of Teachers* (Statutes passed in 1949 and revised in 1951)

The regulations which follow are applied to teachers in the various branches of public education—primary, secondary, and vocational. The personnel of the University of Chile is subject to the regulations of the university's statutes and to its own rules. The principal clauses are:

(i) *Conditions for Nomination.* In primary education the applicant must be a teacher of primary education (*Profesor de Educación Primaria*). In secondary schools (*Liceos*) he must hold the title of State Teacher (*Profesor de Estado*), granted by the University of Chile, or by the various universities which are under the control of the latter. In technical schools, whether industrial, commercial, or of arts and crafts for women, he or she must hold the title of State Professor, granted by the University of Chile or the State Technical University (Institute of Technical Education). For specialised employment, workshop instruction, or scientific laboratories, professionally competent persons may be nominated to teach their speciality. The regulations also allow the nomination of probationary teachers when there is no one with the desired qualifications.

(ii) *Qualifications for Promotion.* As a general rule posts, except those of the highest grade, are offered only after examination or inquiry into previous experience. The system, which is highly to be commended, has nevertheless not produced all the benefits which one had the right to hope for, owing to the intrusion of political factors which have sometimes been influential within the Ministry of Education. In order to be promoted, two principal factors are to be taken into account: a certain number of years of service, according to the importance of the duties to be fulfilled and, in addition, the possession of the necessary professional or special qualifications. In primary education and in teacher training this applies particularly to those teachers who, while being paid their salaries, have attended special courses of further study.

(iii) *Qualifications.* The statutes contemplate the periodical reexamination of the qualifications of the teaching personnel. But so

far, teachers have seen to it that this procedure be not applied. The reason for their objections is that they fear the influence of criteria having nothing to do with professional competence.

(iv) *Other Regulations.* The statutes also consider the right to transference for family or health reasons; the possibility of exchanges either for a short time or permanently; the preservation of the best conditions in which for teachers to do their full allocation of work in the same establishment or locality; and so on.

Economic Situation

(*a*) *Salaries.* In evaluating the following figures, all of which are given in Chilean pesos, it should be borne in mind that the purchasing power of the *peso* is about equal to that of 1 U.S. cent, i.e. 100 *pesos* are approximately equal to 1 U.S. dollar. The salary of teachers varies between 72,000 and 112,800 *pesos* a year—the first being that of a teacher in a primary school and the second that of the first grade of the scale applying to inspectors, chiefs of departments, etc. The minimum basic salary of the rest of the personnel, whether administrative, auxiliary, or service, is 36,000 *pesos* per year.

In addition to these scales the following benefits are paid:

(i) A family allowance of 620 *pesos* monthly for each dependant.

(ii) Every three years there is an increase on the basic scale corresponding to 20, 40, 60, 75, 90, 105, 115, 130, and 140 per cent. after 3, 6, 9, 12, 15, 18, 21, 24, and 27 years of service.

(iii) Supplementary payments are given to those teachers who work in regions which are very isolated or where the climate is poor. These allowances are somewhere between 15 and 100 per cent. above the total salaries.

A small percentage of teachers, owing to the duties they discharge, have the right to be provided with board and lodgings, for which they pay an amount which is always lower than its real value.

As a consequence of a long-continuing campaign based on the fact that the minimum salary paid to employees in private industry is higher than that granted to primary teachers, Congress is discussing, and has already approved in a few cases, the fixing of the basic salary at a minimum of 84,000 *pesos* instead of 72,000 *pesos*. In addition, all other salaries will be increased by 15 per cent. while maintaining the triennial increments and the family allowances.

A teacher in secondary or professional education receives a basic remuneration of 3,684 *pesos* a year for each weekly hour during which he teaches, which sum will be increased by 15 per cent. in accordance with the above-mentioned decision of Congress. These teachers may work up to thirty-six hours a week.

An important fact to which it is necessary to draw attention is that, starting in 1953, salaries will be raised automatically by a percentage equal to that of the increase in the cost of living as fixed

by the Central Bank of Chile. This automatic readjusting or moving scale will be of benefit to all state employees. It has already been in operation since 1937 for private employees, and since 1942 for municipal employees.

As regards the University of Chile, the professors receive a salary of 12,000 *pesos* a year for each weekly hour of class teaching, as well as family allowances and the same triennial increments as the rest of the teaching body. A university professor may not teach for more than sixteen hours a week.

(*b*) *Social Security.* The social-security laws award to the teaching body the following rights over and above the retirement grant and other rights mentioned earlier:

(i) Personal loans of up to three months' salary. (ii) In addition, loans for the purchase of property or buildings or for the improvement of buildings, up to five years' salary. (iii) Grants at death equivalent to one month's salary. (iv) A special pension to widows and children, in proportion to the pension which the teacher would have received, as well as a special grant amounting to two years' salary paid to the family of the deceased teacher.

All teachers are also attached to the National Health Service, which deals with the medical care of all workers and employees in Chile. The right to medical and dental care within this service is also granted to near relatives.

(*c*) *The Situation of Private Teachers.* Teachers not employed by the state belong for the greater part to religious institutions; they thus come under the legal regulations which refer to private employment. Nevertheless, it would be well to distinguish between two classes of private schools, since different conditions exist:

(i) *Teachers in Non Fee-paying Colleges.* Since the state gives grants to these establishments—these grants being a sum per pupil equal to half the cost of a pupil in a public school—there is a requirement that the teachers in them should receive the same minimum salary, that they should receive at least two months' holiday a year, that they should have a minimum training and education equal to the secondary teachers' licence, and that they should belong to social-security schemes, etc.

(ii) *Teachers in Fee-paying Schools.* A recent law regulates the situation of teachers in this type of college, assuring them minimum salaries and establishing them in their positions during the holiday periods. When these colleges apply for a state grant, which may be equal to the fourth part of the cost to the state of a pupil in its own corresponding establishments, they have to fulfil the same requirements as those mentioned in the previous paragraph.

Nevertheless, the situation of the teachers in private schools is still unsatisfactory as regards their obtaining the full rights granted to them in theory by social legislation. The teachers' unions are doing their best for their members in such colleges.

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Trade Union Organisation

Although Chile has signed the agreements of the International Labour Office which recommend that all those employed in the civil service, or in corporations of a public character, should have the right to form trade unions without any difficulties or barriers beyond those arising from laws applying to all, these agreements have not been ratified and thus have not been incorporated in the legislation applying to Chilean workers. Not possessing the right to form unions, the teaching body has attempted nevertheless to unite, and now constitutes one of the best-organised and best-disciplined groups in the country.

The organisations which exist are:

The Union of Teachers of Chile, founded as an incorporated mutual-aid society. It has a national character and consists of about 8,000 members, for the most part teachers in primary education.

The National Society of Teachers, organised in the same form as the previous union, but older. It has about 3,000 members, for the greater part belonging to secondary education. This society holds property exceeding 12,000,000 *pesos.*

The Association of Teachers in Industrial and Mining Education, grouping personnel of this type of education and consisting of about 1,300 members.

The Association of Teachers of Commerce and Domestic Science, with about 1,000 members.

The Training College Association (*Sociedád de Escuelas Normales*), with about 600 members.

The Association of Teachers of Adults (*Asociación de Professores de Escuelas de Adultos*), with 750 members.

In addition there exist other organisations, such as the Society of Teachers in Experimental Schools (*Sociedád de Profesores de Escuelas Experimentales*), in Vocational Schools (*Escuelas Vocacionales*), and so on, but these have not developed any independent activity of a quasi-union character.

The six associations named above constitute among themselves the Federation of Chilean Educators, which was organised in 1945 and which co-ordinates and directs the general campaigns undertaken by the teachers of Chile.

In addition, teachers in private schools have their own professional syndicate, which is affiliated to the General Council of Employees in Private Industry (*Confederación Nacional de Empleados Particulares*).

AMANDA LABARCA.

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CHAPTER FOUR

COLOMBIA

WHEN I was holding the post of National Director of Education, I undertook a study trip throughout the country, visiting not only the provincial capitals but remote villages and settlements as well. My object was to find out about the activities and preoccupations of teachers. I wished to gather information regarding their social and economic position and their day-to-day difficulties on the one hand, and the inner satisfaction they might be deriving from their work on the other. I found many of the rural teachers working in complete isolation; their remuneration was poor and irregular, they were being treated with indifference or even contempt by the parents, and shown no gratitude by their pupils. Yet, I saw such teachers come by the hundred to the study-centres we had established, and this in spite of the poor state of the roads. Similarly, years ago, when Professor Decroly gave a course of lectures in the *Gimnasio Moderno* at Bogotá, they were prepared to spend the savings of years to come and listen to him. And when the Ministry of Education was sending out books to the teaching personnel of primary schools, their enthusiasm was enormous. Many got into direct contact with the Ministry in the hope of supplementing the new knowledge that had reached them through the modest library they had received. Hundreds of letters came from all over the country. Many of these correspondents admitted that they had no qualifications, no education beyond the elementary school course; but they loved their schools and were filled with a great desire to work, regardless of their meagre remuneration.

Some of these brave people are found in the midst of a wilderness where not even an echo of civilisation ever penetrates. I shall never forget that admirable teacher who had to make a two hours' canoe-trip every day in order to get from her husband's workshop to the little school that had been assigned to her. She got up at five o'clock in the morning so as to arrive at seven at the landing, where she was received with shouts of joy by twenty children. For she is one of those who succeed in winning their pupils' hearts even before starting to teach them the alphabet.

In the isolated parts of the country one often comes across a teacher who is half hermit, half apostle-in-action. He has built himself a world of his own, a world of children who spontaneously seek his company. He inspires confidence rather than awe; instead

of giving orders, he co-operates with his pupils; he is obeyed because he is liked rather than feared. He has never been visited by an inspector. Throughout his career, he has not received a single word of encouragement. He does not know that there exists a salary scale in the teaching profession. But he needs none of these things to keep alive the flame of his vocation.

However, among teachers, as in any other occupation, one finds many different types of personality. Some are devoted, cheerful, and studious; in spite of their limited resources, they try to build up their little library. Others seem unaware of the ethical and aesthetic implications of their mission; they lack all interest in further study. They are quite satisfied with what they once learned in the training college—which certainly did not teach them the habit of study. A good number have never again read a book since they left school. One might mark them, like fossils, with the stamp of the year in which their course ended. They no longer possess even the knowledge they had on the day of the final examination, for once that examination was over, their conscience was appeased; they felt they had earned the right to forget what they had been taught. They have not heard of new methods; they are unaware of the contents of educational periodicals, nor do they know the meaning of a reference-book. No wonder that to them teaching is slavery, and that they are only too willing to abandon their profession as soon as there is some chance of other employment.

We have mentioned 'heroic' teachers; let us now think of picturesque ones. I remember a diehard pedagogue who approached me one afternoon in search of a job. He talked and gesticulated in a way which we usually call 'tropical'. "My system," he said, "moves from the concrete to the abstract, from the simple to the complex, from the known to the unknown, from the easy to the difficult, from the plain to the abstruse. I follow with my pupils the same progressive development that humanity has undergone, and I investigate the biotype wherever I go. My courses are methodically organised according to cyclic, concentric, psychological, intuitive, deductive, modern, and pedagogical principles." Faced by this outburst of erudition, I realised that here was one of those teachers who use pedagogy in the same way as snuff: they absorb the diabolical powder and then, with enormous delight, sneeze out impressive terminology. However, a few reassuring and friendly words had on his mind the miraculous effect of an alka-seltzer tablet; he was cured instantly of his pedagogical indigestion. He then confessed that his opening tirade was the way in which he usually dealt with inspectors, whom he felt he had to outsmart lest they should take him for an ignoramus.

On another occasion, in an obscure country school, we came across an individual who had left seminary many years before but who was still fond of embellishing every one of his pronouncements

with a Latin phrase which he himself immediately translated for the enlightenment and relief of those not so well versed.

We were talking about the importance of cheerfulness in school, and he said: "Of course, we teachers have to be cheerful: *Spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa*—A sad mind dries up the bones." We remarked on the excessive sensitivity to criticism of some colleagues, and he explained: "*Non amat pestileus eum qui se compit*—Pestilent people do not love their critics," adding: "*Veritas odium parit*—Truth breeds hatred." He complained about certain teachers whose conduct had become somewhat lax: "*Abyssus abyssum invocat*—One fault leads to another." And, by way of final conclusion, the old sentence: "*O tempora! O mores!*—What times! What customs!"

But there is also the teacher who is dry-as-dust, a victim of the dogmatism characteristic of professional deformation. As a peasant once put it, some teachers talk to their pupils as if they were gravediggers and as if life were a funeral. Let us listen to one of those individuals: "These so-called new methods send shudders down my spine. This modern stuff is just so much nonsense. Teaching is a serious business. A teacher is a teacher, and a pupil is a pupil. Each in his place; the one teaching, the other learning. If I set lessons I want them recited the next day word for word; I am certainly not going to have those brats come up with arguments. This is not a conference. Here a boy either repeats what is in the book or he is kept in until he knows his lesson. One has to be tough with those little devils. They are born hypocrites: as soon as one turns one's back on them they are up to some mischief. But I use rubber soles and, as a special precaution, I always walk on tiptoe. When they least expect it suddenly there I am slapping them. A teacher who is not feared cannot function properly. The teacher gives orders and the pupil obeys. The rest is academic nonsense!"

Such 'picturesque' teachers would undoubtedly be better off somewhere else; however, we shall note in what follows the decisive influence of the salary factor which makes it necessary for us to be more lenient.

The Economic Factor

Statistics concerning teachers' salaries are of little use unless the cost of living is taken into account. Let us therefore first consider the most-favoured or, rather, the least ill-treated class, namely, teachers in normal and secondary schools. Those in the top rank earn $350 (pesos),[1] and all others $300, plus an allowance of $50 for those who do not receive board and lodging in the school where they are employed.

[1] 1 U.S. dollar ($) = 2·50 Colombian pesos ($); £1 = 7 Colombian pesos.

If we take the average rent of a house or apartment for a family of four as being $150–$200 in the capital, and the cost of food, clothes, children's education, domestic services, and recreation, $300—then we find that this teacher, who is supposed to occupy a position of a certain social distinction, cannot subsist on the maximum salary he can possibly earn.

The teacher's household would be in serious difficulties if it were not for the fact that in the majority of cases the wife helps by her work. She may be a teacher too, or she may be employed in a public or private office. As soon as sons and daughters reach adolescence they, too, begin in many cases to contribute their share towards the support of the family. Very soon daughter and son will be earning more than their father—provided the pedagogical virus has not infected them and thereby sealed their fate.

Is it, then, surprising that every year 80 per cent. of the graduates of normal schools turn to other professions, and that many of those who do take up teaching give it up as soon as a more attractive offer presents itself? One might ask what it is that induces a person to choose the teaching profession. There are two possible interpretations: that of an apostolic vocation bordering on heroism, or that of a failure in other activities which has driven the individual to the brink of despair.

As in other countries, in Colombia, too, there have been instances of outstanding figures in national life who began their careers as teachers in very modest primary schools, but these cases are so exceptional that they are quoted as a unique incident in a biography, the purpose of which is to stress the effectiveness of human effort as a means of climbing from the humblest to the highest spheres. Thus, from the biographer's point of view, to be a teacher is to be humble.

And in view of the remuneration he receives, the teacher has no choice but to be humble. The case of the primary school teacher is the most dramatic of all. In general, he earns less than a foreman, a chauffeur, or a policeman. In the top rank, his monthly salary is only $130 to $200. It is a miracle that he manages to keep alive.

Both rural and urban teachers are paid according to a fixed salary scale: thus, rural teachers do not earn less than their colleagues in the towns. This does not mean, however, that they do not prefer city life. Although three-quarters of the population of Colombia live in the country, even the graduates of rural normal schools seek employment in the towns.

A qualification must be made with respect to both men and women staff in private primary schools. Women teachers in these establishments have frequently been recruited from the so-called upper classes, especially in recent years. They are not true professionals, nor do they depend for their subsistence on their salaries.

They usually live with their parents and work for their own pleasure, or because of a legitimate desire for some economic independence until they marry. From that moment on, it is very improbable that any of these transient teachers will ever consider resuming their teaching careers. Men of this same social class generally go to the university or engage in more brilliant and promising activities.

Among secondary school teachers we find some members of the liberal professions, as well as those who have only reached the antechamber to these careers. Thus we have the natural science teacher who did not finish his medical or pharmaceutical course; the teacher of literature and history or philosophy who has not concluded his law studies; the Latin teacher who left the seminary before taking his vows; the mathematician who failed to graduate as an engineer. In the teaching of languages one sometimes comes across the commercial traveller who has exchanged his merchandise for languages.

However, a large number of secondary teachers are graduates of the higher normal schools, where they have undergone a specialisation as severe as a serious scientific discipline would be. Nevertheless, the majority admit to working like slaves from morning to night in order to meet the cost of living. Lack of time deprives them, in the majority of cases, of the satisfaction of being able to prepare their lessons properly. They are hurt in their pride because they have rightly been nicknamed 'taxi-teachers'. In effect, their day is occupied by going from school to school to give lessons at so much an hour, without a moment's rest between classes. And among those employed on a permanent basis by one single establishment, there are many who are forced after the day's work to give night classes or to take up some other occupation in order to balance their budget.

In the university, the full-time professors are few. Classes are usually held by professional people—doctors, dentists, pharmacists, lawyers, architects, engineers—who give one or two lectures every other day. They are independent persons, who are in no way attracted by the remuneration they receive for their teaching. They do it for their own pleasure or for the spiritual and social contacts the chair affords them. They all have other sources of income: in the first place, their profession, and, in addition, real estate, cattle farms, agriculture, or industries which they have inherited. There may be one professional in a hundred who owes his fortune to his career; there is certainly none who owes it to his teaching activities. Our great educators all died in poverty, with the sole exception of those who gave up teaching for some other occupation.

In Colombia, public instruction comes under the responsibility of three distinct governmental organs: the national government is in charge of the training of primary teachers in the national

normal schools, and of the free distribution of study-materials; the provinces pay the primary teachers; and the municipalities build and allocate school buildings. This arrangement is, in a sense, purely theoretical, because some of the municipalities are too poor to build their own schools, so that this part of the budget has to be attended to by the national or provincial government. The provinces, however, always pay all their primary teachers, with the sole exception of those employed in normal schools and in the primary schools attached to them, which are the responsibility of the national government. Thus any increase in teachers' salaries would weigh heavily on the provincial budget, which is why such an increase is being put off year after year.

Nearly all primary teachers are trained free of charge. It may be said that this is the only profession in which the student is paid to study. It is for this reason, undoubtedly, that the profession attracts so many individuals without the slightest sense of vocation and with no other desire than to be given board and lodging—some instruction as well, it is true, although it is accepted unwillingly—during the years of preparation for a career that the majority of them are not going to take up. This truth has been expressed dramatically by a father's remark: "The useless mouth of the household is already at the training college."

It is not easy for a primary teacher to pass on to a higher level of teaching. His syllabus has been so designed as to make it difficult for him to obtain the High School Diploma. The reason is that this diploma would open the way to the university, arouse in him higher aspirations, and facilitate his escape into more attractive occupations.

Transfers and Dismissals

Primary teachers cannot be dismissed, except in cases of evident incapacity or proved bad conduct; however, a director of education can at any moment order a transfer, in the same way as the Ministry of Education can transfer its normal school teachers: and if such a transfer is made to an unhealthy or very remote place, it amounts to a dismissal. Resignation in consequence of a transfer order is not infrequent. In such cases the teacher will seek employment in a private institution, or else give up his career altogether and take up an occupation that offers him greater security.

If the teacher who has been transferred or dismissed can afford to pay a lawyer to defend his rights he may retain his post, as has repeatedly been the case—the condition being that he has the means to pay for the ensuing law-suit.

Unfortunately, a quite recent decree is going to render useless any defence. According to the new regulation, a transfer may be effected on grounds of service requirements, as assessed by the

respective chief. So at least there will be no more need to pay lawyers' fees!

No Minister or Director of Education will admit that a teacher is dismissed for purely political reasons, but the victims of such dismissals do not always agree with the official concept. If the victim is an important person, as has happened in the case of a number of professors in the national university, there are always much agitation and manifestations of sympathy in society circles; but when a humble schoolmaster is involved, everything passes off in silence.

Some primary teachers, however, know how to defend themselves with great ingenuity. One of these had been dismissed because, on three successive occasions, he had been seen cheering his favourite political party while in a state of intoxication. He appealed to the Political and Municipal Code, which stipulates that any civil servant who gets drunk more than twice within six months is to be dismissed; and he successfully defended himself by proving to the inspector that the third of those cheers—which in fact had been ejaculated in a moment of euphoria—already came within the second semester!

All this goes to show that the individual who takes up teaching must add to his apostolic vocation a large dose of Christian resignation. Yet, notwithstanding this melancholy reality, the teacher continues to be the theme of patriotic speeches and endless promises. However, if in his pre-election campaign the politican refers compassionately to the teacher's meagre remuneration, it is only because this is the technique used by his predecessors or his rivals, and never because his words are the expression of a true feeling. Nobody could be more aloof than he to the needs and problems of the teacher. And once the elections are over, why bother to take the matter up? The verbose candidate suddenly becomes the silent Honourable Member of Parliament.

But it would be unjust to ascribe this indifference solely to the Honourable Member of Parliament. We all keep repeating that the child of to-day will create the fatherland of to-morrow, and that therefore the greatest care must be taken in his education. But we should ask ourselves whether we actually proceed in accordance with this idea. If we entrust the teachers with the most delicate and transcendental of tasks, we should make their position a privileged one from the point of view of government and society.

Some Statistical Data

There exist at present in Colombia 100 normal schools, which are distributed in the following way: 2 university schools, 30 national, 10 provincial, and 30 private but officially recognised primary normal schools, 10 of the same type not yet recognised by the Ministry, 15 rural and 3 agricultural normal schools. With the exception of two religious establishments, there is no private normal

school for men, which shows how little attraction this career has for the man who is free to choose. On the other hand, there are 150 private commercial schools, as against 30 public ones.

Normal schools for primary teachers are called 'higher schools' (*superiores*), in order to encourage the students who attend them and to distinguish them even more from the rural establishments. However, they train only elementary school teachers. Secondary teachers are trained exclusively in the two university normal schools. The duration of the courses is three years for the rural schools, six for the primary, and four for the university normal schools. Entrance requirements are the Elementary School Certificate for the first and second, and either the diploma of the secondary course (i.e. the *bachillerato*), or that of the primary normal school, for the third.

In spite of their large number, the normal schools turn out less than one thousand graduates per year, of which only 20 per cent. are men. According to the most cautious calculations, the country would need for primary instruction alone twenty thousand more teachers than are employed at present. Every year there are one million children of school age who remain illiterate because there is no one to teach them the three R's! Instead of diminishing, illiteracy is on the increase, for although new schools are being opened, the population is growing at an accelerated pace. At the present rate it would take no less than two decades to balance the deficit of teachers, but by then an even larger number would be needed in view of the rapid increase of the population.

Only 15 per cent. of all primary teachers (twenty thousand in official schools and five thousand in private ones) are fully trained. About two thousand teachers, in order to qualify for promotion, attended the habilitation courses held in 1952; certain departments did not provide a single male participant, and in all of them the number of male candidates was extremely low. More than half of all primary teachers—thirteen thousand, according to a ministerial report of 1951—have had only an elementary education. In view of this alarming situation, the state has for various years attempted to improve the teachers' intellectual level by means of holiday courses, conferences, teachers' libraries, and an increase in the number of school inspectors. Thus the state does everything in its power to raise the teachers' standard—except increasing their salaries.

The social benefits available to teachers are of various types. There is a health insurance scheme, which includes clinical and surgical treatment and an allowance corresponding to two-thirds of the salary during the first six months of disablement. Life insurance amounts to one year's salary. Every year, a Christmas bonus corresponding to half a month's salary is paid, and a superannuation payment equal to one month's salary is granted. Retirement

benefits are due after twenty years of service and 50 years of age and are paid on a lifelong basis: 50 per cent. is paid by the national government, and the majority of the provinces contribute the remaining 50 per cent. All teachers receive their full salaries during the holidays, which last two and a half months at the end of each school year, a fortnight in the middle of the year, and eight days at Easter. Men and women receive equal remuneration.

As has been mentioned before, secondary teachers earn between $300 and $400, that is, about twice as much as their primary colleagues. Inspectors usually receive the same remuneration as secondary teachers, with a travelling allowance of $5 in most cases. The average number of classes a secondary master has to teach is eighteen to twenty-two; classes taught in excess of this maximum are considered extras and paid for at the rate of $3 to $3.50 the hour.

The only teachers whose income differs from that mentioned above are those employed in the university training colleges. As these institutes have engaged foreign professionals at a fee of $700, the same remuneration has been granted to their native colleagues, lest the latter should be relegated to a position of inferiority. This constitutes a noteworthy innovation, not only because of the amount, which is unusually large for the teaching profession, but because of the principle of equality for all, regardless of nationality: up to now, it has been customary to pay higher salaries to foreigners.

Finally, it should be noted that the education budget has been increasing continuously. In 1934, the amount set aside for education by the national government was six times as high as the year before: 10 per cent. of the national revenue was to be reserved for this purpose exclusively. Even though this law has never been fully complied with, the discrepancy is dwindling; at present, 50 million pesos out of a budget of 770 million are ear-marked for education. Nearly all the departments, too, have increased their annual education budgets, so that their contribution amounts to about 50 million. To this must be added the 10 million invested by the municipalities. Thus the nation as a whole is at present spending a total of 110 million pesos on education. If the law of 1934 had been fully complied with, these funds would have been increased by another 27 million. It would be well to publicise those hidden resources in order that they might contribute towards the improvement of the teachers' economic and spiritual situation.

AGUSTIN NIETO-CABALLERO.

CHAPTER FIVE

ECUADOR

ALL over the world, teachers' organisations have a good deal to say about the economic situation of their members. In Ecuador, as in most Latin-American countries, what seems fundamental to such discussions is the general valuation accorded to educational work, which is sometimes seen as a sort of mission. But it may be asked whether the value of all occupations depends upon the economic remuneration allotted to them.

It is certain that there is a tendency for people to open their purses for what is highly valued, especially if they have confidence in the results which a certain professional group can produce by its action. But the truth is that in poor communities teachers are not deprived of authority by the mere fact that their salaries are low, whereas in richer communities they enjoy no greater influence, for in reality nothing in this world is either expensive or cheap in itself. Before one can discuss the problem of the just salary one has to consider the general esteem in which a particular kind of occupation is held, the reason why people choose it, the spiritual motives which lead men to pursue it with faith. I am not referring here to the ideas which society has of education. I am taking into account only that total surrender of himself which a true educator has to make, without thinking of inadequate salaries, when his spirit is sustained by a deep sense of vocation. In such a case the satisfactions given by one's own conscience are the best payment. In Ecuador and in the less wealthy Latin-American states, such feelings among teachers are not rare.

This attitude among a part of the teaching profession is in contrast to the fact that the state does not yet take education seriously. Politically organised society does not forget that teachers are by their very nature inoffensive persons, who seldom have recourse to force and who are without any kind of executive authority. Hence the state, whatever may be its party-political organisation, expresses constantly through its organ of action—that is, the government—the ardent hopes of what education might achieve, and directs towards teachers its most lyrical messages of high appreciation. What is lacking is any relation between the speeches and a well-defined policy leading to comprehensive support, between the emotional tone of the hopes expressed in public

declarations and the means offered to educators to convert all this into reality.

The problem of adequate remuneration of teachers is no more than a derivative problem. The root of the situation lies in those psychological factors which influence social relations. And to trace out the path of this root is not easy. Are teachers held in high esteem and respected, or are they despised and ridiculed objects of sympathy? Social reactions towards teachers are complex and in no way standardised. A phrase of Willard Waller holds as well for Ecuador as for every other country: "Teachers, then, are not extraordinary human beings, but the role which society asks them to fulfil is evidently no ordinary one."

Salaries have been appreciably increased in Ecuador by the National Congress as from 1953, but the truth is that the economic situation of teachers remains fundamentally the same. For here, as everywhere in Latin America, there is continuous inflation and thus rises in salaries produce only temporary alleviation. No increase manages to keep pace with the cost of living. Connected to all such increases there should be means of social defence, for example a law regulating the prices of food, clothing, and rents, and systems of rationing which would be an expression of active collaboration between the better-to-do classes and the less-privileged ones.

The Law on Scales and Salaries of Public Teachers (*Ley de Escalafón y Sueldos del Magisterio Nacional*), passed by the Constituent Assembly in 1944–5, grants certain guarantees to teachers and professors with long years of service, but the salary paid at the beginning of their career is not attractive. For young people of both sexes, and especially for men, there are occupations which carry with them fewer responsibilities and less preparation than are needed for teaching, and which are nevertheless better paid—these are found either in public service or in private employment. A scale which was well adjusted to the conditions of our time would have to offer solid guarantees, right from the beginning, in order to secure the recruitment of young people. Indeed these desert the profession because, in spite of the regulations controlling conditions of work (for example, they are granted the same number of hours of work as older people), they earn salaries much lower than do experienced persons. And one has to note that simply to count up years of teaching or of administrative work does not lead to a significant evaluation of experience, or of richer and more varied knowledge, or of teaching skill, or of personal and professional gifts. Time by itself has no meaning.

In general, teachers begin their work in Ecuador in schools situated in rural regions or in very small towns, and they have the title of *normalista*, obtained in normal schools, nowadays called by the high-sounding title of normal colleges (*Colegios Normales*).

There are four of these in the republic, and their aim is to prepare teachers for city schools, which distinguishes them from the eight establishments intended to train teachers for rural schools (*Escuelas Normales Rurales*). In any case, however, primary teachers in Ecuador can move with considerable freedom from a rural school towards schools in larger and larger cities until they reach the capital of the republic; and from an urban school of the usual type they can go to one of an experimental character (*Centro Escolar*), or to the demonstration school of a training college. Later still, they may become teachers in secondary schools, either in a college [1] preparing for the Bachelor's degree (*Bachillerato*) in modern humanities, or in a vocational or technical college. And from such secondary schools they may move towards higher and university teaching. But for such promotion they will have to pursue additional studies, for example to replace their title of *normalista* (Bachelor in the Sciences of Education obtained at the Normal College) with the title of Bachelor in Modern Humanities (in which there are three specialisations: mathematics; biological sciences and philosophy; and social sciences), in order to complete the university studies which would give access to the doctorate or even to such professions as that of engineer. The titles of Bachelor in Modern Humanities and Bachelor in Educational Science are equally valid for entry to the Faculties of Philosophy, Arts, or Education. There is in Ecuador no rigid barrier, based on an examination system, separating those who intend to teach at the university level and those who intend to teach at the secondary level—and this distinguishes our country from many other Latin-American countries. In Chile, for example, students of training colleges may not enter the Higher School of Education, because only those who have completed an ordinary secondary education may do so. When I acted as professor of education in Chile in 1945, at the Institute of Education, where there are students from nearly every Latin-American state, much surprise was expressed when I told them that there were no barriers in Ecuador to the flexible movement of teachers towards the different levels of education, from the primary to the higher. If the structure of education is based upon an essential idea of unity and correlation, it is surely unjust to keep teachers in a predetermined area of work for the whole of their life, simply on legal pretexts.

No positions are closed in Ecuador on grounds of regulations or laws; no teaching position whatever is restricted by regulation to those who have pursued studies at any particular level or at any particular kind of institution. If, notwithstanding lack of such

[1] These 'colleges' are essentially secondary schools and should not be confused with the 'colleges' in the United Kingdom or the United States. —EDITORS.

qualifications, a teacher has demonstrated special gifts through his lectures or publications or by teaching work of outstanding merit, when, in a word, there is some justification, the doors towards higher work are kept open. Such elasticity, however, exposes one to certain dangers, above all to the influence of party politics and to the manoeuvres of certain closed cliques of teachers who act as pressure groups (*camarillas*).

Laws, regulations, and salary scales apply equally to men and women. The latter may vote, but are not compelled to, for the president of the republic, deputies, senators, mayors and municipal councillors. However, women abstain from intervention in politics, and this passive attitude allows them, in 100 per cent. of cases, to reach the age of retirement without any interruption of service, free from political intervention or reprisals. Since the education of women dates only from the beginning of the present century, their preparation, seen as a whole, leaves much to be desired. They are well suited to primary teaching, but their knowledge, their critical capacity, the originality of their views, are much weaker at the secondary level. They have only limited initiative and submit easily to the autocratic regime of persons who use an imperative and dictatorial manner to hide a lack of capacity to lead. Among women teachers there are no leaders.

There are nowadays more women than men in the Faculty of Arts, but the results of this higher education are not yet very flattering. Even now there are among women few professors, few true representatives of culture, of scientific or of educational thought. Nor is there among them much of an attitude which would favour research or the exercise of independent judgment. Women display clearly all the flaws of our higher education.

Low Salaries and a Monopoly of Occupations

Ecuador is one of the countries in which the centralising tendency of the administration is most strongly marked. The Ministry of Education accumulates powers and functions and seems to wish to decide upon even the most minor problems. Provinces and local districts have only a small field within which they can move freely. Let it be noted that it is not of fundamental importance whether one has a centralised or decentralised administration. On the one hand, centralisation allows the raising of funds with which one might help the less-developed regions. But the danger lies in a heavy, slow, and paternal administrative apparatus which raises obstacles to any action by lower authorities.

The salary scales are national in their application, and the municipalities have made real efforts to pay teachers up to the level specified for them. Some municipalities pay even more, as for example, Quito and Guayaquil. Private schools and colleges, almost all of which are Catholic, pay salaries lower than those of the state.

Such, however, are found only in the cities, and they charge high fees. They educate, to all intents and purposes, only the wealthy classes; their action is not really a comprehensive one. Yet this type of denominational education has grown during recent years, particularly in the number of colleges which prepare students for the Bachelor's degree. Teachers who can properly be considered members of the staff of these establishments are few in number, for many of these schools count on the help of public school teachers, except for those subjects which have a frankly religious orientation, for example philosophy.

The national salary scale has ten categories, rising from the first to the tenth. There is a mechanism which takes into account years of service, degrees or diplomas, and duties to be discharged. But as in all mechanisms which start out from an abstract idea of the existence of an average man, individual differences are not sufficiently considered—neither those which are much above the mean, nor those which are much below it, and which may even apply to persons of such low ability that one ought to try to get rid of them in the interests of the children and young people they educate. Differences in individual or professional capacity between teachers having similar paper qualifications may be immense, and the highest abilities are never sufficiently taken into account. The higher posts in the administration, that of minister, permanent secretary, director-general, departmental chief, are for politicians who busy themselves with petty personal and transitory politics, especially with the business of electing the president of the republic. An electoral triumph brings about changes in the educational service at the level of these higher posts. One pays for the activities in the election by granting positions in the civil service and in the Ministry of Education; and thus education suffers, since these politicians are never persons of note in the field of learning or scholarship, or in any scientific or technical domain.

Every level of the scale comprises, on the one hand, the basic salary which is the same for all, and the functional salary which is added on the grounds of the duties discharged by the teacher or professor. The salary corresponding to the first category is 500 sucres, and that of the tenth is 1,118 sucres. In addition, certain percentages are paid: for example, teachers in secondary education receive 30 per cent. more; administrative or technical posts in the Ministry of Education, 60 per cent. more. A teacher in the secondary school in the tenth category at an age between 30 and 60 years and with more than twenty years' service receives a salary equivalent to 100 U.S. dollars a month.

But a secondary teacher has only between twelve and fifteen hours of teaching a week, and a university teacher has only six. One has to note here that in Ecuador neither secondary nor university teaching are fully professionalised. At these levels professors,

or at least 60 per cent. of them, are doctors, lawyers, engineers, dentists, pharmacists, etc., and in general without any previous preparation for the teaching profession. The other 40 per cent. is composed of persons who have begun their teaching work in primary schools. But the latter, like the former, allot to teaching, because of the small financial support given to national education, only a fraction of their daily time—in general between two and three hours. The rest of their time is occupied in the case of the former—that is to say, those people who are not really teachers but, say, doctors—in the exercise of their private professions or other forms of public or private employment. As for the latter (those who live and work for education) they peddle their little parcel of knowledge—that of their speciality—in various places. Among these there is a great number who make use of their free time to study in university departments which have no relation at all to education, for example in the School of Law. In semi-colonial countries there is a great love of the doctoral degree, especially when those personal qualities which cannot be acquired by passing examinations are very weak.

Seen against this kind of background it is clear that education is nowadays taken less seriously than formerly. Many of those within the teaching profession and of those who belong to it only while using it as a supplementary source of income, prepare themselves to leave it. Among such people there is to-day a commercial tendency which one could not have imagined in better days: a tendency to accumulate professions and salaries and duties. This is one of the reasons why such people find it hard to do work of a fruitful, interesting, or responsible kind. An example that might be quoted is that of a person who exercises two distinct professions, that of lawyer and that of professor of education. Through his many occupations and activities he earns a salary about equal to that of the president of the republic.

For the rest, and in accordance with the legal scales, salaries are the same for all, without any differences based upon race, sex, religious or political creed. But in extreme cases, the possibilities of remuneration go from the single, low, and penurious salary, which is the general rule, to a monopoly of functions, duties, and salaries for a few privileged individuals.

Mobility and Promotion

There is no comprehensive plan in Ecuador for moving teachers from region to region, especially into more remote and less-developed parts, such as is found in Mexico. Such mobility, if part of a programme, helps to awaken national feeling among educators before whose eyes must be presented a complete and well-articulated image of the fatherland, if they are to display conduct becoming a true citizen. Transfer of personnel in Ecuador never

has this high aim of stimulating true national patriotism, but only that of raising difficulties for those whom the authorities look upon with suspicion or spite for political reasons. Teachers who have organised their family life for many years in a city, and especially in the capital, refuse to accept this kind of transfer. It is well known that orders to take up a post elsewhere represent, in such cases, merely indirect dismissal.

Promotion has, of course, another aspect. If there is any real movement towards the higher rungs of the ladder there is never any lack of persons willing to move from province to province or from the capital to a smaller city. Nevertheless, when such advancements imply stepping into the higher posts of the provincial administration, the security of the teachers concerned may be compromised seriously by virtue of the unhappy fact (which has grave consequences for the quality of the service) that administrative posts have an importance which is political rather than professional. In consequence, the tenure of the promoted teacher lasts only as long as that of the Minister of Education or of the President, who have been responsible for his promotion. Later on he will be relieved of his post and return to the lower rungs. In not a few cases a provincial director of education has been demoted to a post lower than that of a local inspector or even into that of a simple head of a school.

Nor is it rare that, for such posts as provincial director, and above all for that of national director, individuals are nominated who are completely outside the educational service, or else teachers who have turned towards politics to the point of having become professional politicians—a field of action which requires no previous preparation at all—rather than professional educators. It may well be taken into account that the higher qualities of the teaching profession can be developed only by a persistent, noble, and disinterested effort lasting as long as life. To such efforts politicians are averse. Bold and surprising political moves permit them to gain victories without internal struggle or suffering. In a short time they obtain all that they desire—honours and wealth—and their appetites are satisfied by such rewards. It is among men of this sort that one finds candidates for high ministerial posts.

Promotions of less importance, for example from any one step of the scale to another, are made within a mechanism from which teachers can hope for nothing except the passage of time and favourable reports from school inspectors. In the colleges, decisions on such points are taken by administrative committees who are generally deprived of the data necessary to form proper judgments. There is complete lack of a method of inspecting secondary and technical education based on, or under, the guidance of competent specialists available, and with the aim of directing and helping

teachers in an intelligent and comprehensive manner, rather than controlling them and rigidly applying various salary scales.

The whole of the salary scale should, in fact, be made more flexible. Periods as long as four years between one step and the next are much too long when one takes into account the inadequate economic incentive. In addition, real promotion is never immediate: one still has to wait for a vacancy.

Selection and Professional Training

Candidates for teaching positions are drawn from the respectable though economically weak middle classes, as in all Latin-American countries—a layer of society from which also emerge future doctors and lawyers. In fact, the teaching profession is closely bound up with those social classes which produce the liberal professions—such as journalism, or the civil service at all levels—and which deal with intellectual activities as well as with the life of political parties.

The social structure of these Latin-American states offers a rich field of observation for foreign sociologists, and especially for those of European or North American origin. When surveying it one should not overlook the depressed situation of the Indians—a situation which should be noted in its three aspects: illiteracy, the absence of the means that might convert the individual into a useful consumer in the modern world, and finally the social depression which is the consequence of these other factors. But the Indian who is gifted in the use of the instruments of culture, who has become a good customer in modern trade, is another matter. His field of possibilities is immense. In his quest for education and for the betterment of his economic condition he will not encounter any barriers at all, for in this region of the world one finds no racial discrimination, which, after all, was never a discrimination against race but only against cultural debasement.

Even if it might be said that the future teacher is hampered by inadequate financial means which do not permit easy access to the university—through admission to the colleges leading to the Bachelor's degree in modern humanities—it is nevertheless certain that to share in the function of teaching counts in Latin-America, thanks to a deeply rooted tradition. The most worthy representatives of these countries have always had faith in the cause of education. The greatest statesmen have also been, in one way or another, educators of peoples. The case of Sarmiento may be quoted, for it is symbolic: this schoolmaster of genius, this writer of great merit, who succeeded in becoming president of the Argentine nation and who laid the foundations of the Argentine of to-day, said on one occasion: " I am not even a real author; I am only a schoolmaster and nothing more."

In contemporary painting as well as in literary art, Ecuador holds a place of acknowledged importance throughout Latin-America,

and these excellent painters and novelists have almost always been teachers. Thus we have among our educators intellectuals of real value, and one might even add that those who turn to politics succeed easily in becoming senators or deputies, in being appointed to important diplomatic posts, or even in becoming ministers of state.

In-Service Training of Teachers

In this field there is lacking any systematic action based on well-graded courses attuned to the various levels of capacity and connected with the difficulties or problems which arise in day-to-day work. There is a need for careful inquiries to investigate into the fundamental problems of education and of the administration of schools. It would be well worth while paying attention to the immediate interests of teachers and schools in their relation to community life, before imposing more abstract material on the teachers-turned-pupils.

The Faculty of Philosophy of the Central University has organised during the last few years summer courses for teachers, but always without any previous investigation into the conditions under which teachers live, and without any attempt to fit courses or plans to the aptitudes and capacities of those who will attend them.

It would be important to conceive the preparation of the teacher as a task which never ends, and to attempt to deal with it through work in small discussion groups. The lecture method, as such, allowing listeners to remain passive, never solves the problems in an organic manner.

Appointment and Dismissal

The motives which allow the dismissal of teachers are expressed with absolute precision in the law on salary scales: proved professional incapacity; immorality (following legal steps and the hearing of the accused); and failure to discharge the duties attached to the post. These are classical and universal motives for dismissal. Of course, the word 'immorality' may be understood in different ways at different times, and there may be arguments. As for competency, the essential basis of any profession, and in particular of those which, like teaching, have social consequences bearing on the present and future life of a people, politicians very seldom succeed in attaching the necessary importance to it. Incompetent teachers often have biological and psychological means of defence: they may possess the art and the technique of hiding or disguising their inferiority. Further, they are, by their very nature, persons without any ideas of their own, who get out of any position of responsibility either over persons or things. They are thus quite inoffensive, and administrators forget the children and adolescents whom they may be teaching. They do not look beyond their own bureaucratic convenience.

The most frequent cause for dismissal might well be 'proved professional incapacity', but, as we have seen, this problem is usually ignored. Dismissals for the other causes, too, are very seldom found. Nevertheless, in days of political upheaval one finds a considerable number of cases of violent and illegal dismissal so that posts of importance may be captured. There is, of course, the possibility of appeal, which in cases of the highest importance might be taken as far as the Council of State or the National Congress.

Conditions of Work

The primary school teacher works in class between twenty-four and thirty hours a week, in addition to having to attend committees, parent councils, and so on. Furthermore, he has to do a good deal of work at home, for example, to prepare his lessons or to correct the written work of his pupils. The secondary schoolmaster teaches for no more than fifteen hours a week; the university lecturer for about six. A fundamental reform, aimed at bettering the general economic position in secondary and higher education, a reform that would allow the complete dedication of the teacher or professor to the task of national education, might well consist in doubling the hours of work and doubling the salaries. This would involve the true professionalisation of the educational function and the granting of satisfactory salaries, which would accord with a more dignified life, allowing those responsible for secondary and higher education to play a more worthy role in the community. All this is already characteristic of considerable areas of the educational field in Brazil, Mexico, and Chile.

Teachers have the right to fifteen days' holiday at Christmas and to eleven at Easter. At the end of each year the long holidays last two-and-a-half months: the exact dates vary in each of the three natural regions of Ecuador. The dates given correspond to the Inter-Andean Region, in which two-thirds of the population of the republic are to be found.

All teachers may join in political life, and a considerable number, especially in the cities, belong to parties. Only a relatively small number spend much time in such activities, and those who do tend to lose professional competence. Almost all who do display any interest in politics belong to the parties of the centre or of the left. Let it be noted that principles do not play much part in these political activities. It is rather a question of making arrangements and pacts between parties, which might allow them to derive advantages and to obtain good posts in public administration.

In Ecuador there are all kinds of measures for the achievement of social security, and teachers receive the corresponding benefits. The pension fund grants loans to teachers, enabling them to acquire homes furnished with the basic hygienic equipment. In addition, the same fund may help to build such dwellings, and as a result there

hardly exists a teacher who is not the owner of his house. This particular guarantee has improved the conditions of life of almost all.

Teachers have full liberty in the selection of teaching methods, textbooks, and pedagogical procedure, but this freedom is not used sufficiently, since the highest degree of choice could operate only on the basis of a well-founded professional conscience, a broad knowledge of education, and a completely objective mind.

It is interesting to note that one is beginning to find interesting experiments with regard to the preparation of textbooks for secondary or primary schools, and that it is easy to obtain finance for such teaching aids.

Professional Organisations

The life of professional organisations has always been of a somewhat unstable kind, and in no case have they succeeded in gaining the support of a large number of teachers. Small groups have often lasted longer. Perhaps this may arise from the fact that neither large nor small groups are altogether free to degenerate into activities leading to the satisfaction of purely personal ambitions. There is a certain lack of interest in these associations on the part of persons in important posts. There is lacking, too, any effective and constant interest in the improvement of the professional competence of teachers. Teachers, in fact, tend to gather together only to draft requests for an increase of their salaries or to seek, from among their friends, the names of supporters who would help them to present timid complaints against the injustice of the authorities. Very few women ever belong to any of these associations.

Starting from the Ministry of Education, there is an autocratic tendency in the whole administration. Teachers, either individually or collectively, are seldom consulted regarding the methods of teaching to be recommended in any particular case, though it may be added that very seldom are any orders or resolutions given which have any real relevance to the technique of teaching. Reforms and counter-reforms are merely the result of the subjective feelings of various Ministers of Education, who sometimes use as their advisers political teachers who think in terms of political rather than of educational results, and, in consequence, the reforms have but a transitory effect, which is scarcely surprising considering that they are never preceded by any objective investigation.

Until now, teachers have done nothing to modify such tendencies and to replace them by real discussions within their own associations—a procedure which might make the views of educators prevail within the ministries.

Social Position

The level of culture as well as the social status of a teacher depends upon the level of economic comfort available to him. As a

rule his circle of friends is rather small and restricted, notwithstanding the fact that in public life he makes many contacts.

Almost all teachers own a radio set. They tend to hold a family party with their neighbours at least once a fortnight. All go to the cinema and to public shows, buying seats at a price which their incomes permit. In rural districts, however, teachers are the best-paid civil servants in their region.

In Latin-American countries the army is better-paid than the teaching body. This is true especially in those countries which, since the wars of independence, round about 1822, have found themselves involved in complicated frontier problems. Suspicion of the neighbour, especially if the latter is stronger and ambitious, has not yet disappeared. Much money is consequently wasted, in fact to a degree out of all proportion to the economic capacity of underdeveloped countries, in maintaining armies that contribute nothing or at best very little to the cause of national progress. Throughout their life, officers of the army earn more than teachers, and the highest professional authorities in the educational field receive salaries which hardly match those of junior officers. Hence the number of teachers who join the army is large.

The salaries paid to employees of banks, of industry, or of merchants of the second or third degree of importance (not to mention the first) are higher than those paid to the best-qualified educators. On the other hand, members of liberal professions, at the beginning of their careers, are in no better condition than teachers. Hence the latter, doctors and lawyers, for example, tend to turn towards secondary education as if it were a lifeboat. There are to-day in all the larger cities of Ecuador an excessive number of lawyers who attempt to solve their economic problem by finding some form of public employment, as a result of which many have entered the educational service.

The majority of married teachers have at least one maid-servant. There is nothing surprising in this if one is at all acquainted with life in the less-developed Latin-American countries. In an industrial age, manual work tends to acquire a certain dignity, and human beings are considered to have worth, however humble their work may be. In highly industrialised countries like the United States, personal service becomes a luxury. On the other hand, in countries that have remained rather backward and which still live under rural conditions and with a semi-feudal system of ownership, manual work is worth little. To have two or more servants would not be particularly remarkable. But let it not be forgotten that to reward manual work too little may be considered a social calamity.

On the one hand a great responsibility is laid on the shoulders of teachers. Their work is looked upon almost as a mission rather than a profession. Yet their activities are feared when they actually begin to act or to speak with true conviction, and as a

result of this antinomy it seems that some would prefer teachers to be rather colourless, small, incapable and harmless beings, servants of the state and of society. Teachers ought to be perfect, but must never act as if they were. They must be agreeable to the community and not attempt to draw it out of that somnolence which prevents progress. If one ever raises a teacher on to a pedestal, it is to prevent him from exercising real influence. Often teachers live in a 'no-man's-land' which anybody, apparently, may at any moment claim as his own. Society has been and still is shaped by adults, and the true educator must seek to give to his pupils—whether they be children or adolescents—confidence in themselves, and help them to move towards moral autonomy. But, arising from this, the true educator seems often to be considered as an enemy of adults. Needless to say, this arises only as a social and never as an individual feeling.

The value of education and of culture is appreciated in terms of what one is able to do in favour of those who cannot defend themselves. The privilege of a teacher, or better of an educator, consists in helping to bring about the creation of a world that is for ever new. And from this fact arise, at least for the true educators, problems which bear upon their life and work. For there are times when they feel and see themselves abandoned. The businessman, the captain of industry, the landowner, the priest, the doctor, the lawyer, the officer, and even the ordinary working man, watch jealously the work of educators when they devote themselves to the betterment of the world. Yet, social resistance is never obstinate and never to be found at all points at once. As long as the world puts ardent faith in the needs of the spirit, there will be support for true educators.

JULIO LARREA.

APPENDIX—STATISTICAL DATA

Number of Teachers

Pre-school, 178; Primary school, 8,025; Secondary and technical, 2,956; Higher education, 511.

Public education, 7,616; Municipal, 1,214; Private schools (religious, confessional), 3,020.

Number of Pupils per Teacher in Public and Private Schools

Pre-school	41·9
Urban schools	35·8
Rural schools	48·1
Full secondary schools	10·0
Technical schools and *colegios* (modern humanities):	
Technical-vocational schools	18·8
Universities	8·2
Polytechnic schools	3·1

CHAPTER SIX

PERU

In Peru, as in all Latin-American countries, the teaching profession is relatively young. If a profession is constituted by a group of persons who have received technical training in a specialised school, who exercise certain social functions within their community, who, in return for their services, have attained a certain economic level, and lastly, who present a fairly high degree of cohesion among themselves—then the teaching profession in the Latin-American countries has made its appearance in social life only in the course of the twentieth century. The first normal schools were set up many years after the beginning of this century. The idea that teaching implies a social function is being accepted very slowly. In societies which, in many ways, still maintain a feudal structure, the teacher's remuneration is painfully low. It is not easy to find professional solidarity in associations whose functioning is restricted by a number of factors.

In Peru, teaching continues to be a socially inferior profession. Only small groups of non-professional teachers, especially university professors, have been able to escape this connotation of inferiority. The factors which have determined this state of affairs in Peru are manifold and varied. We shall mention only two; both deeply rooted in the traditions of the country. In the first place, education was organised for the promotion of an *élite*. The idea of education for a minority group has prevailed for centuries. The civilisation of the Incas reserved the instruction given by the *amautas* to the members of the nobility. Even when, in 1551, a university was founded in Peru with the purpose of spreading the culture of the West in the New World, social and economic conditions were such that a university education remained inaccessible to those who did not belong to the upper classes. The colonial period ended in the third decade of the nineteenth century; but to this day colonial practices and the system created by the aristocracy have persisted in the organisation of education. In a society ruled by groups of persons enjoying the twofold privilege of 'blood' and wealth, teaching is not a liberal profession, i.e., a profession of free men. There is a profound separation between the great mass of the people and the ruling class. Consequently, the idea of a single nation hardly exists, and the teacher is not considered to have a social function.

In addition to the *élite*-oriented character of education, another no less important factor must be mentioned as a cause for the low regard accorded to the teaching profession: the centralisation of political power, a feature stemming from the earliest days of the country's history. The administration of education is bureaucratically controlled from the capital of the republic, and the teachers are but obedient servants carrying out orders which include even insignificant details. By means of decrees, regulations, and resolutions, the Ministry of Public Education prescribes the duties and obligations of teachers. This legislation, casuistic and microscopic in its attention to detail, crushes the teacher's initiative. Article 109 of the Regulations for Secondary Education states fourteen prohibitions for teachers, one of which reads as follows: "Teachers are forbidden to criticise the orders of higher authorities or of superiors."

The teaching profession in Peru falls into three distinct classes. Even where such stratification corresponds to differences that exist all over the world, the social and economic distances between these groups, the intellectual standing and, consequently, the personal prestige accorded to their members, are so great that it seems necessary to study them separately. These classes are university, secondary, and primary teachers respectively.

University Level: the 'Catedrático'

The first university teachers in Peru were members of the clergy, and this is the reason why here, as in most Latin-American countries, they are called *catedráticos*. The root of this term is the same as that of 'cathedral', the church where the bishop has his seat. *Catedrático* always denotes a high official of the church, a person who enjoys considerable prestige and power, a member of the intelligentsia. However, it was not long before the clergy had to share their functions with the lay dignitaries of the colony. In a society where personal significance could not be achieved through work, skills, or political power, university teaching and university degrees were considered solely as a means for the attainment of personal prestige. The occupation of a university professor was in no way a profession: it was simply a decorative activity carried on side by side with other occupations; it might also be described as a means used for the achievement of more important ends. This same tradition has prevailed since the establishment of the republic in 1821: the university professors are the heirs of the old colonial nobility. Besides their teaching, they have other occupations which definitely rank more highly in their esteem: they are lawyers, physicians, engineers, owners of large landed estates, and, frequently, prominent politicians with the greatest of influence on the public affairs of the country. Their true professional sphere is not in the university but outside it. The university is an episode,

a secondary activity, a non-professional occupation taking up not more than a few hours per week. These conditions still prevail to a large extent in 1953. There are very few persons in the universities of Peru who devote themselves exclusively and professionally to the service of the institution. There have been two fundamental consequences of this system: the university has failed to fulfil its research function, and the students have had no tutors, guides, or masters.

The incipient industrialisation that developed in Peru during the years following World War I favoured the growth of a middle class. The members of the upper classes became attracted by economic activities; and middle-class individuals were channelled towards the university. This change must be considered as important. However, it still holds true that the title of university professor constitutes a mark of personal prestige, a means for consolidating the careers of doctors, lawyers, engineers, politicians, businessmen.

Owing to its position as a stronghold of the socially and economically powerful classes, the university used to constitute one of the politicians' major preoccupations. The invasion of the university by professors and students of middle-class origin, which has been taking place during the last years, has produced effects of the greatest importance: these middle classes, which have risen quickly towards 'enlightenment' (the use of this term is intended to evoke historical associations), are agents of protest against the traditional social order. For this reason the university continues to be a focus of preoccupation to politicians. Peruvian universities frequently become the scene of tumultuous political agitation. All this brings discredit to the status and position of the university professor. Very few persons are willing to stake their future on one single card, that of the university, when it is known that the position of the *catedrático* may at any moment be revoked by a reform, a reorganisation, or by the closing of an institution. It is felt among teachers that one may have a position to-day, but that nobody can predict what will be happening to it to-morrow.

The lower grades of the university career in Peru comprise the instructors, who serve as assistants in courses requiring some form of supervision of the students' practical work (e.g. laboratory practice, clinical practice in medicine, archaeological exploration, teaching practice, etc.). Interim professors are required to lecture; they may be either assistant or full professors. In either case they are appointed for one academic year (which begins on April 1st and ends on March 31st), at the end of which their appointment may be renewed. Senior professors (*catedráticos*) are appointed for a five-year period at first; for ten years the second time; and for an unlimited term the third time. The direction of the faculties and of the university is restricted to senior professors. Only persons hold-

ing a doctoral degree are eligible for a professorship. The top rank of the career is reached by the professor who, having devoted himself fully to the university to the exclusion of any other occupation, is entitled to certain extra allowances and to indefinite tenure. The salaries of professors in the lower ranks go up to 300 soles [1] per month; those of porters, gardeners, guards, carpenters, electricians, etc., employed in the university are never less than 500 soles per month. The income of top-ranking professors in the University of Lima, which is the wealthiest in the country, may in exceptional cases be as much as 4,000 soles per month, i.e. equivalent to the salary earned by third-class employees in insurance companies, banks, or industrial firms, and therefore below the income of a middling member of the liberal professions.

There are no associations of university professors in Peru. On the other hand, all the liberal professions are organised in professional and cultural associations. It should, perhaps, be mentioned here that another factor preventing the final professionalisation of university teaching lies in the frequent demands made on professors to serve in government posts, owing to the small number of qualified persons available. Such demands lead to their temporary or permanent estrangement from the university.

Secondary Level: the 'Profesor'

The present Law of Public Education (Law No. 9,359 of April 1st, 1941) requires secondary school teachers to hold a professional diploma awarded either by the pedagogical institutes which are directly subordinated to the Ministry of Public Education, or by the education schools of the universities. The same law stipulates, however, that if no candidates with teacher's diplomas are available, persons holding other professional diplomas or academic degrees may be appointed. The great majority of individuals who are, at present, teaching in the secondary schools or *colégios* of Peru hold no professional diploma whatsoever. According to statistics published in the so-called 'Plan of National Education' (1950), only 20 per cent. of active secondary teachers have a teacher's diploma proper; 12 per cent. have other diplomas (lawyers, doctors, engineers, bachelors of science or literature, etc.); and 57 per cent. of all secondary teachers are persons without any university education whatever.

The fact that the great majority (practically 80 per cent.) of secondary school teachers in Peru lack a teacher's diploma shows that the profession is, in reality, still very weak. It is weak, not only as a social force, but even in its own sphere, in the secondary school, and in the field of educational activities. The professional secondary teachers constitute a minority in comparison with those

[1] $1 U.S. = approximately 16 soles; £1 = approximately 45 soles.

persons who do the same type of work but whose interest is merely accessory and circumstantial. Like the university professors, these latter have occupations outside the school which are economically more rewarding and to which, therefore, they pay more attention.

The causes for this situation are analogous to those mentioned with reference to university professors. Until recent times, secondary education has been the privilege of the upper social classes. The majority of those engaged in teaching at the secondary level were members either of these classes or of the clergy, without any interest in the development of the teaching profession as such. Education has lacked social significance and failed to fulfil its function of social integration; thus, the social conditions necessary to the formation of a strong teaching profession have been absent.

The statistical figures mentioned above are subject to an important qualification. In the secondary schools of Lima, and a few large cities, professional teachers do not constitute such a striking minority as in the schools of the more remote towns. They are reluctant to go to places where there are no other prospects but teaching, with its implication of a low economic level and, above all, of life in an environment lacking in cultural stimulation. Moreover, in these towns the stability of the teacher's position is constantly threatened by powerful influences exercised from the capital. Senators and representatives intervene frequently and decisively in the Ministry of Education in matters concerning the appointment and dismissal of teachers. The dismissed teacher has to undertake a long journey to the capital, where the administrative apparatus that determines his fate is concentrated. The outcome of his appeal is never certain. Under such conditions, one can easily understand his reluctance to move to small towns or remote regions.

The relatively insignificant number of qualified teachers, the instability of their posts, the centralisation of administration, the casuistic regulations that control every aspect of the teacher's activity, the absorbing demands of a rigid curriculum and of inflexible study plans—all these are detrimental to the teacher's initiative. Hampered by these factors, he is forced to fall back on routine.

There are, in Peru, associations of secondary teachers, but they have no significance whatsoever from either the professional or the cultural point of view. Their existence is a passive one, and very often their activities are controlled by the authorities of the Ministry of Public Education.

The system of remuneration of secondary teachers reflects the conditions described above. As only part of their time is devoted to teaching, they do not receive a fixed salary corresponding to their professional training. Their remuneration is determined by the number of hours taught per week; and it varies according to the category of their schools. Schools are classified according to two

criteria: location and number of students. The highest salaries are paid to teachers in military colleges; the next highest are those paid to teachers employed in the capital; remuneration is somewhat lower in some other large cities; it is lowest in the provincial towns.

The maximum earnings of a secondary teacher devoting practically all his time to teaching are below those of a young sub-lieutenant in the army. Even in Lima, the maximum salary of a secondary school teacher is below that of an army major.

The new Regulations for Secondary Education issued by the Military Government of Peru establish various hierarchies for the career of the secondary school teacher. It has been the aim of these Regulations to increase the number of full-time teachers. The hierarchy of the teaching career has to a large extent been modelled on the military hierarchy. The highest posts are those of the so-called 'directive personnel'; and those who do not hold such directive posts merely carry out orders received from their superiors.

Elementary Level: the 'Maestro'

The position of the primary school teacher in Peru is in many ways an inferior one. In addition to his extremely low economic status and his quite insignificant social influence, he is a subaltern in the ranks of his own profession. The educational level of secondary teachers is generally considered to be of university standing. The primary teacher, on the other hand, does not reach this level, his training being shorter than that of the former. Thus there exist, within the framework of the teaching profession in Peru, notable differences between secondary and primary school teachers, which are reflected by the lack of professional and cultural connections between the two groups as well as by the feelings of superiority of the former in relation to the latter.

Owing to the low level of the requirements for entry into the primary teaching profession, candidates tend to come from the lowest social classes; and their choice is determined not by vocational reasons but solely by the desire for security, although the career is a modest one and offers no possibilities for personal advancement. The number of women teachers is increasing steadily, while the number of men is on the decrease.

Primary school teachers are divided into four categories. The first consists of the holders of the urban normal school diploma (awarded after five years of secondary education and four years in the urban normal school). The second group comprises the graduates of rural normal schools (three years of secondary education and three years in the rural normal school). The third category includes those who have concluded their secondary education but have not taken a normal school course; and the fourth

consists of persons whose qualifications are lower still. According to official statistics published by the Ministry of Education ('Plan of National Education', 1950), more than 50 per cent. of all primary teachers in Peru fall into the third and fourth categories.

A teacher classified in the first category earns a monthly salary of 710 soles; the salary of an army sub-lieutenant (a rank which is reached at about 22 years of age) is 1,121 soles. Teachers in the second, third, and fourth categories receive 570 soles, 410 soles, and 328 soles per month, respectively. Whereas the salary of a sub-lieutenant constitutes an initial step in a career which offers constant opportunities for advancement, the teacher's remuneration remains relatively unchanged throughout his life. Possible increments are the following: for each child, an allowance of 30 soles per month; for every five years of service, an increase of 5 per cent.; a special allowance for teachers serving in schools in outlying regions amounting to between 5 and 20 per cent. of their salary. These economic conditions account for the very low prestige of the primary teaching career. It should be added that primary school teachers, unlike their colleagues in secondary schools and universities, have no possibility of supplementing their income by means of additional activities.

During recent years, a few primary school teachers working in towns that have universities (Lima, Arequipa, Cuzco, and Trujillo) have been taking courses in the Faculties of Education, which has enabled them to go on to secondary teaching. This trend is undoubtedly desirable from the teacher's personal point of view; but it tends to create what may eventually become a grave problem for the elementary school: the loss of its best elements.

The Ministry of Public Education has on repeated occasions organised holiday courses for teachers in the lower categories with the aim of making it possible for them to rise to the next higher rank. Time and again, however, these courses had to be abandoned: their excessively short duration, the high costs involved, and the difficulty of gathering the participants in appropriate places, rendered them ineffectual.

Primary teachers are appointed and dismissed by the Director of Primary Education in the Ministry of Education in Lima. Appointments are usually proposed by the provincial inspector. The influence of some political figure is very rarely absent in these matters.

Both primary and secondary teachers are required to follow faithfully the instructions issued by the Ministry. They are under the constant pressure of the weight of decrees, regulations, and circulars, as well as the severe authority of the school director and the inspector. The primary teachers are in a position of complete subordination in relation to the legal apparatus and the officials controlling it.

The fundamental disadvantage is perhaps the lack of social influence on the part of the primary teacher. The social action of teachers and schools is practically non-existent in a country where it is needed with tragic urgency. The primary teachers are not prepared professionally for such a task; but even if they were, the conditions under which they are forced to work—vertical control, inflexible authorities, lack of textbooks and materials, extensive curricula—all these would prevent any action reaching beyond the daily routine. In any case, a teacher is considered progressive if he is interested in pedagogical problems, i.e. in the technical aspect of his profession. It may be considered a symptom that there is much talk about 'pedagogy', and that the meaning of the term has been distorted so as to reduce it to the methodology for the transmission of knowledge. Very seldom, on the other hand, do teachers refer to 'education' as a social activity. This attitude is characteristic of the whole of Latin America, with very few exceptions.

CARLOS CUETO.

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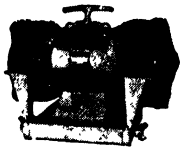


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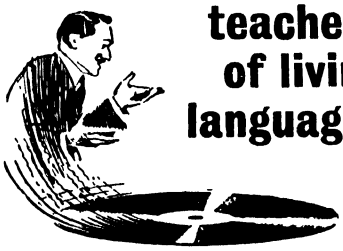
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